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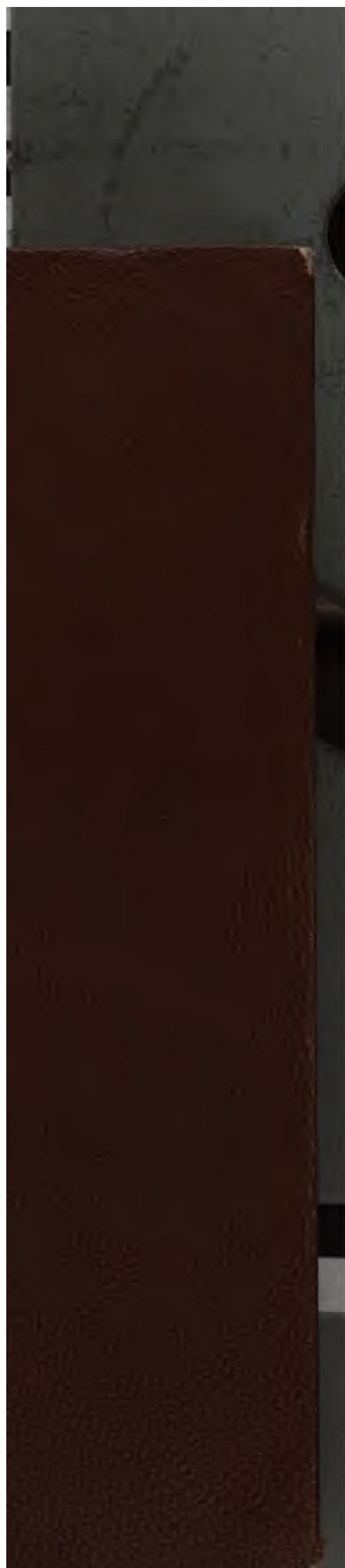
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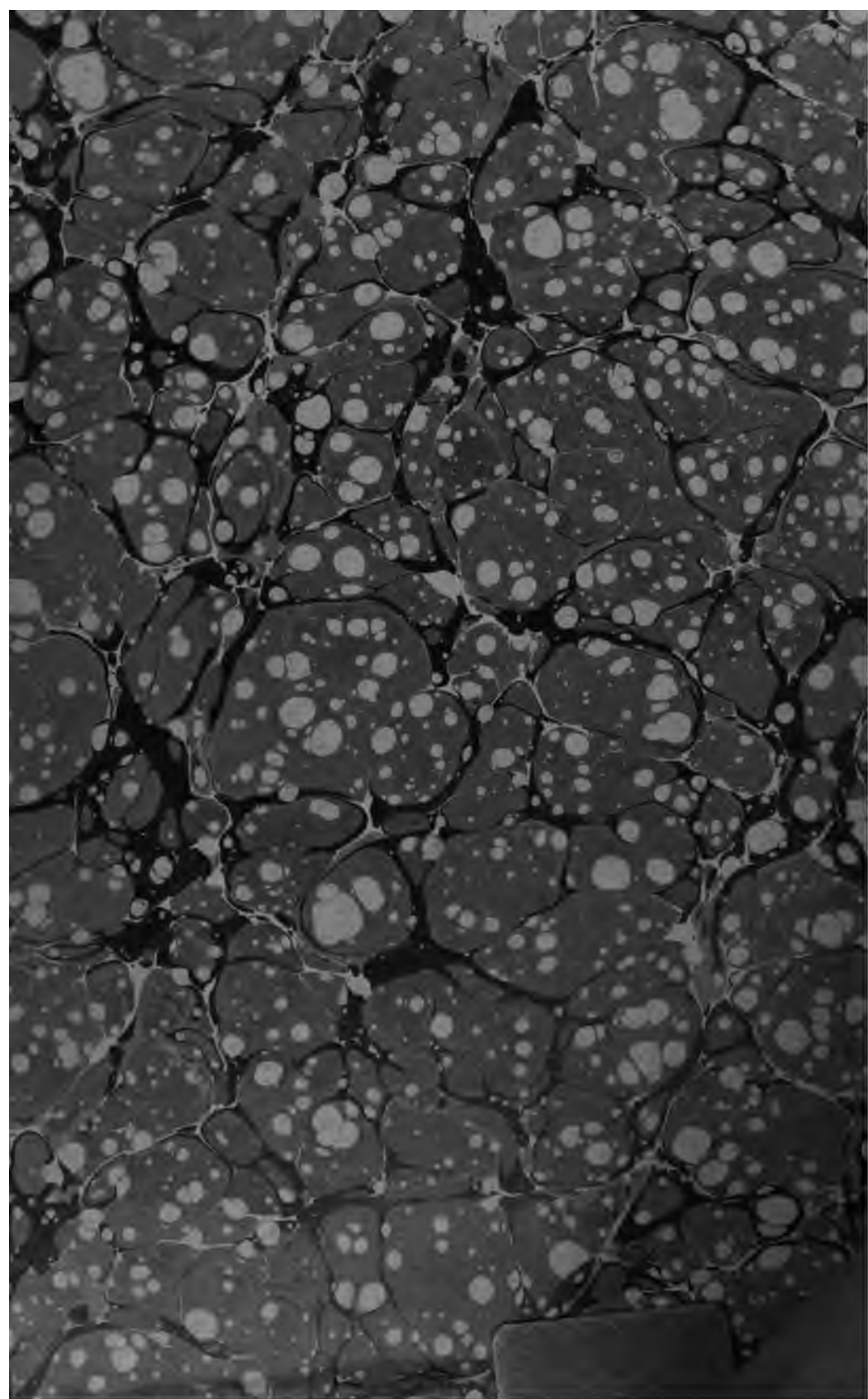
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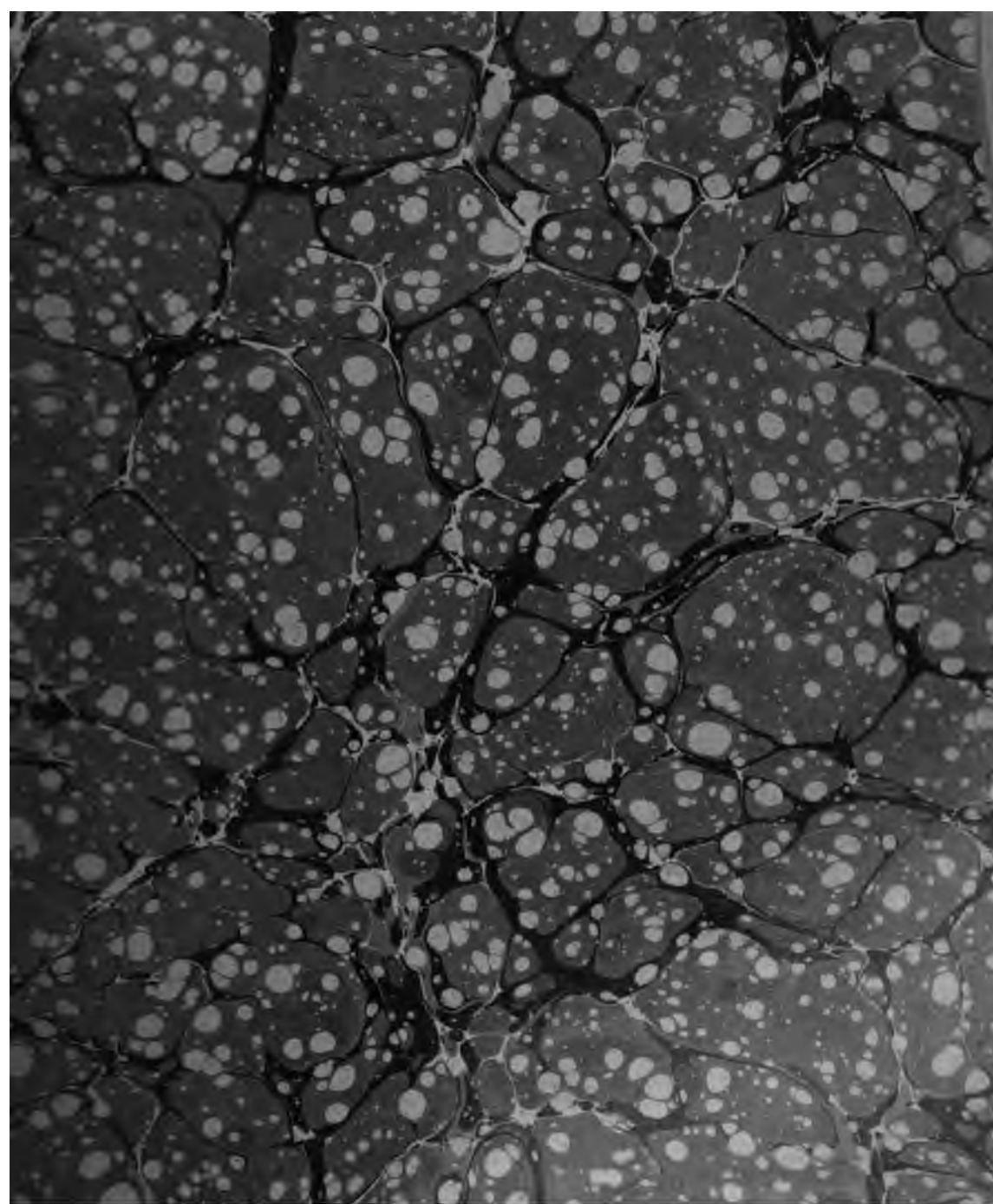
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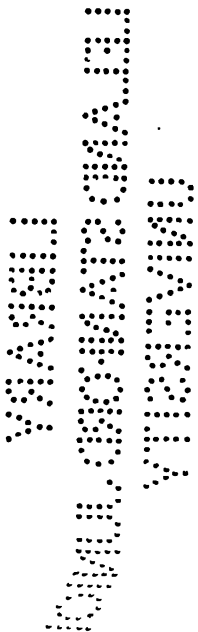
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CONTENTS OF VOLUME I

ARTICLES

	PAGE
F. BLASS, On a Fragment of Sappho	253
CAMPBELL BONNER, The Omen in Herodotus vi. 107	235
ROBERT J. BONNER, Did Women Testify in Homicide Cases at Athens?	127
CARL DARLING BUCK, Cretan <i>lóς</i>	409
EDWARD CAPPS, The Roman Fragments of Athenian Comic Didascaliae	201
EDWARD BULL CLAPP, On Correption in Hiatus	239
WALTER EUGENE CLARK, Menander: A Study of the Chronology of His Life	313
WALTER DENNISON, Syllabification in Latin Inscriptions	47
H. R. FAIRCLOUGH, The Helen Episode in Vergil's <i>Aeneid</i> ii. 559-623	221
WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON, The Premature Deification of Eumenes II	231
THOMAS DWIGHT GOODELL, Bisected Trimeters in Attic Tragedy	145
EDGAR J. GOODSPEED, A Group of Greek Papyrus Texts	167
WILLIAM GARDNER HALE, An Unrecognized Construction of the Latin Subjunctive: The Second Person Singular in General Statements of Fact	21
W. A. HEIDEL, The <i>δύη</i> in Anaximenes and Anaximander	279
G. L. HENDRICKSON, The <i>De analogia</i> of Julius Caesar; its Occasion, Nature, and Date, with Additional Fragments	97
ALFRED KOERTE, Aristotle's <i>Níxai Διονυσιακαί</i>	391
A. G. LAIRD, The Oscan and Umbrian Pumperias	329
ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL, The Date of <i>Notitia</i> and <i>Curiosum</i>	133
FRANK GARDNER MOORE, Cicero's Amaltheum	121
SAMUEL BALL PLATNER, The Septimontium and the Seven Hills	69
F. B. TARBELL, The Form of the Chlamys	283
MINTON WARREN, A New Fragment of Apollodorus of Carystus	43
CHARLES HEALD WELLER, The Extent of Strabo's Travel in Greece	339
ARTHUR L. WHEELER, The Syntax of the Imperfect Indicative in Early Latin	357
JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE, The Manuscripts of Aristophanes. I	1
The Manuscripts of Aristophanes. II	255
E. O. WINSTEDT, Notes on the Scholia of Cod. Vat. 886 (Codex Theodosianus)	399

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

	PAGE
WALTER DENNISON, An Emendation of Caesar <i>Bellum Gallicum</i> vi. 30. 4	230
NORMAN DEWITT, The Eituns Inscriptions at Pompeii	414
TENNEY FRANK, Schlicher on "The Moods of Indirect Quotation"	82
W. G. HALE, Schlicher's "Moods of Indirect Quotation"	181
G. L. HENDRICKSON, Tacitus <i>Dialogus</i> 20. 10	80
Seneca <i>Epp. mor.</i> 82. 20	412
EVAN T. SAGE, The Quotations of Athenagoras and the Text of Euripides	292
J. J. SCHLICHER, The Subjunctive in Indirect Quotation	179
The Moods of Indirect Quotation	294
PAUL SHOREY, A Case of Iotacism in Themistius	80
Horace <i>Ars poetica</i> 95 and Proclus on the Plain Style	243
Himerius <i>Oration</i> i and Horace <i>Ars poetica</i> 138	415
CHARLES N. SMILEY, Dionysius <i>Epistula ad Pompeium</i> 775 R	413
JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE, Verse 1681 of the <i>Aves</i> of Aristophanes	177

MISCELLANEOUS

William Rainey Harper, obituary notice (THE EDITORS)	facing p. 1
Sir Richard C. Jebb, obituary notice (J. W. W.)	176

BOOK REVIEWS

BERG, Metaphor and Comparison in the Dialogues of Plato (<i>Heidel</i>)	305
BLASS, Die Interpolationen in der <i>Odyssee</i> (<i>Seymour</i>)	307
Aischylos' <i>Choephoren</i> (<i>Shorey</i>)	440
BONNER, Evidence in Athenian Courts (<i>Carruthers</i>)	96
BOURGUET, L'administration financière du sanctuaire pythique au iv ^e siècle avant J.-C. (<i>Capps</i>)	425
BROWN, A Study of the Case Constructions of Words of Time (<i>Frank</i>)	303
CAGNAT, Cours d'épigraphie latine, Supplément (<i>Dennison</i>)	192
Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes (<i>Capps</i>)	193
CLAPP, Hiatus in Greek Melic Poetry (<i>Scott</i>)	88
CINQUINI, Index Phaedrianus (<i>Rolfe</i>)	93
DITTENBERGER, Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae (<i>Ferguson</i>)	195
EDWARDS, The Poetic Element in the Satires and Epistles of Horace (<i>Hendrickson</i>)	304
FERGUSON, The Priests of Askelepios: A New Method of Dating Athenian Archons (<i>Capps</i>)	438

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I

vii

	PAGE
FLICKINGER, Plutarch as a Source of Information on the Greek Theater (<i>Pickard</i>)	306
FRANK, Attraction of Mood in Early Latin (<i>Bennett</i>)	194
GOMPERZ, Greek Thinkers: A History of Ancient Philosophy, Vols. II and III (<i>Shorey</i>)	296
GREENIDGE, A History of Rome during the Latin Republic and Early Principate, Vol. I (<i>Abbott</i>)	183
GUNNERSON, History of U-Stems in Greek (<i>Bishop</i>)	433
HARVARD STUDIES in Classical Philology, Vol. XVI (<i>Heidel</i>)	190
HAUVETTE, Archiloque, sa vie et ses poésies (<i>Smyth</i>)	90
HELLMANN, Sedulius Scottus (<i>Rand</i>)	429
HUELSEN, Das Forum Romanum, seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler (<i>Platner</i>)	427
HUELSEN-CARTER, The Roman Forum, Its History and Its Monuments (<i>Platner</i>)	428
INSCRIPTIONES Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, Tom. I, 1-3, Tom. III, 1-4 (<i>Capps</i>)	193
JONES, Case Constructions with <i>similis</i> and its Compounds (<i>Bennett</i>)	437
KELLERMAN, On the Syntax of Some Prepositions in the Greek Dialects (<i>Brown</i>)	199
KORNEMANN, Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom (<i>Sanders</i>)	84
MAHAFFY, The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire (<i>Milner</i>)	87
MARQUART, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Iran, zweites Heft (<i>Buck</i>)	299
MARGUET, Handlexikon zu Cicero, A-M (<i>Rolfe</i>)	94
MERRILL, On the Influence of Lucretius on Horace (<i>Hendrickson</i>)	89
MISENER, The Meaning of γὰρ (<i>Forman</i>)	435
MOMMSEN, Reden und Aufsätze (<i>Moore</i>)	92
MUNRO, Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus (<i>Merrill</i>)	95
NUTTING, Studies in <i>Si</i> -Clauses (<i>Frank</i>)	88
OLCOTT, Thesaurus linguae Latinae: A Dictionary of Latin Inscriptions, Vol. I, fasc. 1-5 (<i>Dennison</i>)	420
PAPERS of the British School at Rome, Vols. I and II (<i>Platner</i>) . .	300
ROMAN Historical Sources and Institutions, University of Michigan Studies, Vol. I (<i>Peaks</i>)	309
SKEAT, A Primer of Classical and English Philology (<i>Buck</i>)	195
STUDI italiani di filologia classica, Vol. XII (<i>Kirk</i>)	411
SVORONOS, Das Athener Nationalmuseum (<i>Ransom</i>)	436

	PAGE
THIELE, Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar (<i>Bechtel</i>)	312
TONKS, Brygos, His Characteristics (<i>Tarbell</i>)	191
TRAHEY, De sermone Ennodiano, Hieronymi sermone in compara- tiones adhibito (<i>Rolfe</i>)	200
TRAUBE, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, Bd. I, Sedulius Scottus, HELLMANN (<i>Rand</i>)	429
VAN LEEUWEN, Aristophanis <i>Ecclesiazusae</i> (<i>Cary</i>).	418
VOSSLER, Sprache als Schöpfung und Entwicklung (<i>Oertel</i>)	416
WATZINGER, Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen (<i>Tarbell</i>)	426
WHEELER, The Whence and Whither of the Modern Science of Language (<i>Buck</i>)	89
WHIBLEY, A Companion to Greek Studies (<i>Gulick</i>)	83
WRIGHT, The Campaign of Plataea (<i>Westermann</i>)	432
WISE, The Speeches of Isæus (<i>Seymour</i>)	187

ERRATA

- P. 3, l. 18, read *Hippolytus*.
P. 5, l. 12, read X for χ.
P. 5, note 3, l. 3, read Φ III 6 for Υ III 16.
P. 18, change abbreviation for Torino to Tr instead of To; see p. 276,
note 2.
P. 19, change abbreviation for Verona to Vr instead of Ve.
P. 41, read Subjunctive in heading.
P. 144, l. 5, read interpolation for interpretation.
P. 194, in word-list, read ἀνθοφορίζων, ἐλεώνη, προσευδοδιασμός III. 739.
ii. 62 (for i. 62), φειβλατόριον.
P. 200, in review of Trahey, par. 2, l. 2, read Ennodius for Hierony-
mus and he for Ennodius.
P. 215, l. 21, read 388 for 398.
P. 237, note 2, read: his note.
P. 312, l. 3, read Sijthoff.

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No. 1

TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Manuscripts of Aristophanes. I	By John Williams White	1
An Unrecognized Construction of the Latin Subjunctive: The Second Person Singular in General Statements of Fact	By William Gardner Hale	21
A New Fragment of Apollodorus of Carystus	By Minton Warren	43
The Septimontium and the Seven Hills	By Samuel Ball Platner	47
Syllabification in Latin Inscriptions	By Walter Dennison	59
Notes and Discussions		81
SHOREY: <i>A Case of Itacism in Themistius.</i>		
HENDRICKSON: <i>Tacitus Dialogus</i> 20:10.		
FRANK: <i>Schlicher on "The Moods of Indirect Quotations."</i>		
Book Reviews		83
WHITLEY, <i>Companion to Greek Studies</i> (Gulick).—KORNEMANN, <i>Kaiser Hadrian</i> (Sanders).—MAHAFFY, <i>Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire</i> (Milner).—University of California Publications, <i>Classical Philology</i> : CLAPP, <i>Hiatus in Greek Melic Poetry</i> (Scott); NUTTING, <i>Studies in Si-clauses</i> (Frank); WHEELER, <i>Whence and Whither of the Modern Science of Language</i> (C. D. B.); MERRILL, <i>Influence of Lucretius on Horace</i> (Hendrickson).—HAUVETTE, <i>Archiloque</i> (Smyth).—MOMMSEN, <i>Reden und Aufsätze</i> (Moore).—CINQUINI, <i>Index Phaedrianus</i> (Rolfe).—MERGUET, <i>Handlexikon zu Cicero</i> (Rolfe).—MUNRO, <i>Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus</i> (E. T. M.).—BONNER, <i>Evidence in Athenian Courts</i> (Carruthers).		

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William Rainey Harper

BORN JULY 26, 1856

DIED JANUARY 10, 1906

Inasmuch as the establishment of CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY is due in no small degree to the interest and support of President Harper, and since provision for its permanent maintenance was one of the concerns of the last months of his life, it has seemed fitting that this initial number should bear witness to his staunch and constant interest in classical studies. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy was conferred upon him by Yale College in 1875 for work pursued under the direction of Whitney, Packard, and Thacher in the subjects which this journal represents, and though his subsequent career led him into other fields of investigation, yet he never abandoned allegiance to the studies of his youth. He maintained membership in the American Philological Association, and within the past year he followed with sympathetic participation the formation of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Until within a few weeks of his death he lent his influence to the editors of this journal in securing from citizens of Chicago the funds needed to guarantee their undertaking. Conspicuous manifestations of his deep interest in the study and investigation of classical antiquity could be instanced in large number from the records of the university which he administered, but they do not call for enumeration in this place.

To record and to acknowledge gratefully his unfailing aid and counsel these words are inscribed.

THE EDITORS.

Classical Philology

Vol. I

January, 1906

No. 1

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF ARISTOPHANES. I

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

The extant manuscripts of Aristophanes number about two hundred and forty. I append a list of these arranged in alphabetical order according to countries and cities. This list is very nearly complete.

But what constitutes a manuscript? The libraries catalogue all they possess, even those written in the eighteenth century, with religious care. The printing-press, however, establishes a limit. The first edition of Aristophanes was published at the end of the fifteenth century, nearly fifty years after the invention of the art of printing. Editions of the comic poet thereafter multiplied rapidly; twelve that were 'complete' were published in the next century. But it would be a mistake on this account to reject all manuscripts written after 1498; for many that are serviceable in establishing the text of the author and are demonstrably free from contamination with printed books belong to the sixteenth century.¹ Those written in the next two centuries must establish their claims to consideration or be cast out. The public library in Upsala possesses a 'manuscript' of Aristophanes of the seventeenth century that contains seven comedies.² An announcement of any new manuscript that contained more than the three Byzan-

¹ Cod. Parisini 2715 and 2717 have played an important rôle in establishing the text of Aristophanes.

² *Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 3^e série, tome XV (1889), p. 351.

time plays would at once waken interest; but this book proved to be a copy of part of the edition issued at Basle in 1547. The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has two manuscripts of the *Equites*;¹ both are dated 1602, and both are in the handwriting of Isaac Casaubon. Some scholar must examine the text and determine its source, if possible. Any real manuscript of the *Equites* would have value. But by 1602 the play was in print in many editions, and Casaubon, a bookish man and a prolific maker of books, may have copied or constituted the text from printed sources. Just this happened a century and a half later. The same great library has six eighteenth-century manuscripts of Aristophanes that once belonged to Brunck.² I examined two of these³ in the summer of 1904. An hour's inspection determined their value. These manuscripts, as the library names them, contain readings that are found in no earlier manuscript, but are due to the conjectures of Dawes⁴ and other scholars. Presumably, therefore, the other four "Manuscripts de Brunck" also are simply the texts that he prepared for his own or the printer's use. They are not manuscripts. The same caution must be used in dealing with late manuscripts elsewhere; all the great libraries possess them. In the Biblioteca Vallicelliana in Rome many 'manuscripts' are preserved that were written either by Allacci himself or by his order. Among these are two that contain parts relating to Aristophanes;⁵ one of these parts consists solely of scholia on the *Nubes*. What is their source? That remains to be determined, if anybody thinks the task worth while, but it is certain that Allacci had access to the Princeps of Aristophanes, which contains a remarkably full and good collection of scholia on nine

¹ Cod. Latini 8181 and 8451. Both were annotated by Casaubon. I conjecture that these are part of the sources on which Kuster depended in his variorum edition. Cf. the end of the preface of his book: "Has autem Notas, quae antea in Bibliotheca Regia Parisiensi, incredibili optimorum cujusvis generis librorum copia instructa, latebant, suis sumptibus et Autographo describi curavit, Lutetiaeque ad me misit, Vir Illustris Nicolaus Franciscus Remondus, clarus inter Gallos," etc.

² Supplement 347, 354-58.

³ Supplement 356, containing the *Vespae*, *Pax*, *Aves*, and 358, containing the *Aves*, *Vespae*, *Pax*.

⁴ The first edition of Dawes's *Miscellanea critica* was published in 1745.

⁵ Cod. Allatiani 137 and 142.

plays, including the *Nubes*. Furthermore, by 1607 three other editions of these nine plays with scholia had been published. Allacci died in 1669, and was not the man to refrain from appropriating without acknowledgment whatever he desired—although, in truth, this was the general practice of his time. He was that *bibliotecario* of the Vatican who brought the Heidelberg manuscripts to Rome, a rank plunderer. Bentley characterized him as “malevolentia et livor, non homo”! Among the books in the Biblioteca Ottoboniana, now in the Vatican, there is a manuscript that wakened interest when it was announced in 1892, because, as it was supposed, it contained nine plays and was of the sixteenth century.¹ Nine titles, in fact, stand on the recto of the first folio. Only three manuscripts, the Codex Ravennas not included, are extant that contain nine plays. Another genuine manuscript that contained nine plays might be an important addition to our resources, but the book proved to be a disappointment. It contains the *Plutus* of Aristophanes (“Ἀριστοφάνους Πλούτος κομῆδῆα”), the *Medea* and fifteen verses of the *Hypolytus* of Euripides, the *Prometheus* of Aeschylus, and some other small matters. It is a schoolboy’s book of the seventeenth century, with a feeble interlinear version in Latin.

Manuscripts, therefore, written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must be sharply examined before they are used. It is, of course, possible that they may have independent value, as copies of earlier manuscripts of good tradition that have been lost. A copy made even as late as 1650 of any of the manuscripts that were destroyed by fire in the Escorial Library in 1671 would now be worthy of inspection. If Isaac Vos’s manuscript of the *Lysistrata*,² a fragment of a famous fourteenth century book, had gone to the bottom of the North Sea in the evil-sailing ship that carried Gerard Vos’s great library out of England, Bentley’s copy of it,³ which has been widely used, would be a treasure, as indeed it is, because of its associations. This point may be illustrated in another manner. The second manu-

¹ Cod. Ottobonianus 307.

² Cod. Vossiani 77 and 191, now in Leyden.

³ Now in Trinity College Library, Cambridge; Cod. 984 (R. 16. 36).

script of Aristophanes in point of age is now in St. Mark's Library.¹ It was written in the twelfth century in the workshop of some Byzantine monastery, and in the fifteenth century belonged to Cardinal Bessarion, who left it by will, with other valuable manuscripts,² to the republic of Venice. It is hard to read, and Bessarion, although he was a Greek, found it slow work to extract from it the tripping jests of Aristophanes.³ He therefore had it copied by one of his table companions. The copy is beautifully executed on vellum and reads like print.⁴ It is demonstrable, I think, that the copyist had only the older manuscript before him when at work; his copy shows no trace of the influence of other manuscripts, and is faithful, as copies go. At present this fifteenth-century manuscript has only inferior value, but if its twelfth-century original had been destroyed at any time before 1802, when it was reproduced in facsimile, the copy would at once have become priceless.

All the manuscripts that date from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries will, without doubt, be examined in due time, and their value estimated. Meanwhile I have thought it proper to include them in the list. Their subsequent exclusion, if they prove to be valueless, will not be difficult. They are relatively few in number—twenty-six. To these I add sixteen others whose dates have not yet been determined.⁵

There remain one hundred and ninety-five. Two of these, fragments of the *Aves*, belong respectively to the sixth⁶ and tenth⁷ centuries; all the rest can be assigned, with greater or less confidence, to one of the six centuries from the eleventh to the

¹ Cod. Venetus 474.

² See Omont, *Inventaire des Mss. donnés à Saint-Marc de Venise par le Cardinal Bessarion*.

³ It speaks well for many fathers of the church, including St. Chrysostom, that they have found solace in our poet.

⁴ It is clear from internal evidence that some toilers in St. Mark's Library have shirked the harder book and collated this in its stead.

⁵ The correctness of the dating of some of the manuscripts in the list is not certain; the age of these must finally be determined by experts.

⁶ A parchment fragment, now in the Musée du Louvre.

⁷ A parchment palimpsest fragment, forming part of Cod. Laurentianus LX. 9, in Florence.

sixteenth inclusive. One hundred and seventy of these contain the text or part of the text of the plays, and about one hundred of this number contain also scholia. I have placed the remainder under the heading "Supplementary." These contain only extracts, variously designated as sententiae (*γνώμαι*) or florilegia, or only scholia, or only arguments.

Interest naturally centers in the one hundred and seventy that furnish the text of the plays. I give a few statistics.

MANUSCRIPTS COUNTED WITH REFERENCE TO THEIR AGE¹

Century.....	6th	10th	11th	12th	13th	14th	15th	16th
No. of MSS.....	1	1	1	1	4	25½	88	48½

WITH REFERENCE TO NUMBER OF PLAYS OR PARTS OF
PLAYS CONTAINED²

No. of Plays.....	11	9	8	7	6	4	3	2	1
No. of MSS.....	1	3	1	4	3	14	47	58	40

WITH REFERENCE TO NUMBER OF TIMES EACH PLAY OCCURS³

Plays.....	<i>Plut.</i>	<i>Nub.</i>	<i>Ran.</i>	<i>Eq.</i>	<i>Av.</i>	<i>Ach.</i>	<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Pax</i>	<i>Lys.</i>	<i>Ec.</i>	<i>Thesm.</i>
No. of MSS.....	148	127	76	28	18	14	10	8	8	7	2

Other manuscripts of Aristophanes than those named in the list given below are known once to have been extant. There is authentic record that some have been destroyed by fire. Valuable manuscripts in the Escorial were lost in this way in 1671. Cod. χ I 16, now in that library, is a catalogue of its Greek manuscripts, made by Nicolas de la Torre before the fire. It records six manuscripts of Aristophanes, some of which were lost irretrievably.⁴ The great disaster in Turin is more recent. That

¹ If a manuscript, the age of which is doubtful, is dated in two centuries in the list, the later is taken in this count. But note that two manuscripts, Cod. 2626 in Cambridge and Cod. Riccardianus 48 in Florence, each belong, part in one century, part in another.

² Cod. 113 in Ferrara is counted double.

³ Graux, in his *Essai sur l'origine du fonds grec de l'Escorial* (1880), identifies two of these with T III 16 and Q IV 7, manuscripts now extant. But Miller, in his *Catalogue des Mss. grecs de la bibliothèque de l'Escorial* (1848), identifies T III 16, and only that.

library contained three manuscripts of Aristophanes; one of these was of unusual interest.¹ I wrote to the librarian, Signor Carta, from Rome about it shortly after the fire, and he replied that nothing was left—"neppure un frammento." The utmost effort has been made to preserve and restore the fragments of the manuscripts that were rescued, and a provisional account of the result has been published.² Remains of two of the manuscripts that contained Aristophanes have been saved.³ I have thought it proper to include the Turin books in the list.

Other manuscripts of our poet would seem naturally to fall under the caption "Strayed, Lost, or Stolen"—and "Found"! They begin to go astray early. The editor of the *Thesmophoriasusae* and *Lysistrata* in the first Juntine edition announced with pride his use of a certain "Codex Urbinas." Modern editors made vain search for this manuscript, and in default of the original quoted the printed book. It was not till 1871 that W. G. Clark⁴ and A. von Velsen⁵ independently demonstrated that this "Urbinas" was the celebrated Cod. Ravennas. The identification is certain. Kuster's manuscripts have been identified, with perhaps the exception of his "Cod. Bodleianus." The early editors designated their manuscripts in a vague, happy-go-lucky manner, to the extreme vexation of their successors. The record for exasperating unintelligibleness is held by Ernesti. Even the acute Hermann, though a German, identified only one of his manuscripts, although he re-edited Ernesti's collations within a short time after his death. Some of them, especially two "Iesuit. Paris," still wander like lost ghosts to torment the living. The most celebrated case is perhaps "Brunck's Aristophanes." In his edition he calls this "codex meus" and gives it the symbol D. It has been largely quoted, but even in the latest editions always from Brunck's own collations; and Dobree's suggestion that, on

¹ Cod. B V 34. Both Professor Zacher and Professor Zuretti have made use of this manuscript, and will publish, it is to be hoped, whatever collations they have of its important scholia.

² *Rivista di filologia* XXXII (1904), pp. 385 ff.

³ *Rivista*, pp. 419, 427.

⁴ *Journal of Philology* III, pp. 153 ff.

⁵ *Ueber den Codex Urbinas der Lysistrata und der Thesmophoriasusen des Aristophanes* (Halle).

Brunck's death, it came into the possession of Richard Heber, when all trace of it was lost, has been often repeated. But it was purchased in Rotterdam by George Butler, afterwards Head Master of Harrow and Dean of Peterborough, and in 1876 was presented by H. Montagu Butler, Master of Trinity, to Trinity College Library.¹

Hardly less famous are Bekker's "Mutinenses." There were three of these, which he collated in Paris.² His readings from them have been often quoted, but the manuscripts disappeared from Paris and from the ken of scholars. Beyond doubt, they were sent back to Italy with other spoil which the first Napoleon had swept away. W. G. Clark, in 1869, acutely suggested that Bekker's "M" was identical with the single manuscript of Aristophanes now preserved in the Biblioteca Capitolare in Verona.³ Some other manuscripts have not yet been identified.⁴

It will be apparent from the account that is to follow of the recorded use of these manuscripts by scholars since the end of the fifteenth century that, while the oldest books have often been collated and some others diligently studied, many fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts have never even been examined. The choice of the manuscripts that have been used seems often to have been due to environment⁵ or even chance.

Cobet's contemptuous opinion of the manuscripts of Aris-

¹ Cod. R. I. 42. See Montague James Rhodes, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, II (1901), pp. 11 f. This manuscript was once in the possession of Porson, towards the end of his life, but he seems not to have made use of it. W. G. Clark made notes from it while it was still in possession of the Dean of Peterborough. These notes are preserved in the library of Trinity College.—On the third folio is written: "Sum Beati Rhenani. Nec muto dominum"!

² "Mutinenses autem Parisiis vocabantur quotquot ex Italia superiore allati erant." Bekker's *Aristophanes* I, Praefatio, p. vi.

³ *Journal of Philology* II, p. 312. Clark does not state his reasons, but among them, doubtless, was the fact that the Verona manuscript carries not only the stamp of the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, but also the coat of arms of the Estensi. See Omont in *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* VIII (1891), pp. 489 ff. A manuscript, precisely answering to the Verona manuscript, was lost from the Biblioteca Estense early in the nineteenth century. This is described in Gabardi's written Catalogue I, p. 274. See *Studi italiani* IV (1896), p. 440. Clark's conjecture could easily be verified by anybody in Verona.

⁴ The manuscript numbered 3436 in Bernard's "Catalogi;" Invernizzi's "Cod. Borgiae," now perhaps in the Vatican, and a few others.

⁵ If the immense Vatican collections had been in Germany during the past two hundred years, we should know more about them.

tophanes¹ has now less weight than when the master first pronounced it. The study of the papyri has rudely shaken the authority of the whole race of diviners, and is gradually establishing belief in the trustworthiness of the traditional text furnished by mediaeval manuscripts. We have a bit of similar evidence for Aristophanes. The oldest extant source of any part of his text is the vellum fragment, found in the Fayûm and now in the Louvre, mentioned above.² It contains fifty-six verses of the *Aves*, with scholia, and is of capital significance in the respect now under consideration. It is five hundred years older than the Cod. Ravennas, but its text shows no important discrepancies from that of the extant manuscripts of the *Aves*. It therefore confirms the integrity of the tradition represented by these manuscripts. But the results of the study of the papyri have a wider application; they show that the 'inferior' manuscripts have an authority that heretofore has been denied them.³ I quote the recent statement of a recognized authority:

The favourite method of modern scholarship, and one by which much has been gained in textual criticism, has been to endeavour to trace the relationships of the various manuscripts of an author, to divide them into families, to determine which manuscript or family represents the best tradition, and then to follow this evidence of the family or manuscript in almost all cases of doubt. But the papyri have shown us decisively in some cases, and allow us to argue by analogy to others, that these family divisions are of relatively late origin, and that the better MSS. have no sort of monopoly of ancient and correct readings. In future . . . the critical editor . . . will have to be prepared to find the truth not unfrequently among the witnesses who usually are inferior, and to exercise a freer judgment in deciding between them.⁴

The study of the later manuscripts of Aristophanes, especially of those which are not yet known, assumes a new importance.

(To be continued)

¹ *Novae lectiones*, pp. 253 ff. Cobet himself, in his youth, collated the Cod. Venetus: "quem ipse olim cum pulvisculo excussi"! This collation is now preserved in the University Library in Leyden.

² Weil, *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (1884), pp. 723 ff., and *Revue de philologie* VI (1882), pp. 179 ff.

³ Cobet could say, in speaking of the Ravennas and Venetus: "habentur pro optimis, quia caeteri omnes sunt etiam multo peiores nequioresque."

⁴ F. G. Kenyon on "The Evidence of Greek Papyri with Regard to Textual Criticism," in the *Proceedings of the British Academy* I (1904).

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS¹

BELGIUM

BRUSSELS

Bibliothèque Royale

- 4280-83 Pl. Nub. Ran. Arg. Schol. S ff. 118-221. + XV. Br1
 11367 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol. S ff. 1-96. XV. Br2
 11344 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. S ff. 1-112. XV. Br3

DENMARK

COPENHAGEN

Royal Library

- 1980 (Havn.) Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Ach. Vesp. Av. Pax (1-947, 1012-1354, 1357), Lys. (1-61, 132-199, 268-819, 890-1097, 1237-end).
 Proleg. Arg. S ff. 1-318. XV. H
 418 Pl. Schol. Gloss. ff. 1-42. XV. H2

ENGLAND

CAMBRIDGE

Library of the University of Cambridge

- 2626 NN III 15 (Cant. 1) Pl. Nub. Ran. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-92.
 XV (Pl. Nub. 1-470), XIV (Nub. 500-end, Ran.). Ct1
 2626 NN III 15 (Cant. 2) Pl. Nub. Ran. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-151.
 XV. (Bound with the foregoing.) Ct2
 2614 NN III 3 (Cant. 3) Pl. Nub. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-83. XV. Ct3
 2627 NN III 16 (Cant. 4) Pl. Nub. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-144. + XV. Ct4

SUPPLEMENTARY

- 696 Dd XI 70 Arg. Schol. Metres to Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg.
 S ff. 25-80 + XVI. Ct5

Library of Trinity College

- 459 R. 1. 42 (D Brunck=E Dindorf) Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg.
 —Rare Schol. Gloss. on Pl. S ff. 1-194. XV. ("Brunck's
 Aristophanes.") Ct6
 984 R. 16. 36 (Voss. Kuster=Trin. Dobree) Lys. Av. (1492-1523).
 Schol. M ff. 1-54. XVII. XVIII. (Bentley's copy of Cod.
 Vossianus 77.) Ct7

LONDON

British Museum

- Harleianus 6307 (Harl. 6 Dobree) Pl. Nub. Ran. Arg. Schol.
 Gloss. S ff. 1-181. XV. Ln6

¹So far as possible, each entry includes: *Shelf-mark*; *Contents*; *Size*; (*S*=cm. 1-27, *M*=cm. 28-37, *L*=cm. 38+); *Number of Folios* (+ signifies that the manuscript has other contents); *Age*; *Symbol* (actual, in parentheses after the shelf-mark; suggested, at the end).

<i>Harleianus</i> 5629	Nub. (291-342). S + XV.	Ln2
<i>Harleianus</i> 5664 (A Porson)	Pl. (235-end), Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 71-238. XV.	Ln3
<i>Harleianus</i> 5725 (Harl. 5 Dobree)	Pl. (266-end), Nub. Schol. —Arg. to Nub. and also Ran. S ff. 1-139. XV.	Ln5
<i>Additions</i> 12182	Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-143. XV.	Ln4
<i>Arundelianus</i> 530 (Ar. Dobree)	Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. S ff. 1-103. XV.	Ln1
<i>Harleianus</i> 1675	Pl. Gloss. S ff. 54-74. + XVI (1591).	Ln7

OXFORD

Bodleian Library

<i>Baroccianus</i> 127 (B Porson)	Pl. (561-end), Nub. Ran. (1-1384). Schol. Gloss. on Pl.—Arg. Schol. (rare) on Nub. Ran. S ff. 1-88. XIII.	O3
<i>Baroccianus</i> 34 (1 Porson)	Pl. Proleg. Arg. Gloss. S ff. 59-143. + XV.	O1
<i>Baroccianus</i> 43 (2 Porson)	Pl. (1-124, 349-end), Nub. (1-379, 546-end). Schol. Gloss. on Pl.—Schol. on Nub.—Arg. to Ran. S ff. 1-145. XV.	O2
<i>D'Orvillianus</i> 72 (X. 1. 3. 13) (Dorv. Dobree)	Pl. Nub. Schol. S ff. 1-94. + XV (1441).	O4
<i>Canonicianus</i> 40 (Bodl. 6 Blaydes)	Pl. (defective), Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol.—Gloss. on Pl. S ff. 1-126. + XV.	O6
<i>Canonicianus</i> 46 (Bodl. 7 Blaydes)	Pl. Nub. Arg. S ff. 1-110. XV.	O7
<i>Miscellaneus</i> 246 (Bodl. 9 Blaydes)	Pl. (1-773). Gloss. S ff. 1-41. XV.	O9
<i>Miscellaneus</i> 150 (Bodl. 8 Blaydes)	Pl. Nub. S ff. 1-101. XVI.	O8

SUPPLEMENTARY

<i>Baroccianus</i> 38 (Bar. Dübner)	Schol. on Lys. Arg. S ff. 63-84. + XV.	O10
<i>Miscellaneus</i> 101.	Schol. on Lys. Arg. S ff. 1-16. XVIII. (Copy of the foregoing.)	O11

Library of Lincoln College

X. 1. (probably Ktister's Bodl.)	Pl. Arg. Schol. S ff. 1-39. XVII.	O12
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FRANCE

AGEN

Bibliothèque d'Agen

20	Pl. Proleg. S ff. 93-163. + XVI.	Ag
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CAEN

Bibliothèque de Caen

SUPPLEMENTARY

- 451 Schol. on Lys. Arg. S ff. 1-21. XVII. (Copy of Baroccianus 38, ff. 63-84.)

Ca

MONTPELLIER

Bibliothèque de Montpellier

SUPPLEMENTARY

- 337 Schol. on Pl. Nub. Ran. S ff. 1-138. XVI.

Mn

PARIS

Musée du Louvre

- Parchemins* Av. (1057-1085, 1101-1127). Schol. VI. (Fragment, written in uncials, found in the Fayûm.)

Bibliothèque Nationale

- 2712 (A) Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Av. Ach. Ec. (1-282). Proleg. Arg.—Schol. Gloss. on Nub. Ran. (1-186). *M* pp. (not ff.) 107-110, 213-224, 227-230. + XIII. A
- 2820 (F Dindorf) Pl. (defective), Nub. (defective), Ran. Arg.—Schol. on Ran. S ff. 1-40, 51-88. XIV. P25
- Supplement 135* (C Brunck = D Dindorf) Pl. Nub. Ran. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-235. XIV. P19
- Supplement 463* Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Schol. S ff. 1-118. XIV. P20
- Supplement 655* Pl. Proleg. Schol. *M* ff. 1-29. + XIV. P22
- 2821 (Par. 8 Blaydes = Q Studemund) Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg.—Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-103. XIV. P8
- 2598 Pl. Nub. Gloss. S ff. 25-123. + XV. P5
- 2822 (Par. 9 Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. S ff. 1-165. XV. P9
- Coislin 354* (probably C Ernesti-Hermann) Pl. Nub. Proleg. S ff. 1-92. XV. P2
- 2827 (G Blaydes = Par. Dübner) Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol. S ff. 11-99. + XV. P14
- 2716 (Par. 6 Blaydes) Eq. Nub. Ran. S ff. 1-107. XV. XVI. P6
- 2718 Pl. Nub. *M* ff. 17-86. + XV. XVI. P7
- 2902 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Schol. S ff. 27-118. + XV. XVI. P17
- 2715 (B) Eq. Ach. Av. Vesp. Lys. (1-61, 132-199, 268-819, 890-1097, 1237-end), Ec. (1-1135), Pax (1-947, 1012-1300). *M* ff. 1-219. XVI. B
- 2717 (C) Eq. Ach. Vesp. Pl. Nub. Ran. Av. Pax (1-947, 1012-1354, 1357), Lys. (1-61, 132-199, 268-819, 890-1097, 1237-end). Proleg. Arg.—Schol. Gloss. on Pl. (1-381). Occasional Schol. Gloss. elsewhere. *M* ff. 1-480. XVI. C
- 2823 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Schol. S ff. 1-119. + XVI. P10

2824	Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Schol. S ff. 1-128. + XVI.	P11
2825	Pl. (defective), Nub. S ff. 1-40. XVI.	P12
2826	Pl. Nub. Proleg. S ff. 1-105. XVI.	P13
2828	Pl. Nub. S ff. 1-122. + XVI.	P15
2829	Pl. S ff. 1-48. + XVI.	P16
2830	Pl. Schol. S ff. 1-76. XVI (1515).	P23
Supplement 58	Pl. Nub. (defective). S ff. 1-15. + XVI.	P18
Supplement 97	Pl. Nub. Schol. S ff. 1-126. + XVI.	P24
Supplement 499	Pl. Nub. S ff. 1-51. XVIII.	P21

SUPPLEMENTARY

985	Extract from Pl. S ff. 1-3. XV.	P26
Supplement 1247	Sententiae Pl. Nub. Proleg. M ff. 35-146. XVI.	P27
Supplement 395	"Scholia et castigationes in Aristophanis comœdias." M ff. 1-173. XVII.	P28
2644	Tzetzes <i>De comoedia</i> . S ff. 233-234. + XIV.	P29
2677	Tzetzes <i>De comoedia</i> . M ff. 92-94. + XVI.	P30

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

ELBING

Stadtbibliothek

<i>Cod. Elbingensis</i> (Elb.)	Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. + El
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HAMBURG

Stadtbibliothek

SUPPLEMENTARY

40	Schol. on Lys. Arg. M ff. 108-111. + XVII. (Copy of Baroccianus 38)	Hm.
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MUNICH

Königliche Hof- und Staatsbibliothek

137	(N von Velsen=M Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. Ec. Proleg. Arg. M ff. 1-105. + XV.	Mu1
492	(G von Velsen=N Blaydes) Thesm. Lys. Arg. to Lys. S ff. 1-39. + XV.	Mu2
89	Nub. (1-188). ff. 103-120. + XV.	Mu3
533	Pl. (1-203). ff. 23-26. + XV. XVI.	Mu4

SUPPLEMENTARY

182	Arg. to Ach. Eq.—Collectanea of Politian on Ach. Eq. ff. 90-106. + XV.	Mu5
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TÜBINGEN

Universitätsbibliothek

<i>Mb 32</i> (Tub.)	Pl. Nub. (1-144) ff. 1-156. XV.	Tb
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VIENNA

Hofbibliothek

<i>XCV</i> Pl. (the opening verses). f. 134. +	W2
<i>CLXIII</i> (W Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. (1-675). Schol.	W
<i>CXCIII</i> Pl. Nub. Rare Schol. ff. 1-105.	W3
<i>CCIV</i> Pl. Nub. ff. 1-110.	W4
<i>CCX</i> (Y Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. Schol. Gloss. ff. 1-155.	Y
<i>CCXIX</i> Pl. Nub. Schol. Gloss. +	W5
<i>CCXXVII</i> (Z Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. ff. 1-141.	Z
<i>CCXLIX</i> Pl. Nub. ff. 1-112.	W6
<i>CCLVII</i> Pl. Nub. +	W7

SUPPLEMENTARY

<i>CCLXXXIX</i> Extracts from the comedies. +	W8
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GREECE

ATHENS

Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη

1062 Pl. Nub. Schol. Gloss on Pl. <i>S</i> + XVI.	At1
1063 Pl. Gloss. <i>S</i> + XVII (1628).	At2
1131 Pl. Nub. <i>S</i> + XVIII.	At3
1133 Pl. <i>S</i> + XVIII (1740).	At4

MOUNT PELION (MELIAE)

SUPPLEMENTARY

88 Ἀριστοφάνους Ἐξήγησις τῆς δευτέρας κωμωδίας. <i>S</i> ff. 143-153. + XVIII.	MP
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HOLLAND

LEEWARDEN

Library of the Province of Friesland

34 Pl. Nub. Proleg.—Schol. on Nub. <i>S</i> ff. 1-94. + XVI.	Lw
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LEYDEN

University Library

52 (<i>Cod. Vossianus</i> 77) (Voss. Dindorf=L Dübner) Lys. (1-61, 132-199, 268-819, 890-1034). Schol. Gloss. <i>M</i> ff. 1-11. XIV.	
52 (<i>Cod. Vossianus</i> 191) (V Dobree) Av. (1492-1765). Schol. Gloss. <i>M</i> ff. 12-15. XIV. (Now bound with the foregoing. See <i>Cod. Laur.</i> XXXI. 15.)	r
34 (<i>XVIII.</i> 61. C) (C. LB Hemsterhuis=L Ernesti-Hermann) Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. <i>S</i> ff. 1-125. XV.	Ld4

SUPPLEMENTARY

23 (<i>Cod. Vossianus</i>) Schol. on Lys. ff. 1-13.	Ld7
35 (<i>XVIII.</i> 74. D) Schol. on Lys. <i>S</i> ff. 1-38.	Ld8

ITALY

BOLOGNA

Biblioteca dell' Università

1766 Pl. S ff. 60-106. + XVI. Bl

CREMONA

Biblioteca Governativa

171 Pl. Nub. Ran. Arg. Schol. S ff. 1-144. XIV. XV. Cr

FERRARA

Biblioteca Comunale

113 Pl. (*bis*), Nub. (*bis*). Proleg. Arg. Schol. S ff. 1-223. XV Fr1
(1419).

247 Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg.—Rare Schol. on Pl.—Rare Gloss.
on Pl. and Nub. S ff. 102-292. + XV. Fr2

253 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. S ff. 1-93. + XV. Fr3

FLORENCE

Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana

LX. 9 Av. (1393-1453). Schol. X. (Palimpsest fragment. See
Hermes XXVI (1891), pp. 128-136.)

XXXI. 15 (Γ) Ach. Ec. Eq. Av. (1-1419), Vesp. (421-1396, 1494-end),
Pax (378-490, 548-837, 893-947, 1012-1126, 1190-1300). Arg.
Schol. Gloss. M ff. 67-162. + XIV. Γ

XXXI. 13 (x Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S
ff. 1-124. XIV. x

XXXI. 22 (ψ Blaydes) Nub. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-50. XIV. ψ

66 (A F 2715) (φ Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. Arg. S ff. 1-39. + XIV. φ

140 (A F 2779) (θ) Pl. Nub. Eq. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. S ff.
1-185. XIV. θ

XXXI. 16 (Δ) Pl. Nub. Eq. Ran. Ach. Av. Vesp. Lys. (1-61, 132-
199, 268-819, 890-1097, 1237-end). Arg. S ff. 1-259. XV. Δ

XXXI. 4 Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-
191. XV. Π

XXXI. 19 (ξ Blaydes) Pl. S ff. 1-46. XV. ξ

LXXX. 26 Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 13-180. +
XV. F1

XXXI. 36. Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-106. XV. F2

XCI. 7 Pl. Nub. Eq. Ran. Proleg. Arg.—Rare Schol. on Nub.
S ff. 1-167. XV (1485). F3

97 (A F 2714) Nub. Gloss. S ff. 34-85. + XV. F4

607 (MN 88. 57) (Σ Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Arg. to Nub. S ff. 1-104.
XV. Σ

XXXI. 35 (a Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-146.
XV. XVI. 2

83 (A F 2662) Pl. (1-192). M ff. 34-61. + XVI. F5

SUPPLEMENTARY

164 (C 323) Sententiae. M A few ff. + XVI. F6

Biblioteca Riccardiana

36 (K. II. 22) Pl. Nub. Eq. Ran. Arg. to Nub. M ff. 1-116. +
XV. F8

48 (K. II. 23 and 24) Ran. Pl. Schol. Gloss. to Pl. ff. 1-80,
81-108. XVI and XV. (Two manuscripts in one.) F9

57 (S. II. 29) Nub. (defective). S ff. 1-32. + XVI. F10

61 Pl. (1-11, 51-500). S ff. 1-29. XVI. F11

SUPPLEMENTARY

78 Extracts (Pl. 146, 1151). S f. 68. + XV. F12

22 (K. I. 26) Extract (Pl. 200, 201). M Fly-leaf. + XVI. F13

MILAN

Biblioteca Ambrosiana

C 222 inf. (Med. 4 Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol.
—Arg. to Eq. Av. M ff. 43-108. + XIII. M4

L 39 sup. (M) Pl. Nub. Eq. Av. (1-1641). Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss.
S ff. 89-231. + XIV. M

L 41 sup. (Med. 9 Blaydes=N Neil) Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Av. Ach.
Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-285. XV. M9

D 64 sup. (Med. 5 Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Proleg. Arg. S
ff. 1-125. XV. M5

F 40 sup. Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Proleg. Arg. Schol. ff. 19-208. +
XV. M11

A 65 sup. (Med. 1 Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Gloss. S
XV. M1

A 100 sup. (Med. 3 Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. S ff. 1-98.
XV. M3

O 72 sup. (Med. 10 Blaydes) Pl. Nub. (752-1055). Rare Schol.
Gloss. ff. 61-82. + XV. M10

A 97 sup. (Med. 2 Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. S
XVI. M2

I 109 inf. (Med. 7 Blaydes) Pl. Schol. M ff. 1-101. XVI.
XVII. M7

SUPPLEMENTARY

Z 165 sup. Eclogae Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Ach. Av. S ff. 1-32. XV. M12

F 30 sup. Num. 2. (Med. 6 Blaydes) Schol. on Lys. Arg. S +
XV. M6

MODENA

Biblioteca Estense

- III D 8* Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Av. (1-220, 662-end), Ach. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S ff.* 1-230. XV. E
III D 14 Ran. Eq. Av. Ach. Arg. Schol. (rare), Gloss. *S ff.* 1-235. XV. E2
III B 1 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S ff.* 1-136. XV. E3
III A 14 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S ff.* 1-98. XV. E4
III A 3 Pl. (218-end), Nub. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S ff.* 1-69. XV. E5
III A 13 Pl. Nub. (50-end). Schol. (rare), Gloss. *S ff.* 1-114. XV. E6

SUPPLEMENTARY

- III C 14* Schol. on Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Metra. *S ff.* 19-80, 99-112. + XV. E7
III A 17 Schol. on Pl. Nub. (1-240). Proleg. Arg. *S ff.* 29-91. + XV. E8

NAPLES

Biblioteca Nazionale

- 179 (II F 22)* Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S ff.* 1-77, 83, 84. + XIV. Np1
184 (II F 27) Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. *S ff.* 1-60. XIV. Np2
180 (II F 23) Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. *S ff.* 29-183. + XV. Np3
181 (II F 24) Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg.—Schol. (rare) on Pl. *S ff.* 1-137. XV (1485). Np4
182 (II F 25) Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S ff.* 1-160. XV. Np5
183 (II F 26) Pl. Proleg. Arg. Gloss. *S ff.* 1-42. XV. Np6

PARMA

Biblioteca Palatina

- 260* Pl. (1-647). Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S ff.* 43-66. + XV. XVI. Pa

PERUGIA

Biblioteca Comunale

- H 56* Ran. Ec. Schol. Gloss. *S ff.* 1-88. + XV. Pe1
I 106 Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S ff.* 1-63. XV (1473). Pe2

SUPPLEMENTARY

- I 62* Sententiae. *S ff.* 76, 77. + XV. Pe3

RAVENNA

Biblioteca Classense

- 137, 4, A (R)* Pl. Nub. Ran. Av. Eq. Pax. Lys. Ach. Vesp. Thesm. Ec. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *M ff.* 1-191. XI. R

ROME

*Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana**Codices Vaticani*

- 920 Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1 sq. + XIII.
XIV. Vv1
57 Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 25 sq. + XIV. Vv2
61 Nub. (1410-end), Ran. Arg. Schol. ff. 1 sq. + XIV. Vv3
918 Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. ff. 1-160. XIV
(1362). Vv4
1294 (Vat. Zacher) Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. (1-270). Proleg. Arg. Schol.
Gloss. M ff. 1-111. + XIV. Vv5
59 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. ff. 1-107. + XV. Vv6
60 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. ff. 1 sq. XV. Vv7
917 Pl. Nub. Ran. Arg. Schol. Gloss. ff. 1-177. XV. Vv8
919 Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. ff. 1-167. XV. Vv9
921 Pl. Ran. Arg. Gloss. ff. 1-107. XV. Vv10
1371 Pl. Arg. ff. 126-162. + XV. Vv11
1378 Ran. Arg. Schol. ff. 150 sq. + XV. Vv12
35 Ran. Schol. ff. 253 sq. + XV. Vv13
37 Pl. Nub. Schol. Gloss. ff. 192 sq. + Vv14

SUPPLEMENTARY

- 1463 Schol. on Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. ff. 81-102. + XV. Vv15
62 Tzetzes *De comoedia*. ff. 108 sq. + XVI. Vv16

Codices Barberiniani

- I 45 Ach. Ec. (1-1135), Eq. Arg. Rare Gloss. S ff. 1-95, 100-158.
XV. Vb1
I 46 Pl. Nub. Eq. Ran. Proleg. Arg. ff. 1-139. XV. Vb2
I 126 Pl. Nub. Ran. Arg. Schol. ff. 1-73. XV. Vb3
I 148 Pl. (1-60). Gloss. ff. 1-7. XVI. Vb4
I 77 Pl. ff. 1-28. XVII. Vb5
I 110 Pl. ff. 1-40. + XVII. Vb6

SUPPLEMENTARY

- I 4 Sententiae Pl. Nub. Ran. ff. 49-54. + XV. Vb7

Codices Palatini

- 116 Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 23-140. +
XIV. Vp1
67 (P Müller=Vat. Kuster) Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Ach. Vesp. Av. Pax.
(1-947, 1012-1354, 1357), Lys. (1-61, 132-199, 268-819, 890-
1097, 1237-end). Arg.—Rare Schol. Gloss. on Eq. Ach. (1-
102). M ff. 1-234. XV. Vp2
128 (P von Velsen, Zacher) Eq. Ach. Vesp. Arg. to Ach. Vesp.
Aves. S ff. 91-185. + XV. Vp3

240	Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Gloss. Rare Schol. S ff. 1-104. XV.	Vp4
289	Pl. Nub. S ff. 1-35, 41-84. XV.	Vp5
293	Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. M ff. 16-82. + XV.	Vp6
321	Pl. M ff. 1-47. XV.	Vp7
324	Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. M ff. 1-98. + XV.	Vp8
363	Pl. ff. 317-320. + XV.	Vp9
223	Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 8-188. + XV (1495).	Vp10
319	Pl. (1-285, 594-961), Ran. (703-1195), Eq. (640-1205), Nub. (823-1106). M ff. 53-94. XV. XVI.	Vp11

Codices Ottoboniani

166	Pl. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 5-34. + XV.	Vo1
161	Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. S ff. 1-146. XV. XVI.	Vo2
181	Pl. Nub. Proleg.—Arg. to Nub.—Rare Schol. Gloss. on Pl. S ff. 5-82. + XVI.	Vo3
210	Pl. Nub. (1-1466). S ff. 168-274. + XVI.	Vo4
346	Pl. Nub. Proleg.—Arg. to Nub. S ff. 1-70. + XVI.	Vo5
385	Pl. S ff. 1-13. + XVI.	Vo6
307	Pl. S ff. 1-50. + XVII.	Vo7

Codices Urbinates

141 (U)	(Vat. U Kuster) Pl. Nub. Ran. Av. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 78-190. + XIV.	U
143	Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-141. XIV. XV.	U2

Codices Reginae Suecorum

147	Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. S ff. 1-100. + XIV.	Vs1
161	Pl. Proleg. Arg. S ff. 1-32. XV.	Vs2

SUPPLEMENTARY

142	A few sententiae on a folio preceding the MS. S XVI.	Vs3
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Biblioteca Vallicelliana

F 16	Ach. (691-930). Schol. Gloss. S ff. 53-60. + XV.	Rm1
F 25	Pl. (1-80, 82-207). Gloss. ff. 64-70. + XVI.	Rm2

SUPPLEMENTARY

E 21	Florilegium. A few extracts. + XVI.	Rm3
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Archivio di San Pietro

C 152	Pl. (206-end), Nub. Schol. Gloss. S + XVII (1620).	Rm4
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TURIN

Biblioteca Nazionale

B VI 18 (36)	Pl. Rare Gloss. S ff. 1-51. + XV. XVI.	To1
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SUPPLEMENTARY

B V 33	Extracts from Pl. Nub. Ran. ff. 284-286. +	To2
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- B V 34* Extracts from Schol. on Eq. Pl. Nub. Ran. Av. Vesp. Proleg.—Arg. to Ran. *S* ff. 90–93, 98–123, 136–137, 146–156. + XVI.

To3

VENICE

Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco

- 474 (V) Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Av. Pax, Vesp. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *M* ff. 1–172. XII. V
 472 (T Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S* ff. 1–91. + XIV. V2
 473 (U Pl. Nub. Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S* ff. 1–81. XIV. V3
Supplem. XIV (Cl. IX) Pl. Nub. (24–end). Proleg. Arg. Schol. *S* ff. 40–149. XIV. V4
 475 (G, but S or G Blaydes) Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. Av. Pax, Vesp. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *P* ff. 1–153. + XV. (Copy of 474) G
Append. 613 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. ff. 1–103. XVI. V5
Supplem. XXVI (Cl. IX) Pl. (392–end), Nub. (1–1941), Ran. (78–1167). Arg. to Nub.—Schol. Gloss. ff. 1–106. V6

VERONA

Biblioteca Capitoldre

- CXXXI (120)* Pl. Nub. Ran. Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S* ff. 1–131. XV.

Ve

RUSSIA

Moscow

Library of the Holy Synod

- 311 (298 *Matthaei*) Pl. Schol. Gloss. *S* ff. 76–136. + XVII. Mo1
 238 (225 *Matthaei*) Ran. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S* ff. 1–56. + XVII. Mo2

SPAIN

ESCURIAL

Biblioteca del Escorial

- Φ III 6 Pl. Nub. Ran. Arg. Gloss. ff. 1–112. XV. Es1
 Υ III 16 Pl. Nub. Ran. Schol. ff. 1–196. XV. Es2
 Ω IV 7 Ran. Gloss. ff. 104–165. + XV. Es3

SUPPLEMENTARY

- X I 13. Extracts Pl. Nub. Ran. ff. 317–319, 328. + XIV. Es4

MADRID

Biblioteca Nacional

- N 53 Pl. Nub. Ran. Eq. (1–308). Proleg. Arg. Schol. Gloss. *S* ff. 1–85. + XIV. XV. Md1
 N 47 Pl. *S* ff. 187–205. + XV. Md2

SUPPLEMENTARY

- N* 72 Sententiae. *S* + XV. Md3
N 67 Proleg. Arg.—Schol. on Pl. Nub. *S* ff. 21-34, 36-43. + XV. Md4

SALAMANCA

Biblioteca de la Universidad

- 1-2-5 Nub. Ran. Pl. (1-30, 253-end). + XVI. Sa1
 1-2-14 Pl. Nub. Ran. (1-607). Arg. to Nub. Ran. ff. 1-139. XVI. Sa2
 1-2-10 Pl. Nub. Proleg. Arg. + XVI. Sa3

TURKEY

ATHOS (MOUNT ATHOS)

Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς Ἀγιοποτάμου

- 93 Nub. (defective). Gloss. *S* + XVI. MA1

Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς Ἰβήρων

- 144 Pl. (317-end), Nub. (1-1316). Schol. Gloss. *S* ff. 1-98. XV. MA2

SUPPLEMENTARY

- 1317 Arg. *S* + XVIII. MA3

Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς Καρακάλλου

- 62 Pl. Nub. *S* + XVIII. MA4

Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Μονῆς Γρηγορίου

- 101 Pl. (defective). *S* + XVII. MA5

CONSTANTINOPLE

Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Μετοχίου τοῦ Πατριάρχου Τάφου

- 143 Pl. Schol. *S* ff. 403-438. + XVII. Cn

JERUSALEM

Ἱεροσολυμιτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη

- II 424 Nub. ff. 1-43. + XVII. J1

- I 394 Pl. *S* + XVII. XVIII. J2

- II 462 Pl. ff. 390-356. + XVIII (1732). J3

- II 463 Nub. + XVIII. J4

MOUNT SINAI

Library of the Monastery

- 1206 Ran. (1-822). Arg. *S* + XV. Ms

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

AN UNRECOGNIZED CONSTRUCTION OF THE LATIN SUBJUNCTIVE: THE SECOND PERSON SINGULAR IN GENERAL STATEMENTS OF FACT

BY WILLIAM GARDNER HALE

My paper deals with such Subjunctives as the independent ones in the familiar passages:

- A. Nil satis est, inquit, quia tanti quantum habeas *sis*; Hor. *Sat.* i. 1. 62.
- B. Assem habeas, assem *valeas*; Petron. 77.
- C. Ubi mortuos sis, ita *sis* ut nomen cluet; Plaut. *Trin.* 496.
- D. Quom inopias, *cupias*: quando eius copias, tum non *velis*; Plaut. *Trin.* 671.
- E. Quod in manu teneas atque oculis videas, id *desideres*; Plaut. *Trin.* 914.
- F. Unum quom noris, omnis *noris*; Ter. *Ph.* 265.
- G. Accipe nunc, victus tenuis quae quantaque secum Adferat. In primis *valeas* bene; Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 70.
- H. Dum tibi fit quod placeat, ille ringitur: tu *rideas*, Prior *bibas*, prior *decumbas*; Ter. *Ph.* 341.
- I. Nam cetera maleficia tum *persequare*, ubi facta sunt, hoc, nisi provideris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra iudicia *implores*; Sall. *Cat.* 52.4.
- J. Quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant, nequiquam *hortere*; timor animi auribus officit; Sall. *Cat.* 58. 2.
- K. Nec porro quaecumque aevo macieque senescunt,
Nec, mare quae inpendent, vesco sale saxa peresa
Quid quoque amittant in tempore cernere *possis*; Lucr. i. 325.
- L. Quae si ipse exsequi nequeas, *possis* tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio ("a Scipio and a Laelius"); Cic. *Sen.* 9. 28.

These look alike. If there were a comfortable category in the grammars into which to put them all, one would not think of separating them.

As the title of the paper implies, I am brought to regard such Subjunctives as expressing general statements of fact,—as corresponding, in effect, to *Indicatives* in the same second person singular indefinite. I wish to translate example A by, "because you

are worth just what you possess;" B by, "have a penny, you are worth a penny;" C by, "when you are dead, dead you are," etc. In accordance with this view, § 542 of the Hale-Buck *Grammar* reads: "A general statement of fact is sometimes expressed by a Subjunctive of the Second Person Singular Indefinite;" and to our example C, there given, is added the statement, "the second *sis* has the force of *es*."

The construction itself will prove to be a simple one to solve, but the exhibition of previous opinion upon the matter must be a somewhat tangled affair, since grammars, grammatical treatises, notes in commentaries written by professional grammarians, and notes by commentators who are not professional grammarians, have all to be taken into the account. It is also obviously impracticable to refer to every note ever written upon any of these passages. The selections, however, will fairly cover the ground.

So far as I know, no grammar or grammatical paper had recognized the existence of the construction for which I am contending. The statements regularly made (where any are made) with regard to the range of the Subjunctive of the second person singular indefinite are of a kind to exclude such an interpretation. Thus Madvig, §370, says: "Diese Form findet sich in bedingter Rede, in hypothetischen Aussagen und in Fragen über das, was geschehen wird und kann, in Nebensätzen mit Conjunctionen, in Relativsätzen (mit *qui* oder einem unbestimmten Relativ), und in Vorschriften und Verboten." To this is added the *Anmerkung*: "Ein solcher conjunctivischer Bedingungssatz führt nicht den Conjunctiv im Hauptsatze herbei." Quite recently (1905), Nutting, *Studies in the Si-Clause*, pp. 84, 85, has distinctly shown the conviction that there is no Subjunctive in a main sentence corresponding to the common second singular indefinite in subordinate clauses. "One looks in vain," he says, "for a clear case of such leveling in Plautus." And Elmer, in his note on F (as will be seen below), in effect says that a general statement of fact in the second singular indefinite *must* be expressed by the Indicative.

The grammarians of course all provide for the Subjunctive second person singular indefinite in conditional or corresponding relative clauses which, if in any other person or number, would be

in the Indicative, as in *memoria minuitur, nisi eam exerceas*, Cic. *Sen.* 7. 21; but they know nothing of the power for which this paper contends. If anywhere they chance to make use of an example of the type before us, it is placed under some already recognized and entirely different category, as we shall see below.

Whatever the grammarians may do, the commentators, it would seem, would frequently have occasion to discuss such examples. The most striking feature of the case is, however, that they generally pass them without comment. Sometimes, indeed, they actually give an explanation of the dependent verb in such combinations, and pass in silence the far more difficult independent one. Thus Greenough, in his edition of the *De senectute* (1873 and in various reprints), says of our example L, "*si . . . nequeas*, gen. cond. (§309 *a*)," but says nothing of *possis*. Occasionally the dependent verb and the main verb are dealt with together and without distinction, with a reference to some rule, such as the grammars afford. This reference, as is natural under the circumstances, never fits. Thus Gudeman, dealing with example I in his edition of Sallust, says, "*persequare . . . provideris . . . implores*: Subjunctive of indefinite second person singular," and refers to the Allen and Greenough *Grammar*, § 266*a*. This section, when one turns to it, proves to deal with *independent* "Hortatory" Subjunctives, and to read (266), "The Hortatory Subjunctive is used to express an exhortation, a command, a concession, or a condition;" and (*a*), "The Second Person is used only of an indefinite subject, except in prohibition, in early Latin, and in poetry." Not only the general headings "independent" and "hortatory," but the examples given (e. g., *isto bono utare dum adsit*, Cic. *Sen.* 10. 33), show the type meant. But *nisi provideris* is evidently not independent; and it is also difficult to believe that Sallust means to *direct* people to implore in vain, unless, indeed, the editor conceives the idiom to be one of *ironical* command (not provided for in the reference), in which case the explanation should certainly be given. More frequently, if anything at all is said about the main Subjunctive, it is simply classed with the dependent one, and the Subjunctive idiom in the second singular indefinite in "conditional" clauses is referred to

or assumed. Thus Munro, in his comment upon our example K, puts *possis* with *si non relinquas*, *Lucr.* i. 515, *quibus careas*, ii. 4, etc. Thus, again, Greenough, in the note in his edition of the *Satires and Epistles* of Horace, 1888, says of our example A, "tanti sis (*you are rated at*), etc. The subjunctive is the regular one of the second person with indefinite subject." But in his *Grammar* Greenough (the same is true of his revisers) makes no provision for an independent Subjunctive of the second person singular indefinite, except as hortatory or potential; while the treatment of the *dependent* member of the example in question comes in § 309 a (518 of the new edition) under the head of "General Conditions," to which it is obvious that *sis* does not belong. It is clear, also, that general conditions are really meant; for the rule reads: "The Subjunctive is sometimes used in the second person singular to denote the act of an indefinite Subject (*you = any one*). Here the Indicative of a general truth may stand in the apodosis."¹

Yet the tendency naturally produced by the sight of the combination of dependent and independent Subjunctives in the same indefinite second person is a good one, and has in a number of instances led, even in the absence of an admitted grammatical category, to the sound interpretation. Thus Wagner, in the note in his *Trinummus* (1875) upon our example E, says, "*id desideres*, 'that one is apt to forget': the second person subjunctive expresses generality." Greenough (1888), as we have seen, translates *tanti sis* of A by "you are rated." Friedländer, in his *Petronii Cena Trimalchionis* (1891) translates our example B by "Glaubt mir, habe einen As, so giltst du einen As." Morris, in his edition of the *Captivi and Trinummus* of Plautus (1898), paraphrasing example C, says, "when you are dead, you are dead in the full sense of the term." He makes no grammatical comment. Rolfe, in his edition of the *Satires and Epistles* of Horace

¹ The word "sometimes" is not happy. The Subjunctive is regularly used, there being but a very small number of exceptions in the whole range of the literature. Hardly any usage in Latin is more fixed. Or, if the intended meaning is "one sometimes finds examples of . . .," then, by the same token, the word "sometimes" ought to be added to every rule in the Grammar. Moreover, the phrase "may stand" in the last line should read "generally stands."

(1902) puts the main and subordinate clauses in example A together, rightly translating, "because you are rated by the amount of your possessions," and adding, "*habeas* and *sis* are subjunctive because of the indefinite second person singular." No grammatical reference is given. The procedure of Wagner, Greenough, Friedländer, Morris, and Rolfe seems to imply a subconsciousness of the force naturally to be attributed to the independent construction; but these excellent opportunities which Greenough and Morris, as grammarians, had for calling attention to a much misunderstood, and very variously interpreted, construction, and of enunciating its true character, pass unused. Note also, under 4 below, p. 27, a discordant explanation of the exactly similar *persequare* of example I (namely as Potential) in the Greenough and Daniell Sallust.

The only comment I have noticed which makes a sound explicit statement about the independent construction is that of Schütz (1881), who, in his note upon our passage A, says "*sis*, nicht *es*, weil allgemein, nicht an H. direct gerichtet; 'man gilt.'" To this he adds, "Im Indicativ würde man eher die 1. Person verlangen, weil der Geizige doch sich selbst damit entschuldigen will." He is right in his general feeling, but not right in implying that in the second singular indefinite the Indicative could not be used. See below, at the end of this paper.

The explanations which clearly attempt to bring one or another of the independent Subjunctives in sentences A-L under one or another of the categories provided for in the grammars are of six kinds. I shall first merely state them, without argument.

1. The Subjunctive is that of the *Oratio Obliqua*. This is the favorite older explanation, and is still frequently found. Thus Wüsteman, revision of Heindorf (1843), says of our example A, "man bemerke den im Latein. gewöhnlichen Übergang von der *orat. recta* in die *obliqua*;" H. Düntzer (1869) says "*sis*, Übergang in die abhängige Rede;" Kirchner (1885) says "im Lateinischen geht die Rede aus der directen Construction (*nīl satis est*) in die abhängige (*quia tanti . . . sis*) über, was auch in Prosa nicht selten vorkommt;" and G. T. A. Krüger in various editions (as in 1860 and 1866), by a still bolder device,

says "sis, statt es, als wäre vorhergegangen: *nil satis esse ait*. Also auf einer Anakoluthie beruhend." G. Krüger says the same, in re-editing his father's edition in 1876. Among the later editors, Kiessling (1886) says the same in the sentence, "der Konjunktiv *sis* = *esse putaris*." Palmer (my edition is of 1888) seems to mean the same by his phrase "general opinion" in saying, "the subjunctive *sis* is used because it is the general opinion, indefinite." And Harper's *Lexicon* (1879) means the same, in putting example A under the Subjunctive illustration of the statement, "construed with indicative in asserting a fact; with subjunctive in stating an assumed reason, or one entertained by another mind."

2. The Subjunctive is that of Command or Exhortation ("Imperative"). Thus Blase, in his recently published "Tempora u. Modi" in the *Historische Grammatik d. lat. Sprache*, p. 136, puts our D as his first example under the head of the Jussive, Hortative, or (true) Optative, and accounts for *non* as modifying, not the sentence as a whole, but the single word *velis*. The same explanation seems to be meant, p. 123, for C, which is translated by "so bald man tot ist, soll man es ganz sein." And the same is explicitly suggested by Antoine and Lallier as possible for I. See below, at the end of 4.

3. The Subjunctive is Permissive. Thus Elmer, on example H, says, "*rideas, bibas*, etc.: subj. of permission, involving the yielding of somebody's will; to be carefully distinguished from the potential."

4. The Subjunctive is Potential. It is by the Potential formula ("you can laugh, drink your wine before him," etc.) that Morris H. Morgan, in his translation of the *Phormio* (1904), renders these same Subjunctives which Elmer tells us are "to be carefully distinguished from the potential." The express word "Potential" is used of one or another of our examples by many commentators. Thus Dillenburger (my edition is of 1867) both affirms this explanation and denies 1 above, in the note: "*sis non per anacoluthiam positum est pro es, quasi praecederet nil satis esse ait, quia, sed est potentialis modus, ut apud Lucilium*." Likewise G. Krüger, who in the edition of 1876 explained *sis* in A as due to

Oratio Obliqua, explains it in the edition of 1889 as Potential. This same explanation is given by Lucian Müller (1891) for A and B, by Blase *op. cit.*, p. 142, for B, by Schütz *op. cit.* for G, and by Schmalz *Bell. Cat.* (my edition is of 1885) for J.

Unfortunately this word "Potential," as used in our grammars, is ambiguous. It includes meanings so far apart, at their extremes, as "may possibly" or "can," and "would certainly." The former idea alone should bear the name Potential, while the other (seen most easily in the common Subjunctive conclusion) should bear some name like that of Ideal Certainty, which I have given it in my own grammatical writing.¹ It is the true Potential use, apparently, that Krüger and Müller have in mind, and likewise Freeman and Sloman upon our example D. This, at any rate, is what is meant by Greenough and Daniell in their Sallust, in the note upon *persequare* in our example I. The translation given is "one may prosecute," and the reference (Allen and Greenough *Grammar* 311a) is to the statement, "The Potential Subjunctive is used to denote an action not as actually performed, but as possible." Similarly Antoine and Lallier, *Salluste, Conjuration de Catilina* (1888), write in their commentary: "*persequare* pourrait être un subjonctif impératif, puisque le sujet est indéterminé; mais en réalité, comme le note M. P. Thomas, c'est le subjonctif potentiel: 'on peut ne les poursuivre que lorsqu'ils sont accomplis.'"

5. The Subjunctive is that of Ideal Certainty. This is doubtless what Roby means in placing our example J under the "hypothetical Subjunctive," §1544 (cf. §1528 and 3). The corresponding English for our examples would then be "one would." This is also substantially what Kiessling means in saying, upon example G, "*valeas*, Konj. der gemilderten Behauptung, *ὅπως ἂν*," L. Müller in saying, upon the same example, "*valeas*; wie oft in Satiren und Episteln, urbane Milderung der Behauptung," Heinze, new edition (1906) of Kiessling's *Satires* of Horace, in saying, "*valeas* scil. si parvo vivas," Rolfe *op. cit.*, in saying, "*valeas*: potential subjunctive with an implied protasis, *si tenui*

¹Delbrück *Verg. Syntax* II, p. 371, and Brugmann *Kurze vergl. Gramm.* II, p. 584, while accepting my term, have misunderstood my meaning.

victu utaris," Palmer *op. cit.*, in saying, "*valeas*, a potential or modified future," Wickham *Satires, Epistles, and De arte poetica* of Horace, 1891, in saying, "*valeas*, potential," and Bennett *Cato Maior*, 1897, in his note upon L, "if you should be unable to practice this." This must likewise be what Wickham had in mind in saying of A, "the mood is probably the same as in the original, 'sis' = ἀν εἴης;" though I fancy that this is a restored original, not a known one. And this is also probably what Heinze means, *op. cit.*, in saying of the same example, "der potentiale Konjunktiv sis wie bei Petron. 77 *assem habeas assem valeas*." (It will be noticed that Heinze has abandoned Kiessling's explanation.)

6. The independent verb of example F, *unum quom noris, omnis noris*, is explained by at least two of the commentators as not a Subjunctive at all, but an Indicative of the future perfect. Thus Dziatzko says, "*noris* ist beidemal Fut. exact;" and Elmer gives the same view, with the reasoning which brings him to it, as follows; "*noris*: in both cases fut. perf. ind. equivalent to fut. If the first *noris* were the perf. subj. of an indefinite second person, we should have *omnis novisti*, instead of *omnis noris*."

The error of procedure in all these explanations is of a kind that shows itself again and again in the history of grammatical study. Those who have dealt with one or another example of a type have, in repeated instances, explained the example which they had before them, without stopping to make a *collection* of examples sufficient in number to enable a scientific inference of any kind to be drawn. The perfect method is, first, to make a complete collection, and then to study every example, in the light of all. Human life being, however, what it is, one must, until our work is better organized, be content with a fairly large collection. In making this, one must throw aside grammatical prepossessions, and admit all examples that would naturally seem to belong together. Further, it would be worth while to look, at least, at any sentences that might be found, in which ideas of the same general kind seemed to be expressed, but by a different mechanism. Further, and without any doubt, as much of the context of the Subjunctive examples as could possibly be illuminating should be added for each. Here again our prevailing

method is sadly defective. In a number of examples of the type which we are studying, the context immediately and irresistibly overthrows the explanations given. The material being thus gathered, every explanation that might account for one or more of the mass of examples, but would not account for all, or that in any example would fail to fit the context, should be rejected. The result of this process in the present instance will be the overthrow of all six of the explanations given for the examples cited above.

Assuming this for the moment to be the case, the next step should be to seek for an explanation that will explain all the examples, and that will be in harmony with the context in all. If one is thereby brought to believe in the existence of a construction not recognized by the grammars, one need not be alarmed, if one has confidence in the dispassionateness of the procedure that has brought him to his conclusion.

Finally, one may properly seek for a probable origin of the usage thus reached, out of some construction or constructions known actually to exist. The two steps, however,—the establishment of the existence of a construction, and the search for its origin,—may be entirely disconnected. Failure to take the second step successfully will not of itself invalidate the first. A number of constructions are surely known to exist of which the origins are not surely known. In the present case, however, both steps can, I think, be securely taken.

In the collection which follows, the examples are arranged by groups of ideas, or for convenience in reference:

1. At bona pars hominum, decepta cupidine falso
'Nil satis est,' inquit, 'quia tanti quantum habeas sis.'
Quid facias illi? Iubeas miserum esse libenter
Quatenus id facit. Hor. Sat. i. 1. 61.
2. Aurum adque ambitio specimen virtutis viriqueest.
Quantum habeas, tantum ipse *sies* tantique *habearis*; Lucil. *Schol.*
ad Iuv. iii. 143.
3. Mirum quin tu illo tecum divitias feras.
Ubi mortuos sis, ita *sis* ut nomen cluet; Plaut. *Trin.* 495.
4. Tarda sunt quae in commune expostulantur: privatam gratiam
statim mereare, statim *recipias*; Tac. *Ann.* i. 28. 21.

5. Nam si velis quod nondum vetitum est, *timeas* ne vetere: at si prohibita impune transcenteris, neque metus ultra neque pudor est; Tac. *Ann.* iii. 54. 10.
6. Quid in amicitia fieri oportet, quae tota veritate perpenditur? In qua nisi, ut dicitur, apertum pectus videas tuumque ostendas, nihil exploratum *habeas*; Cic. *Am.* 26. 97.
7. Mediocriterne causis nocent, cum adversariorum adiumenta confirmant? Si, quae sunt in iis invidiosa, invidiosiora faciunt, quantum est in eo tandem mali? Quid, si contumeliosius invehere, nonne a te iudices *abalienes*? Quid, si non intellegas te in iudices invehi, mediocre peccatum est? Quid, si causam relinquas, nihilne *noceas*? In ipsis autem argumentis si quid posueris aperte falsum nihilne *noceas*? Cic. *De or.* ii. 75, 303-306.
8. Liber captivos avis ferae consimilis est:
Semel fugiendi si datast occasio, satis est,
Numquam postilla *possis* prendere; Plaut. *Capt.* 116.
9. Nulla potest oculorum acies contenta tueri,
Nec porro quae cumque aëvo macieque senescunt,
Nec, mare quae independent, vesco sale saxa peresa
Quid quoque amittant in tempore cernere *possis*; Lucr. i. 324.
Similarly ii. 220, 763, 768; iii. 856, 1024; iv. 572, 1231; vi. 113.
Cf. the formulae *videre licet*, vi. 79; *licet cognoscere*, vi. 167, etc.
10. Hostes alienigenae aut oppressi serviunt aut recepti in amicitiam beneficio se obligatos putant: qui autem ex numero civium, dementia aliqua depravati, hostes patriae semel esse coeperunt, nec vi coercere nec beneficio placare *possis*; Cic. *Cat.* iv. 10. 22.
11. Sed tamen est decorus senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis composita et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, *possis* tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio; Cic. *Sen.* 9. 28.
12. Omnino si quicquam est decorum, nihil est profecto magis quam aequabilitas cum universae vitae, tum singularum actionum, quam conservare non *possis* (really an independent sentence) si aliorum naturam imitans omittas tuam; Cic. *Off.* i. 31. 111.
13. Ut non omnem frugem neque arborem in omni agro reperire *possis*, sic non omne facinus in omni vita nascitur; Cic. *Sex. Rosc.* 27. 75.
14. Matronae praeter faciem nil cernere *possis*,
Cetera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis;
* * * * *
Altera nil obstat: Cois tibi paene videre est,
Ut nudam, ne crure malo, ne sit pede turpi;

Metiri *possis* oculo latus. An tibi mavis
Insidias fieri pretiumque avellier ante
Quam mercem ostendi? Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 94, 95, and 101-105.

15. Vix credere *possis*
Quam sibi non sit amicus; Hor. *Sat.* i. 2. 19.
16. Accipe nunc, victus tenuis quae quantaque secum
Adferat. In primis *valeas* bene. Hor. *Sat.* ii. 2. 70.
17. Quanta cuiusque animo audacia natura aut moribus inest, tanta in
bello patere solet. Quem neque gloria neque pericula excitant,
nequiquam *hortere*; timor animi auribus officit; Sall. *Cat.* 58. 2.
18. Non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur:
vigilando, agundo, bene consulundo prospera omnia cedunt: ubi
soccordiae te atque ignaviae tradideris, nequiquam deos *implores*:
irati infestique sunt; Sall. *Cat.* 52. 29.
19. Nam cetera maleficia tum *persequare*, ubi facta sunt; hoc, nisi
proveris ne accidat, ubi evenit, frustra iudicia *implores*: capta
urbe nihil fit reliqui victis; Sall. *Cat.* 52. 4.
20. Siquoi mutuom quid dederis, fit pro proprio perditum:
Quom repetas, inimicum amicum *invenias* beneficio tuo; Plaut.
Trin. 1051.
21. Neque ego homines magis asinos numquam vidi: ita plagis costae
callent:
Quos quom ferias, tibi plus *noceas*. Eo enim ingenio hi sunt fla-
gritribae,
* * * * *
At faciem quom aspicias eorum, hau mali videntur; Plaut. *Pseud.* 136.
22. Sed' eccum incedit: at quom aspicias tristem, frugi *censeas*; Plaut.
Cas. 562. Similarly cum perventum est, tum *intellegas*; Cic.
Div. ii. 21. 48.
23. Tene asymbolum venire unctum atque lautum e balineis,
Otiosum ab animo, quom ille et cura et sumptu absumitur!
Dum tibi fit quod placeat, ille ringitur: tu *rideas*,
Prior *bibas*, prior *decumbas*; cena dubia adponitur; Ter. *Ph.* 339.
24. Abs quivis homine, quom est opus, beneficium accipere *gaudeas*;
Verum enim vero id demum iuuat, si, quem aequomst facere, is bene
facit; Ter. *Ad.* 254.
25. Minus placet magis quod suadetur: quod dissuadetur placet.
Quom inopiast, *cupias*: quando eius copias, tum non *velis*; *Trin.*
670.
26. CH. Vide modo ut hominem noveris. SY. Tamquam me: fieri
istuc solet;
Quod in manu teneas atque oculis videas, id *desideres*; *Trin.* 913.

27. Lippi illic oculi servos est simillumus.
Si non est, *nolis* esse neque *desideres* :
Si est, abstinere quin attingas non *queas*; Plaut. *Bacch.* 913.
28. De mortuis loquor, qui nulli sunt; nos, qui sumus, num aut cornibus caremus aut pinnis? Ecquis id dixerit? Certe nemo. Quid ita? Quia, cum id non habeas quod tibi nec usu nec natura sit aptum, non *careas*, etiamsi sentias te non habere; Cic. *Tusc.* i. 36. 87.
29. Unum quom noris, omnis *noris*; Ter. *Ph.* 265.
30. Licentiam *des* linguae, cum verum petas; Publil. 308. Similarly¹ 10, 78, 81, 88, 117, 185, 232, 233, 252, 285, 331, 361, 382, 394, 427, 468, 512, 530, 592, 635, 645; also, in perf. Subj., 126, 364.
31. Assem habeas, assem *valeas*; habes, habeberis; Petron. 77.²

We proceed to test, in the light of this collection, the explanations that have thus far been given for this and that example taken by itself.

1. The construction can not be that of the *Oratio Obliqua*. This explanation was forced, even in the case of the first example. To many of the others, it can not be applied at all. Thus 3 can not mean "you are thought to be dead," 4 "you are thought to receive at once," etc.

2. The Subjunctive can not be one of Command. Blase's explanation of *velis* in 25 seems to be due to a passing error of interpretation, and certainly can not be accepted. Even if it would there fit, however, it would not, by any stretching, fit in 1, 2, 32, and others. Lucilius, Horace, and Petronius do not mean to command a man *to be* worth just what he possesses.

The only possible theory that could make these constructions to be of "Jussive" origin would be that they began as ironical commands, like "cry for what you don't have," and (probably) the second verb in "go further and fare worse." But Blase presumably did not have this explanation in mind. And, in any case, it would be impossible, from such an origin, to account for the

¹ By the generally accepted readings. In a few cases, the MSS are divided.

² *Habes* is given in all of Bücheler's editions as the reading of the single MS (Paris. 7969) which has this passage, and is reaffirmed by Bücheler in a private letter. Omont has been good enough to report directly from the MS, to the same effect. The readings *habeas* and *habe*, respectively from the passage as repeated in Friedländer's notes (*habeas* in his text) and the Segebade and Lommatzsch *Lexicon Petronianum*, are errors, as I am assured by Friedländer and Lommatzsch. But of course it is the *habeberis* that has value for the present purpose.

negative, except by supposing the construction to have lost every vestige of its initial feeling, and to have *become* a statement of fact. This would bring us to the actual force for which I am contending, though by a very improbable route.¹

3. The Subjunctive can not be Permissive. The independent Subjunctive, if expressing the idea at all, would express Permission granted by the speaker. Such can not be the meaning in the example (23) for which Elmer gives this explanation. But, even if it were, it would be impossible to find the force in 1, 2, 3, etc. The meaning of 3, e. g., can not be "when you are dead, you are permitted to be dead in fact."

4. The Subjunctive can not be Potential, in the true sense. The true Potential is, to be sure, common enough in the second person singular indefinite. It indicates what lies within one's power, or within the possibilities of one's experience. Thus in Liv. xxii. 50. 9, *cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen ut si nihil obstat disicias* means, "by the use of the wedge-formation it lies within one's power to split this loose and disorganized line as if there were nothing in the way" (cf. *πλησίων ἀλλήλων· καὶ κεν διοιστεύσεις*, μ 102); and in Iuv. xiv. 41, *Catilinam quocumque in populo videas, quocumque sub axe* means "one may see (it lies within the possibilities of any man's experience to see) a Catiline in any nation, under any sky." It is also quite true that *persequare* of 19 might by itself be interpreted, with Greenough and Daniell, as Potential ("it lies within one's power to punish other ill deeds at once") and 4, with Blase, *op. cit.* p. 142, in a similar way. But such a translation would be forced for *frustra implores* (in the same passage, 19, with *persequare*), making it mean "it lies within one's power to implore in vain," or "one might perhaps implore in vain;" while it would be completely out of the question for such examples as 1, 2, and 3, making them mean "it lies within your power to be worth as much as you possess," "it lies within your power to be dead in fact," etc.

A special word needs to be said with regard to the examples with *possis*. In such cases, the grammarians and commentators,

¹ In Plut. *περὶ φιλοπλουτίας* VII, p. 526 O, *κέρδαινε καὶ φείδου καὶ τοσούτου νόμῳ σεαυτὸν ἄξιον, ὅσον ἂν ἔχῃς*, the advice is not ironical, but serious.

as Blase *op. cit.*, p. 142, upon our examples 8 and 9, and Munro upon 9, are too ready to give the explanation "Potential," confusing the meaning which the verb has in itself with the meaning of the mood employed in the particular instance. In *videas* of Verg. *Georg.* 1. 387, rightly cited by Blase in the same passage, the verb itself expresses the idea of seeing, while the *mood* conveys the idea of the possibility of that seeing. *Possis*, correspondingly, if the *mood* is to be really potential, would have to mean either "you have the power to have the power" or "it may possibly happen that you should have the power,"—meanings obviously out of the question here, and probably, in fact, nowhere occurring. It should be remembered, too, that by Roman idiom (apart from the usage which I am endeavoring to establish) the natural mood to use for *possum* in saying "one may" would be the Indicative, *potes*.

The only possible way in which to deal with *possis* by any of the categories hitherto recognized in our grammars would be by interpreting it as meaning "one would be able." This is the Subjunctive of Ideal Certainty, to which we pass.

5. The construction can not be one of Ideal Certainty ("you would"). Such an explanation would, in the absence of any other, tolerably explain *valeas* of 16 ("you would in that case be well"), and might, with some forcing, be held to account for several of the examples with *possis*, and also for 17 ("it would be useless to urge"), and for 22 ("you would think him good for something"); but it would be unreasonable for 1, 2, 3, and many others. The natural meaning can not be "one would be worth what one should possess," etc. Still less reasonable would it be for 21. The speaker is actually flogging the slaves as he speaks. He is in no frame of mind to say, "if one *should* flog them, one would hurt one's self worse than them." And, finally, the explanation is obviously impossible for *rideas*, *bibas*, and *decumbas* of 23. The meaning can not be, "his face is drawn with anxiety; you would laugh, you would drink before him, you would take your place at table before him."

The same reasoning would destroy any theory that should resort to the modified form of the Subjunctive of Ideal Certainty known as the "Subjunctive of Softened Assertion." This might,

though not without strain, be adopted for *velis* of 25 and *nolis* of 27 (making them correspond to *velim* and *nolim*), and in consequence be resorted to for *cupias* of 25, and even for *desideres* of 26 and 27. But it would not fit the equivalent of *desideres*, namely, *careas* of 28; and it obviously would be impossible to find such a meaning in any other of the examples.

6. The construction in all the examples except 29 is obviously not an Indicative one. Dziatzko and Elmer would therefore not be through with their difficulty after explaining the ambiguous form *noris* as a Future Perfect.

These six explanations are all that suggest themselves as possible to attempt, with the categories that we now have in the grammars. They prove to be insufficient. None of them will account for all the examples. Their extreme difficulty, and the unsatisfactoriness of the whole method of procedure, become very obvious, if one sums up one's impressions by recalling that different writers have given different explanations for the same examples, that the same writer has at different times given different explanations for the same example, that certain writers have been willing to admit either of two explanations for the same example, and that certain writers (as Blase in the case of *velis* of 25 and *valeas* of 31) have put under different explanations examples obviously similar.

We must then set up a new tenet of some kind. In reaching this, three factors are to be taken into the account.

1. The natural interpretation of the passage in each case. It is upon such interpretations that all grammatical categories must ultimately be based. In the present set of examples the natural interpretation is sure. If our minds were grammatically dispassionate, a judgment founded on the reasonable demands of meaning in such verbs as *sis* in 1, *habearis* in 2, *sis* in 3, *des* in 30, and many others, would see in these examples plain statements of a general *fact*. The only reasonable interpretations are: "a man is valued according to his possessions" (1, 2); "when you are dead, dead you are" (3); "when you ask for the truth, you give a man a chance to say anything he pleases" (30); etc. And

it is obviously an interpretation of this kind that Porphyrio had in mind in writing, in his comment upon *iubeas*, etc., of example 1, *relinque eum, inquit, qui miser est, quoniam deduci ab hac opinione non potest, quo minus putet tanti esse unumquemque, quantas divitias habet*. The direct form of the *opinio* would evidently be, *tanti est unusquisque, quantas divitias habet*.

2. If anywhere else we can find other modes of expression obviously conveying the same general class of ideas as any of our Subjunctives under examination, we should consider their suggestions.

Now it happens that many of our examples are *sententiae*. One of these *sententiae* is the very familiar one (appearing three times in our collection) upon the relation between a man's possessions and the estimation in which he is held. It can easily be matched.

Χρήματα, χρήματ' ἀνὴρ (scil. ἐστι), ὃς φᾶ κτεάνων θ' ἅμα λειφθεὶς καὶ φίλων; "Money, money (is) the man," he said, 'when robbed at once of goods and friends;' Pind. *Isthm.* 2. 11.

Οἱ γοῦν πατέρες τοῦτ' ἄνωγον τοῖς σφετέροις υἱεῖσι παραινοῦσιν, ἐπειδὴν εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν τάχιστα ἀφίκωνται τοῦ ἤδη φρονεῖν, ὥς δοκοῦσι, σκοπεῖν ὀπόθεν πλούσιοι ἔσονται, ὥς, ἂν μὲν τι ἔχῃς, ἀξίός του εἶ, ἐὰν δὲ μή, οὐδενός. *Ergx.* Pseudoplat. 396 C.

Non quare et unde, quid habeas, tantum rogant.

Ubique tanti quisque quantum habuit *fuit*; Sen. *Ep. Mor.* 115. 14. from the lost *Danae* of Euripides (Nauck. T. G. F; p. 324).

Pauper ubique *iacet*; Ov. *Fast.* 1. 218.

Dat census honores; Ov. *Am.* III. 8. 55 and *Fast.* 1. 217.

Quisquis habet nummos, *secura navigat aura*; Petron. 137.

Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca,

Tantum *habet* et fidei; Iuv. iii. 143.

Unde et illud proverbium: Quantum habebis, tantus *eris*; Augustin. *De disc. Christ.* 11. 12.

The second Greek example is an especially striking one, since, though the main sentence (a general one) is cast in the third person plural, the general second singular indefinite is retained in the dependent clause, and is in the Indicative. The phrase *illud proverbium* in the last example should also be noted.

It would seem, then, that the natural idea to come into the

mind in expressing the relation between a man's money and the estimation in which the world holds him is that of a general statement of fact.

Several of the examples refer to individual persons. Now among them are certain ones in which the ideas, down to the end of the introductory clause, look alike. Thus *at quom aspicias tristem* of 22 is substantially like *at faciem quom aspicias eorum* of 21. It would seem somewhat probable, then, that the concluding clauses would express similar ideas. These clauses are *frugi censeas* and *hau mali videntur*. They prove, as expected, to be alike in general force. It is probable, then, that the *mood-force* is the same, namely, that of a statement of fact.

These are the first factors in the determination of the nature of the idiom under discussion. The most natural interpretation to put upon these Subjunctives, whether in and by themselves, or in the light of the expression of the same general ideas by other means, is that they are statements of fact.

3. The third factor in the determination of the force of the mood lies in the study of the context of such of the examples as possess a closely attached one, of the same general bearing. This factor is of the same essential nature as the second, but is more decisive. It is, in fact, completely sufficient, by itself alone, to determine the answer to our question. It happens that in many cases the Subjunctive under examination is put into exact parallelism with a general statement of fact in the Indicative. Thus, in 8, *possis* is the amplification of *satis est* (not *sit*); in 5, *timeas* is balanced against *neque metus . . . est*, and, in 18, *prospera omnia cedunt* against *nequiquam deos implores*; in 24, *gaudeas* is set up as the antithesis of *iuvat*; in 23, *rideas*, *bibas*, and *decumbas* are hemmed in between the two general statements *ringitur* and *adponitur*, with the parallelism still more strongly brought out by the antithesis *ille . . . tu . . .*; in 19, *frustra iudicia implores* is justified by the general statement *fit*, and, in 20, the general statement *fit* by *invenias*; in 14, *matronae . . . nil cernere possis* is set over against *altera nil obstat*, and *videre est* is carried out by *metiri possis oculo*; in 9, *nulla potest oculorum acies . . . tueri* is clearly parallel to *nec*

cernere possis, and, in 13, *ut non in omni agro reperire possis* to *sic non in omni vita nascitur*; while in 17, not only is *hortere* balanced against a general statement *officit*, but the two together form the unfolding of the contents of the very significant Indicative *solet*, "it is regularly the case that." Note similarly *solet desideres* in 26. In 28, *careas* is balanced against *caremus*. In 7, *abalienes* and *nihilne noceas* (*bis*) are parallel with *mediocriterne nocent, quantum est mali*, and *mediocre peccatum est*. And, finally, in 31, the correspondence between *valeas* and *habeberis* is so obvious that I am almost ashamed to have printed anything of the present paper except the title and this example.

The condition of things being what has been seen, there can be no reasonable doubt that the second person singular of the Latin Subjunctive may be employed to make independent statements of a general fact.

Such a conclusion should afford a sensible relief. The variety of explanations adduced above as having been actually applied to one and another of these examples, the heavily forced character of some of them, even for the individual cases to which they are applied, the contradictory explanations made by different writers for the same examples, the shift of ground on the part of one writer,—all show how hard beset grammarians and commentators have been.

In the collections employed, only examples that are surely to be classified as statements of fact are given. Once established, however, the category fits many other examples more naturally than does the category of Possibility, or that of Ideal Certainty.

The more important step has been taken. It remains to see whether the second is possible,—whether a probable origin can be found for the Subjunctive construction. I have long taught the following:

The extremely common use of the Subjunctive of the second singular indefinite in generalizing assumptions (relative or temporal clauses, or express conditions) might well, in time, affect the mood of the main sentence. To express the generalizing idea

in the dependent clause, the verb in any person or number except the second singular indefinite was in the Indicative, but if it occurred in *this* form, then the mood was, by fixed force of habit, the Subjunctive. The Subjunctive would then seem to be a natural mood to use *wherever* the generalizing force was intended, if the second singular indefinite were employed. Just as elsewhere, in the expression of this idea, Indicative went with Indicative, so here it would seem natural that Subjunctive should go with Subjunctive. If, saying *quod quis in manu tenet*, one goes on with *id desiderat*, then, saying *quod in manu teneas*, it would be natural to go on with *id desideres*.

This influence would be all the stronger from the fact that, whatever may have been the original force of the Subjunctive in these dependent clauses,¹ that force could no longer be clearly felt. The Subjunctive of the second singular indefinite had become merely the *sign of universality*. Why, then, should it remain confined to the subordinate clause?

This natural tendency toward extension would probably be furthered by the fact that the same second person singular indefinite happens to be in frequent use in a number of true independent Subjunctive idioms. Thus it is found in the Subjunctive Question of Perplexity, as in *quid agas?* "what is one to do?" Iuv. iv. 14; in the Question of Obligation, Propriety, or Reasonableness (to avail myself of a classification and name from own teaching),²

¹ I believe the construction to have originated in a Volitive of the imagination, as in "lose your money, and all your friends desert you" (not, as seems everywhere assumed, in the Potential Subjunctive); and I have so classed it in the syntax of the Hale-Buck *Grammar*, §504. 2. But a treatment of this question would properly involve a discussion of the Greek generalizing Subjunctive (which I hold to be of parallel origin), and a discussion of my difference from Delbrück with regard to an important group of Greek constructions, for which this paper affords no room.

² The Subjunctive of Obligation, Propriety, or Reasonableness, first set up as a general category in my teaching at Cornell, is made one of the principal families of the mood in my general scheme, and several of the hitherto difficult types of dependent clauses seem to find full solution in it (Hale-Buck *Grammar*, §§512, 513; also *Classical Journal* I. 1. 1905, "An Experiment in the Teaching of First and Second Year Latin," where a conspectus is given of the uses of the Latin Subjunctive, classified according to origins). Not only is the mood-use a frequent one, but, in my opinion, it furnishes the missing link between the true Optative and the Optative (Latin Subjunctive) of Natural Likelihood, Possibility, or Ideal Certainty. (See my "Leading Mood-Forces in the Indo-European Parent Speech," *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* XXXII. p. cxx [1901].)

as in *cur tamen corripias?* "Why should one chide her?" Iuv. x. 291; and in the form of statement which lies in the neutral territory of Natural Likelihood, Possibility, and Ideal Certainty, as in *crederes victos*, "one might well think them conquered," "one might think them conquered," "one would think them conquered," Liv. ii. 43. 9. The combination of these influences with the one already mentioned might well have led the Romans to feel that, whatever mood-feeling they had to convey, the Subjunctive was the natural mood to use, if the person was the second singular indefinite. But, most of all (after the primary cause), the natural tendency to extend the idiom would be strengthened by the very frequent occurrence of a construction which, though evidently of true Potential origin, clearly suggests and implies fact. Thus Juvenal's Potential in *Catilinam quocumque in populo videas, quocumque sub axe*," "one may see a Catiline in any nation, under any sky," xiv. 41, easily suggests "one sees" That which is said to be anywhere and everywhere possible is easily understood as anywhere and everywhere taking place. The number of examples of this type (*videas, cernas*, etc.) is very large. An especially instructive set is afforded by *reperias*. I give three of these in sequence:

Quamvis malam rem quaeras, illic reperias; Plaut. *Trin.* 554.

Per pol quam paucos reperias meretricibus

Fidelis evenire amatores, Syra; Ter. *Hec.* 58.

Ut enim sunt, quem ad modum supra dixi, qui urbanis rebus bellicas anteponant, sic reperias multos, quibus periculosa et calida consilia quietis et cogitatis splendidiora et maiora videantur; Cic. *Off.* i. 24. 82.

In the first of these, "one may find it there," may suggest "one finds it there." In the second, "how few one can find," strongly suggests "how few one finds;" while in the third, *reperias quibus* is put into formal parallelism with the general statement *sunt qui*, "there are people who" *Reperias* accordingly is completely ready, at any rate, to convey the idea of fact.

So much for the construction under examination. An independent use of the Subjunctive to express statements—assertions of fact—in the second person singular indefinite, exists; and it

probably is historically an extension from other constructions in which the Subjunctive had, originally, true-mood forces.¹

But did the construction become universal, where the idea of a general statement of fact was to be conveyed, and the second singular indefinite was to be used? It seems not. The older usage, which of course must have been that of the Indicative mood, still survived. In the future, the idea had necessarily to be expressed by the Indicative if expressed at all, since the independent Anticipatory Subjunctive had disappeared, wholly or almost wholly, from the language. But there are also examples of the present.

EXAMPLES OF THE PRESENT INDICATIVE²

Nescis quid vesper serus vehat; Varro *Sat. Men. ap. Gell. xiii. 11. 1*; similarly, but without *serus*, in Macrobius i. 7. 12, and ii. 8. 2. (It would seem that *nescis* must be general, since in all three passages the sentence to which it belongs is given as the title of a book.)

Bis peccas, cum peccanti obsequium commodas; Publil. 52.

Cum das avaro praemium ut noceat *rogas*; Publil. 122. Similarly 658.³

Ita, si silenda feceris, factum ipsum (*scil. culpatur*), si laudanda non sileas, ipse *culparis*; Plin. *Ep. i. 8. 15*.

EXAMPLES OF THE FUTURE INDICATIVE

Quantumvis quare sit macer *invenies*; Catull. 89. 6.

Nulli facilius quam malo *invenies* parem; Publil. 395.⁴

Facile *invenies* qui bene faciant, cum qui fecerunt coles; Publil. 664.⁴

. . . . divitiae et opes, quas facilius *invenies* qui vituperet quam qui fastidiat; Tac. *Dial. 8*.

¹Hence in my grammatical scheme, referred to above, this use is placed under the distinct heading of "Subjunctive Constructions Due to the Influence of Other Constructions."

²Examples are not given from the satiric poets, since they appear often to have been addressing, either through a long passage or for the moment, an imagined *individual* (cf. our "gentle reader"), and the exact discrimination of force is therefore uncertain for the Indicative mood. See, for instance, in 14 above, and cf. Lebreton *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron*, pp. 349 ff.

³Publilius's Indicatives in the *dependent* second person singular indefinite are interesting, and will be treated, as well as Blase's view that there is no second person singular Subjunctive of Indefiniteness in dependent Clauses (*Studien u. Kritiken* II, pp. 5-8, 1906), in a later paper already indicated.

⁴In the light of the other examples given, Wölfflin's "emendation" to *invenias* is clearly unnecessary.

Ideo autem (apes) pungunt, quia ubicumque dulce est, ibi et acidum *invenies*; Petron. 56.

Assem habeas, assem valeas: habes, *habeberis*; Petron. 77.

Unde et illud proverbium: Quantum habebis, tantus *eris*; Augustin. *De disc. Christ.* 11. 12.

My collections for all these idioms are the result of chance happenings upon examples, not of methodical search over the whole ground. They make it fairly clear, however, that the Subjunctive is distinctly common, the Present Indicative, outside of Publilius and the satiric poets (see the last footnote but two), very rare. The statement in the Hale-Buck *Grammar* is accordingly not strong enough. For "sometimes," "regularly" should be substituted. It should be noted also that, of the various verbs employed in the Subjunctive idiom, *possis*, "one can," seems to be in largest use.

Finally, can any definition be made of the difference between the Subjunctive and Indicative idioms? The question may be answered as follows:

In the Subjunctive construction, the mood is a *sign* of generality. In the Indicative construction, the mood is *not* a sign of generality. One *feels* generality, if the context demands it; but it is not hinted at by the mood itself. The difference in the idioms is like the difference between English "you" and "one." "You" may turn out to be either individual or general. "One" is immediately and necessarily general. Compare the "Tacit causal *qui*-clause," Indicative, and the "Explicit causal *qui*-clause," Subjunctive (Hale, *Cum-constructions*, pp. 97, 112 f., or 107, 127 f. of the German translation).

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A NEW FRAGMENT OF APOLLODORUS OF CARYSTUS

BY MINTON WARREN

While in Rome last spring I discovered five manuscripts containing the Commentary of Donatus to Terence, which have not been used by Wessner in his recent edition. One of these is in the Vatican library (Pal. Lat. 1629) and three in the Corsini library (43. E. 28, 43, G. 13 and 43, G. 23). The most important of them all is in the library of Prince Chigi and is numbered H. VII. 240. I designate it as K.¹ The order of the plays in the Commentary is *Andria*, *Adelphoe*, *Eunuchus*, *Hecyra*, and *Phormio*. This order was apparently followed in the principal codex of Donatus, the Parisinus 7920 (A) of the eleventh century, which unfortunately only contains the *Andria* and a small portion of the *Adelphoe*. This must also have been the order of the manuscript used by Priscian in his treatise *De metris Terentii* (cf. Keil III, p. 422), except, of course, that the *Heautontimorumenos* which follows the *Eunuchus* is not omitted. In many of its readings, both correct and incorrect, K coincides closely with A. In other respects, and where A is lacking, it agrees more nearly with V, especially in the preservation of Greek words and citations, which most of the manuscripts of Donatus omit.

Especially noteworthy in this respect is the comment on *Hecyra* 620, which Wessner prints as follows: *NOS IAM FABVLAE SVMVS ἀμαυρά*, but *ἀμαυρά* is the emendation of Schoell. B, the only manuscript which has kept any trace of the Greek, has *NANPA*. Here K has:

Nos iam f. s. ~~παρ~~ πὰν ἀρσομοδο
ρο μίθος ἴσμεν δὴ πᾶμφιλε γραυτ γιρον.

The first word *παρ* has been crossed out. I give only the accents found in the text, but it is impossible to give the exact form of the letters. *γιρον* evidently stands for *γέρων*.

¹ A fuller treatment of K and of the other MSS will appear in Vol. XVII of *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.

The manuscripts of Terence give *postremo nos iam fabulae sumus*, *Pamphile*, "*senex atque anus*;" but recent editors almost without exception read *fabula*, following Guyet, who supports the change with this comment:

Libri manuscripti et editiones omnes habent *fabulae* cum *ae* sed *fabula* in singulari omnino rescribendum videtur, id est, O Pamphile, ego et Sostrata iam sumus *fabula* senex atque anus, id est eo iam per senectutem devenimus ut simus *fabula* illa quae incipit, *Senex atque anus*. Nota sunt fabularum argumenta ex Aesopo et aliis, γέρων καὶ γραῦς, ὄρνις καὶ ἀλώπηξ. τὸ *fabula* singulare, in plurale *fabulae* mutatum est propter pluralia illa *nos* et *sumus*, et praeterea propter duo singularia illa *senex atque anus*, quibus itidem necessario pluralem numerum interpolatores adiungi oportere arbitrati sunt.

The reading *fabula* is absolutely necessary if we accept the verse division of the Bembinus, which makes it a trochaic octonarius:

É medio aequom excédere est; postrémo nos iam fábula sumus.

Compare Meissner *Die Cantica des Terenz*, p. 575. Moreover it receives strong confirmation from the original Greek, which seems to have been, changing δὴ to ἤδη and γιρον to γέρων,

ὁ μῦθος ἐσμεν Πάμφιλ' ἤδη γραῦς γέρων.¹

To take up now the letters preceding ὁ μῦθος, I regard *ασομοδορ* as the result of successive corruptions of Apollodorus written now with Greek, now with Latin letters. In the Commentary on *Phormio* 87 this is written in K *Appollodor'*. The abbreviation would account for the loss of *us* at the end. Compare *ηθικ'* for *ἠθικῶς* in K *Hec.* 550, where B has ΗΘΙΚΝ, V *ἠθικῇ*. The two

¹ Other possibilities are ὁ μῦθος ἐσμεν δὴ γέρων γραῦς Πάμφιλε, or making the verse trochaic as in Terence (παρτελῶς) ὁ μῦθος ἐσμεν δὴ γέρων γραῦς Πάμφιλε, or (παρτελῶς) ὁ μῦθος ἐσμεν Πάμφιλ' ἤδη γραῦς γέρων, where παρτελῶς is simply inserted to fill out the metre.

For the asyndeton *γραῦς γέρων* I know of no exact parallel. One would certainly expect *καὶ* to correspond to *atque* in Terence. The order of Terence *senex atque anus*, as that of Apollodorus, is conditioned by the metre. I should hesitate to substitute a shorter name for Πάμφιλε to make room for *καὶ*, for Terence seems to have taken the name Pamphilus from Apollodorus as he did Syra. Compare Kock III, p. 283, frag. 8. In the verse as given above *ἤδη* = *iam*, but there is no equivalent for *postremo*. Possibly τὸ δὲ πέρας was used at the end of the previous line. It occurs at the end of a trimeter (Kock III, p. 292, l. 13) cited by Stobaeus from Apollodorus. Meineke, in his *Index comicae dictionis*, p. 829, translates τὸ πέρας by *postremo*, and Terence may have done the same.

p's might account for two letters *ρσ*, of which the *ρ* would stand for *p*, as in the curious corruption *et pipides* for *Εὐριπίδης* in both K and V *Hec.* 214, and in *And.* 406, where for *αἶροντες* A has *Alpontes*, B *AYpontes*, TC and also K . . . *pontes*. *μ* is a corruption of *λλ*, and the corruption may have been a very old one, just as in *And.* 57 for *mira ἔλλειψις* (probably written as often *ἔλλειψις*) we have in K *mire musis*, in TC *mire missis*, and in A *mire misis*, so that the corruption goes back to an archetype earlier than the eleventh century.

The letters given by Wessner for B (= Cod. Vat. Reg. 1496 s. xv) NANPA seem at first sight to be very unlike the first five letters in K *παρπα(ν)*, but if we notice the following corruptions found in B: *And.* 447 TONNPENON for *τὸ πρέπον*, *And.* 350 ENI for *ΕΠΙ*, *And.* 798 TPENON for *πρέπον*, *Eun.* Praefatio 1. 8 TPOCONON for *πρόσωπον*, *Eun.* 14 TPANPOCARYAN for *παρὰ προσδοκίαν*, *Eun.* 405 TOCIIONHSIS for *ἀποσιώπησις*; and if we notice that in A also we have *And.* 423 ANCTÝXen, where B has correctly ATETÝXEN; in *And.* 696 NAPADOΞWC, where B correctly ΠΑΡΑ ———; in *And.* 950 aNOTOY, where B correctly ATOTOY = *ἀπὸ τοῦ*, while C has *anotoi*, T *anota*, we must conclude that in the archetype of all these manuscripts the forms of Π and Ν were easily confused. Consequently, NANPA might easily be a corruption of *παρπα(ν)*. As *παρ* is crossed out in K, the archetype may have had *παρ^{αν}*, which led first to the writing of *παρ*, and then of the supposed correction *παν*. For the origin of this *παρ* or *παν*, however, as Greek I have no plausible suggestion. *παρ' Ἀπολλοδόρῳ*, which would be in place in a Greek scholion, does not agree with Donatus' usual method of citation. For the same reason *πᾶν* cannot be accepted as a translation of *totum* (*Apollodori*); cf. *Hec.* 286. Moreover Donatus always places the name of an author whom he quotes before the quotation, not after one or more words. The Greek letters must then stand for Latin letters, and their explanation is not far to seek. We have seen that the Greek verse is translated by *nos iam fabula sumus Pamphile senex atque anus*. According to Wessner, *FABVLAE SVMVS* is written out in full in his MSS, but in K it is represented by *f. s.* At some stage in the trans-

mission the words after *fabulae* must have been indicated by *s. p. s. a. an'* or by *s. p. s. a. an.*; for often the first two letters of a word were written. Compare Wessner II. 229. 2, *LI. CO*, which the MSS have changed to *loco*; Wessner II. 230. 2, *ab. s.* changed in MSS to *abis*; Wessner I. 142. 21, *du. i.* in B for *dubium id.* Often, however, these initial letters, which had no meaning for the ignorant scribe, drop out, especially when the same letter is repeated, and thus *p. s. a. an* was reduced to *p. a. n.*, and then written *pan*, and finally *παν* before Apollodorus, written in Greek letters. This accounts for *παν* in K and for *NAN* in B (*NANPA*). *PA* may be due to transposition of the first two letters of *αρσομοδορ*. As we find Wessner I. 239. 3, *parato ole in* in A (*parato olein* K), but *παπατο ολεμ* in B, this representation of Latin letters by Greek in a late MS need not surprise us. So in V for *An ἀφαίρεσις* Wessner I. 405. 1, we find *ἀνάφερεσις*, while in C we have *anae. p. c. e. i. c.*, as if these were so many initials. Of this latter phenomenon there are innumerable instances. Sometimes it is only partial. Thus for the same word *παράλειψις* we find in C, Wessner II. 264. 21, *n. a. pA. AH. VY. IC*, and 273. 22 in B, *na pa HYIC*, in both cases *n* for *π* as in *NANPA*. Moreover, I believe the *σ* in *αρσομοδορ* is due to the fact that some scribe noticed that *s.* for *senex* after *P* for *Pamphile* had fallen out, and he inserted it carelessly after the wrong *P* (*ρ*).¹

I believe I have thus satisfactorily accounted for the corruptions existing in the passage. In conclusion, I must thank Wessner for the painstaking accuracy with which he has recorded minutiae in his critical apparatus, without which my proof, if proof it be, would have been impossible.

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¹ In the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* XXXIV, p. xliii, I have shown how by a similar error in Cicero *Brutus*, § 75, *bellum^{oo} punicum* (i. e. correction to *poenicum*) was copied *bellum punicum*, then *punico eum*, and finally *bello punico eum*, the reading of our MSS.

SYLLABIFICATION IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

BY WALTER DENNISON

Since the time when the "quantitative" method of pronouncing Latin was first adopted in America, much study has in this country been given to questions relating to the actual speech of the Romans. Thus such subjects as the correct reading of Latin poetry, the reconciliation of word accent and verse ictus, the mode of pronouncing elided syllables, and the admission of elision into prose, have commanded respectful, and even enthusiastic, attention. It is with a question relating to the pronunciation of Latin that the present paper also has to deal.

A rule of pronunciation, resulting from a misunderstanding of the Roman grammarians, a rule that has been perpetuated for eighteen centuries and finds expression still in nearly all of our grammars, is that in dividing the syllables of a word the Romans placed with a following vowel as many consonants as may stand at the beginning of a word in Latin (or in Greek); that, for example, the correct division in the following words was *fru-ctus*, *ma-gnus*, *o-mnis*, *i-pse*, *nu-ptus*, *lu-scus*, *pro-spera*, *maie-stas*, *no-stri*. Such groups of consonants are *bd*, *cm*, *cn*, *ct* (*nct*), *dn*, *gn*, *mn*, *pn*, *ps* (*mps*), *pt* (*mpt*), *sb*, *scl*, *sm*, *sp*, *st* (*nst*), *str*.

The statements of the grammarians on this point are accepted by Seelmann,¹ who introduces as supposed confirmative proof the evidence also of the Romance languages and of a few inscriptions. In 1896 Professor William Gardner Hale² showed that the doctrine of syllabification was based upon a misunderstanding of the grammarians, and that the evidence presented by Seelmann, especially the epigraphic evidence, was in reality damaging to the theory which Seelmann himself upheld. Professor Hale's position may be best defined by quoting his own language (pp. 251 f.):

My own conception is that the particular statements of the Roman grammarians on which the received doctrine is founded represented

¹ *Die Aussprache des Latein* (Heilbronn, 1885), pp. 132-48.

² *Harv. Stud.* VII (1896), pp. 249-71.

neither the facts of Greek pronunciation nor the facts of Roman pronunciation, but had their origin in a mere practical rule,—admirably simple and easy of application,—devised by some Greek grammarian for the division of words *in writing*, when one was near the end of the line and had room for a part of a word only; that this rule was adopted bodily by the Roman grammarians; that the Roman grammarians mostly, in discussing the matter, were not thinking of pronunciation at all, though if *asked* how they pronounced, would doubtless have answered: “As we write;” that, nevertheless, a few of them did think of it, probably drawing the false inference, natural enough to anyone except a trained phonetist, that, as writing and pronunciation conformed in most respects in Latin, so also they conformed in this.

In support of this position Professor Hale discusses the statements of Roman writers from Quintilian through Caper, Caesellius, Servius, and Priscian to Bede, and dwells upon the point that the use of such phrases as *in scribendo*, *in scriptura*, *si scribis*, which these grammarians employ when they touch upon the syllabic division of the disputed combinations *sp*, *st*, *pt*, etc., shows that they were thinking merely of *orthographic* division; in other words, that they were thinking of the division employed in writing the word down, not the division observed in actual pronunciation. Priscian and Bede, however, may, he thinks, have had phonetic division also in mind with more or less distinctness; the former, in stating (translating) the doctrine of Herodian for the treatment of a preposition in composition, uses the phrase *rationabilius esse sonoriusque* (II, p. 45 K);¹ while the latter, who is too late to be a witness, expressly says, *cum dicis sive scribis* (VII, p. 273 K; cf. p. 279). As additional proof of his thesis, Professor Hale adduces (1) the pronunciation of modern Italian, about which his observation is contrary to the verdict of the phonetists,² (2) fifty-seven instances of interpunctuation in inscriptions, e. g., in the word VIC·TO·RI, (3) the general impression produced by the examination of some five hundred inscriptions in which divisions of words between lines occur, and

¹ Professor Hale *op. cit.*, p. 268, points out that in his *Partitiones XII versuum Aeneidos* III, pp. 478 ff. K), Priscian, according to the manuscripts, violates his own rule in two cases out of the three involved (*om-nes*, *infrac-tos*, *si-gnum*), and thus probably betrays his own actual pronunciation.

² Skutsch *Krit. Jahresb. üb. d. Fortschr. d. roman. Philologie* IV. 1. 89, expresses his agreement with Hale's observation.

(4) the testimony of Latin poetry. At some later time he will present also evidence gathered from early manuscripts.

At Professor Hale's request, as mentioned in his paper, I furnished a part of the evidence from interpunctuation and the general results of my examination of the five hundred inscriptions involving word-division. The present article attempts to set forth the evidence of these two kinds, that is, the entire epigraphic evidence bearing on the question, in a practically complete form.¹ This evidence is mainly statistical, but a presentation of it will perhaps be tolerated, since it is apparently conclusive.

Two classes of inscriptions may be consulted for help. We have, in the first place, a small number which indicate the division of syllables by interpunctuation, as, e. g., *CIL.* VI. 26353:

D M
M · SER·TO·RI·VS
CRES·CES
AE·LIE · TY·CE·NI
CO·IV·GI · OP·TI·ME
FE·CIT

A separate study of this kind of evidence is made below (pp 64 ff.).

Secondly, there are some thousands of inscriptions which divide words between lines, as in *CIL.* VI. 22105:

D M
M · MARCIO · TERMI
NALI · IVLIA MODES
TA · FRATRI · DVLCIS
SIMO · BENE MERENTI·
FECIT

The principle of division followed by the Roman stonecutter could be revealed on an examination of a large number of such

¹The epigraphic evidence has never extensively occupied the attention of scholars. Schneider *Elementarbuch der lateinischen Sprache* 1, p. 763, in a long discussion of syllabification (pp. 763-91) summarily dismisses the inscriptions as offering only careless or accidental instances of word-division. Kühner *Ausführliche Grammatik* I, pp. 155-58, also devotes a long section to this subject, but his statement regarding usage in inscriptions is incorrect, namely, that word-division in them is "ganz willkürlich." Lindsay *Latin Language*, p. 125, Bennett *Appendix*, p. 31, and Sommer *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (Heidelberg, 1902), pp. 312, 313, refer briefly to the epigraphic testimony cited by Seelmann. The real significance of the inscriptional evidence was first pointed out in the article of Hale referred to above.

inscriptions. But it is reasonable to suppose at the outset that the average Roman workman would make such line-divisions as seemed to him natural ones, not divisions which conformed with the technical rules laid down by the grammarians. In other words, these divisions would probably show the syllabification current in actual Roman speech, not the syllabification observed in formal writing. Now from literary sources it is perfectly clear that even in the time of Augustus words were not always spoken just as they were written, and that in some cases the grammarians taught a mode of writing that did not represent the true mode of speaking;¹ while there were also those who opposed this teaching, and believed that a Roman should write a word precisely as he spoke it.²

In dealing with this question it was necessary at first to determine whether any principle of division at all was observed in inscriptions, that is, to discover whether the divisions at the ends of lines were haphazard, or whether in the large majority of cases they followed some rule. At the outset, therefore, I tested inscriptions whose line-divisions involve the application of accepted rules of syllabification as, for example, the rule that a single consonant between two vowels is placed with the latter vowel, or the rule that doubled consonants are separated. If I find these accepted rules commonly observed, it would seem justifiable to conclude that whatever divisions occur in the disputed combinations indicate the current and correct syllabification.

The methods employed in collecting evidence and the extent of ground which this investigation covers may be briefly stated. I confined myself naturally to epigraphic evidence of Italian *provenance*. The volumes of the *Corpus*, upon which the following results are based, were therefore IV; V. 1. 2; VI. 1. 2. 3. 4., 4_n; IX; X. 1. 2; XI. 1. 2; XIV; including the parts of the *Ephemeris Epigraphica* supplementary to these volumes. The

¹Of. the writing, advocated by the grammarians, of *bs* (as in *urbs*) and *bt* (as in *obtineo*) which does not represent, of course, the real pronunciation.

²Suetonius *Aug.* 88: *Orthographiam, id est formulam rationemque scribendi a grammaticis institutam, non adeo custodit (Augustus) ac videtur eorum potius sequi opinionem, qui perinde scribendum ac loquamur existiment.* This remark follows the statement that in his own writing Augustus did not divide words at the ends of lines.

only use made of the first volume of the *Corpus* was to obtain data with reference to earlier inscriptions (see p. 63). The fourth volume was admitted because of the value that attaches to results obtained from cursive writing, in which the writer was perfectly free to divide a word as his own sense of correctness dictated. The *graffiti* published in *Bull. del Inst.* and *Notizie degli Scavi* since the appearance of *CIL*. IV were also examined. On the other hand, no attention was given to inscriptions appearing in the fifteenth volume of the *Corpus* or to those published in other volumes under the head of "Instrumentum domesticum," since inscriptions of this class are likely to have a monogrammatic character, the letters being disposed according to a given space or form. Several long inscriptions, of presumably Italian *provenance*, though appearing in other volumes than those already mentioned, were also tested, e. g., the *Aes. Malacitanum* (*CIL*. II. 1964), the *diplomata militaria*, etc. The whole number of inscriptions examined was about 80,000.

Within the limits thus set the investigation included such inscriptions only as have been copied from the original (usually still extant) or from a squeeze or photograph, by an editor of the *Corpus* or by some other trusted epigraphist. It was obviously necessary to exclude all inscriptions whose arrangement by line is not absolutely known.¹ To have examined critically those known from manuscripts only, with a view to determining the line-division, would have been a task not only difficult and often fruitless in itself, but, since existing material is so plentiful, useless as well. So, in the case of fragmentary inscriptions that have been restored either by conjecture or from early copies, instances of division are counted only when the restoration is made at but one end of the word and is practically certain. Other cases which I found it necessary to omit are words that have been

¹ It is perhaps needless to call attention to such notes as the following frequently appended to inscriptions now lost: "Versuum divisio incerta," IX. 5407. 5922; VI. 502. 696; "Versus aliter divisit Don.," XI. 1615; "male divisit Maur.," X. 372. Differences of versification in two copyists may be seen in IX. 410 (and p. 659). Occasionally the lost originals of previously copied inscriptions turn up later and show wide differences in versification, e. g., *CIL*. V. 1050 (and note p. 1025), 4896 (and note p. 1081); VI. 1662 (and Add. p. 854); X. 304 (and note p. 962). Copies made in modern times can not always be trusted; cf. *CIL*. X. 441 (and note p. 964), 3607 (and note p. 974).

misspelled or engraved incorrectly, as DVLCIS|MO; enclitics, as POSTERIS|QVE, or divisions that are plainly etymological, as PER|MISIT, *CIL.* VI. 10241, OP|TVLERIT, XIV. 3014; and uncertain readings, as in *CIL.* IV. 396. In brief, then, the attempt is here made to discover how words are divided at the ends of lines in perfect, extant inscriptions where copies have been made or verified by expert epigraphists.

As stated above it was necessary first to observe how the acknowledged rules of syllabification were treated by the Roman stonecutter. The results of this observation, based upon an examination of all eligible inscriptions found in Italy, are presented in two tables. In the first table instances of correct division are arranged under the following heads: (1) Diphthongs and vowels, e. g., *i-ae*, *i-ei*; (2) single consonants, e. g., *o-no*, *i-mo*; (3) mute and liquid, e. g., *a-tra*, *e-brae*; (4) two

A. FOLLOWING ACKNOWLEDGED RULES

Kinds of Division	Perfect Cases	Restored by Conjecture or from Early Copies	Total
Diphthongs and vowels	184	13	197
Single consonants.....	7,153	1,166	8,319
Mute and liquid	270	25	295
Two consonants—same	1,019	108	1,127
Two consonants—different..	1,816	299	2,115
Three consonants	53	9	62
Total	10,495	1,620	12,115

B. VIOLATING ACKNOWLEDGED RULES

Kinds of Division	Perfect Cases	Restored by Conjecture or from Early Copies	Total
Diphthongs and vowels	50	4	54
Single consonants.....	1,113	110	1,223
Mute and liquid	111	10	121
Two consonants—same	135	11	146
Two consonants—different..	451	40	491
Three consonants	29	3	32
Total	1,889	178	2,067

consonants, the same, e. g., *s-s*, *m-m*; (5) two consonants, different, e. g., *m-p*, *n-c*; (6) three consonants, e. g., *n-tr*, *m-pl*. In the second table, similarly classified, are instances of division which violate the acknowledged rules.

We thus observe that in a large number of extant, well-authenticated inscriptions containing words divided at the ends of lines there are 12,115 instances where the division follows the accepted rules for syllabification, and 2,067 instances where it does not; in other words, more than 84 per cent. of the sum total of these instances divide correctly. The percentages by volumes of the *Corpus* are: IV, 84 per cent.; V, 80 per cent.; VI, 87 per cent.; IX, 82 per cent.; X, 87 per cent., XI, 83 per cent.; XIV, 83 per cent.

Since, therefore, syllable-division in inscriptions conforms on the whole with acknowledged rules, we shall be justified in accepting the epigraphic evidence, whatever it is, which relates to syllabification in the consonant groups in question.

The evidence follows. The cases in question are arranged alphabetically, first, those which divide according to the received theory (the theory upheld by Seelmann); secondly, the instances which divide the consonants of the disputed groups between the preceding and the following vowel. The illustrations of the grammarians will be found interesting for purposes of comparison.¹

CN²

PHILOTE | CHNVS, VI. 19365.

AC | NELLVS, X. 4519.

CT³

ADAV | CTVS, VI. 17221, IX. 152; ADLE | CTO, *Eph. Epig.* VIII, 368; au | CTOR, X. 5670; CATAFRa | CTARIORVM, V. 6784; DO | CTOR, VI. 10183; EPI | CTE·TO, VI. 10681; EPI | CTESI, V. 4638; EPI | CTE·SIS, VI. 21278; EPI | CTETUS, VI. 11986; FA | CTAM, IX. 2827; FI | CTOSA, XIV. 2275; INDI | CTIONE, XI. 549; INVI | CTIS, V. 8032c; IREZE | CTESI, X. 2611; NO | CTIS, X. 7112; PERFE | CTOQVE, VI. 2078; PREFE | CTI, VI. 32006; STRV | CTO·RI, X. 1959; VI | CTORI, V. 5063; VI | CTORIA, X. 2482; VI | CTORIAE, X. 3076, XI. 2547; VI | CTORINAI, VI. 18703; BI | CTORINO, VI. 723.

¹ Illustrations of the grammarians involving a group of consonants not in this list are: *a-bdera*, *a-bdomen*, Priscian I, p. 42 H; *ab-ditur*, Servius in *Don.* IV. 427 K.

² Of the grammarians' illustrations, *Pyra-cmon*, *Al-cmene*, *dra-chma*, Priscian I, p. 42 H; *Pyra-cmon*, *Menae-chmus*, *id.* II, p. 112 H.

³ Illustrations cited by the grammarians are *Eri-chthonius*, Priscian I, p. 13 H; *a-ctus*, *le-ctus*, *id.* I, p. 42 H; *aspe-ctum*, *affe-ctum*, *affli-ctum*, Bede VII, p. 263 K; *conspe-ctus*, *id.* VII, p. 268 K; *fru-ctum*, *fa-ctum*, *fl-ctum*, *id.* VII, p. 278 K.

ac | TVS, VI. 1527; ADIEC | TO, X. 5796; ADLEC | TO, XI. 5215; AIEC | TE, VI. 19027; ATHIC | TVS, VI. 28562; AVC | TORI, X. 1126; BENEDIC | TA, XI. 3586; BENEDIC | TO, VI. 10192; CORREC | TORI, VI. 1768; DOC | TOR, VI. 533; AEPIC | TESINI, VI. 4585; EPIC | TESIS, X. 2864; EPIC | TETI, XIV. 636; EPIC | TETO, VI. 18711a; EPIC | TETVS, VI. 17212, X. 4130, XIV. 683; *EPIC* | *TE* — | *TVS*, IX. 5547; EVTAC | TVS, VI. 17571; EXSTRVC | TVRVS, VI. 1585b; *Fac* | TIONIS, VI. 10076; *fac* | TO, VI. 2075; *FAC* | TVM, XI. 1146; *FRVC* | TVOSO, VI. 7788; *FRVC* | *tus*, VI. 5040; *FRVC* | TVS, VI. 16199, 28808; GALAC | TINE, VI. 25912; *Indic* | TIONE, V. 5423; *invic* | TO, V. 4320; INVIC | TO, VI. 755, IX. 5997, X. 6816, 6925, XI. 6631; INVIC | TIS, V. 8030; LEC | *toR*, XI. 1704; LVC | TVM, VI. 18086; OC | TAVI, V. 6644; OC | TO, X. 4515; OC | TOB, V. 6730, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 880; OC | TOBRES, IX. 5684; OC | TVB (*sic*), XI. 1408; PEC | TVM, XI. 3571; PRAEFEC | TO, XI. 3367; PROTEC | TO, VI. 11998; SENEC | TAE, VI. 18086; SOC | TES, VI. 18919; SPEC | TATO, X. 2383; TRAC | TVS, IX. 334; VEC | TIGALI, XI. 1147; *VIC* | TOR, VI. 31841; *VIC* | TOR, VI. 16328; *VIC* | TOR, IX. 1291; *VIC* | TORI, V. 8030, VI. 1167, 13268; *VIC* | TORI, VI. 18683; *VIC* | TORIA, VI. 7977, 36011, X. 3455; *VIC* | TORIAE, VI. 8064, 20635; *VIC* | TORINA, XI. 6553a; *VIC* | TORINAE, XI. 2328; *BIC* | TORINAE, X. 1503; *VIC* | TORINE, XI. 2775; *VIC* | TORINO, VI. 8875, XI. 2539; *VIC* | TORINVS, V. 5058, X. 3459; *VIC* | *tori*NVS, XI. 6576; *VIC* | TORIS, X. 677.

CTR²

VIC | TRICI, VI. 531; *VIC* | TRICIS, XI. 5959.

NCT³

DEFVN | CTO, VI. 21342; FVN | CTI, V. 4055; *fun* | CTO, XI. 4214; FVN | CTus, VI. 33992; SAN | CTA, V. 1696; SAN | CTAE,¹ X. 2444, XIV. 6; SAN | cTE,¹ VI. 30738; SAN | ctISSIM,¹ XIV. 839; SAN | CTISSIMA,¹ X. 1909, XIV. 1509; SAN | CTISSIMAE,¹ VI. 7718, 16776, 20735, 22159, 28188, 29737, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 416; SAN | CTIS SIME,¹ VI. 35549; SAN | CTIS-SIMO,¹ VI. 13986, X. 5983; *san* | CTISSIMO,¹ VI. 18266; SAN | CTIS-SI-MO,¹ XIV. 440; *un* | CTIS, VI. 2075.

CVNC | TARVMQ., VI. 32051; FVNC | TA, XI. 2702; SANC | TAE, XI. 4967; SANC | TAES, VI. 18062a; SANC | TE, IX. 6150; SANC | TE, XI. 2702; SANC | TI, X. 4514; SANC | TISSI, IX. 3438; SANC | TISSIMAE, VI. 10761, 12537, 14289, 15641, 19173, 20327, 27945, XIV. 2202; SANC | TISSI MAE, VI. 28510; SANC | TISSIME, VI. 24101; SANC | TISSIMO, V. 3791, VI. 8954, IX. 888; SANC | TISSIMO, VI. 24436.

DN⁴

ARIA | DNE,⁵ VI. 28414.

¹ Cf. IN-VI-CITE, VI. 80, and note 4, p. 64.

² *Vi-ctrix* is the illustration given by Priscian I, p. 43 H.

³ The illustration, *defun-ctus*, is offered by Bede VII, p. 270 K.

⁴ Grammarians' illustrations are *Cy-dnus*, *Aria-dne*, Priscian I, p. 42 H; cf. *A-dmetus* and *Ae-tria*, *ibid.*

⁵ Cf. ARIADINE, VI. 21396.

GN¹

BENI | GNITATE, VI. 15860; CO | GNATO,² VI. 23849; CO | *gna*TVS, X. 5899; INDI | GNE, VI. 28523; INSI | GNIA, IX. 5684; MA | GNO, IV. 2174; MA | GNV, VI. 34635a; SI | *gnisque*, VI. 2086.

AG | NES, VI. 38476; ADSIG | NARETVR, XI. 1924; *ag* | NAM, VI. 2088; BENIG | NVS, V. 6464; BENIG | NISSIME, X. 4088; BENIG | NITATE, VI. 32420; COG | NATVS,³ VI. 2723; DESIG | NATVS, X. 6893; DIG | NATIONE, XI. 6335; DIG | NATVS, XIV. 2934; DIG | NISSIMAE, XI. 3368; DIG | NISSIME, V. 4850; DIG | *niss* IME, VI. 7142; DIG | NIT, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 101; DIG | *ni*TAT⁴EM, V. 532; EG | NATIVS, VI. 18374; *eg* | NATIVS, IX. 853; MAG | NA, VI. 15029; MAG | NI, X. 6893; MAG | NO, V. 3221; MAG | NO, VI. 32808; MAG | NIFICO, IX. 2237; TESSIG | NIVS, V. 805; TIG | NVARIOR, XIV. 418.

MN⁵

ALV | *mnae*, VI. 11380; ALV | MNAE, VI. 12402, 23450, 25468; ALV | MNE, VI. 19219; ALV | MNI, VI. 26294; ALV | MNO,⁶ VI. 3367, 8679, 13139, 17198, 21095, 35501, X. 2248; ALV | MNVS, XI. 1854; DO | MNINA, X. 3452; DO | MNIONI, VI. 3572; HY | MNIDI, VI. 21561; HY | MNO, X. 3048; HY | MNVS, V. 5557, VI. 20334, 28041; LE | MNO, VI. 6702; O | MNIA, VI. 3495; o | MNIS, IV. Suppl. I. *CLV*; SCY | MNVS, VI. 19074; SE | MNE, VI. 15986; SO | MNO, IX. 1393.

ALVM | NAE, VI. 21903, 22729; ALVM | NE, XIV. 530; ALVM | *ne*, XIV. 1481; *ALVM* | NIS, VI. 28929; ALVM | NO, VI. 5499, 10903, 13457, 25085, 27629, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 284; COLVM | NIS, IX. 2475, X. 7946; *colum* | NIS, VI. 207; OM | NES, VI. 21787, 32420; OM | NI, VI. 11252, X. 7112; OM | NIBVS, V. 4937, VI. 13208, X. 476, 5654, 5657, XI. 1148, 4097; *om* | NIVM, IX. 5071; CEM | NA, VI. 27246; SOLLEM | NITAS, XI. 5265; SOM | NO, V. 6730, IX. 1082, 1386, X. 4497, 4519, 4546; *som* | NO, X. 3302.

PN⁵

DA | PNEN, IX. 2574; HY | PNVS, VI. 12375.

DAPH | NVS,⁶ VI. 8855; THRECEDIP | NVS, VI. 14306.

¹ The illustrations of the grammarians are *ma-gnus*, *di-gnus*, *a-gnus*, *si-gna*, *pu-gna*, Terentianus Maur. VI, p. 352 K; *ma-gno*, Dositheus VII, p. 385 K; *ma-gnus*, Albinus VII, p. 305 K; *prae-gnantem*, *pi-gnus*, *di-gnus*, *id.* VII, p. 307 K; *prae-gnantem*, *pi-gnus*, *pu-gna*, Bede VII, p. 286 K; cf. *My-gdonides*, Priscian I, p. 42 H; *a-gmen*, *id.* I, p. 42 H, II, p. 112 H. *a-gmine*, Dositheus VII, p. 385 K.

² Cf. note 4, p. 65.

³ Illustrations of the grammarians are *a-mnis*, Servius in *Don.* IV, p. 427 K, Priscian I, p. 41 H, Marius Victorinus VI, p. 29 K, Terentianus Maurus VI, p. 351 K, Dositheus VII, p. 387 K; *o-mnis*, Terentianus Maurus VI, p. 351 K; *sole-mne*, Albinus VII, p. 310 K ("secundum Priscianum"); *solle-mne*, *so-mnium*, Bede VII, p. 289 K; *calu-mnia*, *colu-mna*, Bede VII, p. 268 K.

⁴ But cf. ALVM | MNO, VI. 18222, 29056; ALVM | MNVS, XIV. 222; ALVM | MNE, VI. 36234; ALVMPNVS, V. 6722.

⁵ The grammarians cite *Thera-pne*, *Si-phnus*, Priscian I, p. 42 H.

⁶ Cf. DA | FINE, XIV. 2841, which suggests that there was a pause between *f* and *n*.

PS¹

CONLAB | SAs, X. 6922; CONLAP | SVM, X. 4858; IP | SIS, X. 1402; IP | *sum*, V. 532; LAP | SVM, VI. 1179; VIP | SANIA, XIV. 1781.

MPS

COM | PSES, XI. 2288; *contem* | PSI, VI. 18659.

PT²

ADO | PTIONEM, VI. 2041; COE | PTVS, VI. 462; CONSCRI | PTIS, X. 3903; *corru* | PTAM, X. 8031; HYPO | PTO, VI. 26960; NE | PTVNO, X. 3412; *o* | PTIMVS, X. 1811; O | PTIONI, XI. 5646; PRAECE | PTORI, VI. 8979; SCRI | PTL, VI. 7582, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 210; SE | PTIMIVS, VI. 20653; THRE | PTO, VI. 2334, IX. 6184; THRE | PTVS, XIV. 668.

ACCEP | TORE, VI. 10050; ADOP | TATICIO, VI. 23873; CAP | TVS, VI. 10115; CORRVP | TA, X. 5348, 7998, 8009; CORRVP | TAM, X. 7997; *coRRVP* | TAM, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 739; CONRVP | TVM, VI. 22120; CORRVP | *tum*, XI. 6040; GRAP | TO, VI. 15405, X. 7630; NEP | TVNALL, VI. 12515; OP | TATI, VI. 3257; OP | TA-TO, X. 4079; OP | TATO, X. 4367; OP | TIMAE, X. 1500; OP | TIMI, V. 6122a, IX. 4999; OP | TIMIS, IX. 1478; OP | TIMO, X. 342, XI. 3367; OP | *timo*, X. 4553; OP | TIO, VI. 30780; OP | TIO NIS, V. 6609; PRECEP | TV, V. 6503a; RECEP | TA, VI. 26028; SEP | *te*MBRIS, X. 1193; SEP | TIMA, VI. 14513; *Sep* | TIMI, V. 5806; SEP | TIMI, X. 5052; SEP | TIMO, VI. 17744b; SVBSCRIP | TVM, VI. 2120; SVSCEP | TO, XI. 3287; THREP | TIANI, XIV. 348; VOLVP | TATES, IX. 3473; VOLVP | *t*ATIBVS, X. 1251.

MPT

ADEM | PTA, VI. 21285; EM | PTO, VI. 28706; POM | PTINA, VI. 2466; REDEM | PTA, VI. 13055; REDEM | PTAE, X. 3877.

CONSVMP | TAS, XI. 4781; CONSVMP | TVM, VI. 831; EMP | TVM, VI. 17158; EMP | TVS, VI. 17051; POMP | TINA, XIV. 532; PROMP | TO, XIV. 2834; SVMP | *tisque*, VI. 2071.

PTR³

accep | TRICES, VI. 32328; DECEP | TRIX, X. 2801.

SB⁴

LES | BI, VI. 17135; LEZ | BIAE, VI. 27031; *TIPEC* | BEYTON, VI. 31961; *TIPEC* | BITEPEC, IX. 6209, 6230.

SC⁵

ABA | SCANTO, VI. 25683; CRE | SCENI, VI. 22496; *CRe* | SCENS, IX. 5317; CRE | SCENTI, VI. 22055, 27872; CRE | S-CENTIANVS, VI.

¹The grammarians cite *i-pse*, *nu-psi*, *scri-psi*, Priscian I, p. 43 H; *i-pse*, Priscian I, p. 461 H.

²The grammarians' illustrations are *a-ptus*, *di-phthongus*, Priscian I, p. 42 H; *nu-ptum*, *scri-ptum*, *id.* I, p. 43 H; *a-ptus*, *id.* I, p. 461 H; *ca-pto*, Caesellius ap. Cassiod. VII, p. 205 K; *Aegy* | *ptum*, Bede VII, p. 263 K; *pro-pter*, *id.* VII, p. 286 K.

³*sce-ptum* is cited by Priscian I, p. 43 H.

⁴*a-sbestus* and *A-sbustus* are cited by Priscian I, p. 42 H.

⁵Illustrations cited by grammarians are *pa-squa*, *lu-scius*, Priscian I, p. 50 H; *no-soto*, Terentius Scaurus VII, p. 12 K.

15719; CRE | SCENTINA, VI. 21006; CRE | SCES, XIV. 916; DI | *sce*NTI-BVS, X. 7657; EV | SCHEMVS, VI. 19792; FI | *sco*, VI. 29917; GRAVI | SCANORVM, VI. 1408; PRI | SCLANO, VI. 25390; PRI | SCILLAE, VI. 25039; PRI | SCO, X. 2711; PRI | SCVS, VI. 25048, X. 390; *pri* | SCVS, XI. 4394; QVIE | SCANT, V. 5078; SV | SCEPTO, IX. 4192.

ABAS | CANTI,¹ VI. 4080; ABAS | CANTO, VI. 16922; ABAS | CANTVS, VI. 8710, 10854, 17812, 18140, 18933; AΔEAE | XOC, VI. 14872; ADQVIES | CIT, V. 4063; ADVLES | CENTI, XI. 1147; ARES | CONTIS, VI. 13608; ARES | CVSA, VI. 13596; ARES | CVSA, VI. 21650, IX. 161, XIV. 1367; AS | CONIVS, V. 2856; BASILIS | CVS, VI. 38393; CRES | CENS, VI. 11294, 21347; CRES | CENS, X. 21; CRES | CENTI, X. 2658, 3660; CREs | CENTIA, X. 2163; CREs | CENTIAE, IX. 4894; CRES | CENTIANO, VI. 19914; CRES | CENTILLA, V. 2187; CRES | CENTINA, XIV. 1323; CRES | CENTINI, X. 7239; CRES | CENTINO, VI. 6893; CRES | CENTIO, V. 6075; CRES | CENTIS, VI. 21871, X. 2421, 2658, 3363, XIV. 3632; CRES | *cer*ET, V. 532; CRES | CES, *Bull. del Inst.* 1878, p. 89, XI. 2553; CRES | CETIANO, VI. 25837; DIOS | CORO, VI. 19939; DIS | *ciplina*, VI. 8619; DIS | CIS, V. 944; HPAC | KUNAWN, V. 8733; FALIS | *corum*, XI. 3091; FIS | CI, XIV. 3643; FVS | CO, VI. 36289; GIS | CINNA, VI. 10910; LARIS | CVS, VI. 9494; MAS | CVLIS, V. 5002; MOS | CHIDI, VI. 23049; MOS | *chis*, VI. 34557; MOS | CHO, VI. 28414; PES | CENNIANVM, XI. 1147; PRIS | . . . , X. 3570; *PRIS* | CAE, V. 4064; PRIS | CAE, IX. 5422, X. 8194; *PRIs* | CI, X. 3724; *PRIS* | *cia*NO, VI. 25036; *PRIs* | CIANO, X. 8404; *PRIS* | CIANVS, X. 1208; *PRIs* | CILLA, IX. 5100; *PRIS* | CILLA, XI. 3521; *PRIS* | CILLA (*sic*), VI. 22585; *PRIs* | CILLAE, VI. 20635, 34238; *PRIS* | CINVS, VI. 22841a; *PRIS* | CO, V. 8139, VI. 12079, X. 373, 4686; XI. 1147, 4533; *PRIs* | CVS, V. 2117; *PRIS* | CVS, VI. 22383, IX. 1506, X. 3452, XI. 2688; *PRIS* | CVS, VI. 24499; QVES | CET, X. 7550; QVES | QVAM, VI. 25687; QVIES | CIT, XI. 312; REQVIES | CET, V. 5710, 7531, X. 4519; REQVIES | CIT, IX. 1080, 1384, X. 4500, 7753, XI. 1412; REQVIES | CIT, IX. 1082; REQVIIS | CIT, IX. 1388; REQVIS | CET, V. 6251; ROS | CIAE, VI. 25486; SES | CVNCIAM, V. 4108; *tus* | CANICAS, VI. 2099; TVS | CIAE, VI. 1778.

SCL²

AS | CLEPIAS, VI. 6831.

SM³

CO | SMVM, IX. 2438.

COS | MIAE, VI. 11061; COS | MIANVS, VI. 13517; COS | MO, V. 8151; COS | MVS, VI. 411; KOC | MOY, VI. 33976; MYRIS | MI, VI. 7770; MYRIS | MVS, VI. 25827; THIIS | MVS, IV. 2160.

SP⁴

BW | CTOPANOC, VI. 5207.

¹ Of. the suggestive spellings DISSOENTE, IV. 1278; ARESSOVSA, IX. 3446; PESSOENITI, IX. 4055.

² An illustration cited by Priscian I, p. 43 H, is *A-sclepiodotus*. But cf. the spelling ASSCLEPIODOTE, VI. 12504.

³ *co-smus* is cited by Priscian I, p. 50 H.

⁴ Grammarians' illustrations are *a-spice*, Servius in *Don.* IV, p. 427 K; *pro-spera*, Priscian I, p. 50 K; *pro-spere*, Bede VII, p. 286 K.

CRIS | *pina*, VI. 16593; CRIS | PINI, X. 1784; CRIS | PINIANO, V. 331; CRIS | PINIANVS, V. 8710; CRIS | PINILLA, VI. 14290; CRIS | PINO, IX. 1684; CRIS | PO, VI. 32694; CRIS | PVS, VI. 7276, X. 3431; HIS | PAN, IX. 1572; HOS | PITIVM, X. 7845; IS | PIRITO, X. 7551; POS | PHOR, VI. 27499; TELES | PHOR, VI. 12792; TELES | FORIANO, XIV. 1208; TELES | PHORIDI, VI. 12792; TELES | PHORVS,¹ VI. 290, 13246; TELES | *phorVS*, VI. 29385; TELES | FORVS, VI. 29005; TELIS | PHORVS, VI. 5768; VES | PER, VI. 9977.

ST²

AERA | STVS, VI. 7513; AVGV | STA, V. 3555; AV·GV | S·TA·LES, X. 2194; AVGV | STAS, VI. 33865; AVGV | STI, VI. 30894; AVGV | STINA, V. 3555; *Augu* | STO, VI. 32340; AVGV | STORVM, VI. 36308; BLA | STI, VI. 18416; BLA | STO, VI. 36322; CALLI | STVS, V. 8215; CE·LE | STI, VI. 80; CELE | STINO, X. 3550; CHRE | STE, V. 232, VI. 9477; *chre* | STE, VI. 33169; CHRE | STVS, V. 8356; *cu* | STODIA, VI. 1527; ETI | CTAMENH, VI. 30966; EVRHO | *stus*, VI. 23178; FAV | STHILLA, VI. 29623; FAV | STE, VI. 3012; FAV | STI, XIV. 1745; FAV | *stILLVS*, X. 7841; *fau* | STINA, IX. 3627; FAV | *stINAE*, IX. 4292; FAV | STINAE, VI. 35807, X. 3106; FAV | STI | NVS, VI. 35067; FAV | STO, XI. 4333; FAV | STVS, VI. 2787b, XIV. 676; FAV | *sTVS*, X. 5252; MNE | STERIS, VI. 18140; MODE | STE, IX. 3028; PO | STER, VI. 3372; PO | STERIS, VI. 14090; PO | STERISQ, VI. 24347; *po* | STERIS*Que*, VI. 14401; PO | STERISQVE, VI. 25740; PO | *steRISQVE*, VI. 35945; PO | STVMIVS, XIV. 3627; QVAE | *stori*, *Eph. Epig.* IV. 823; QVAE | STORIAS, VI. 2086; QVE | STORI, VI. 1803c; RV | STICI, V. 5557; *se* | STER*tis*, IV. Suppl. I, *CLV*; TE | STAMENTO, X. 3369; VE | STA, X. 3365; VILAGO | STI, V. 7837.

ABES | TO,³ VI. 19931; A | CHORIS | TVS, XI. 3393; AMETHYS | TVS, VI. 13986; ANTIS | TIAE, VI. 6688; ANTIS | *tiARV*, VI. 7650; APOLAV*s* | TO, VI. 18641; APOS | TOLI, VI. 33895; AVFVS | TIO, VI. 34585; AVGV*s* | TALI, VI. 15876; AVGV*s* | TALIB, X. 451; AVGV*s* | TÁLES, XI. 3905, 6005; AVGV*s* | TALITATIS, X. 114; AVGV*s* | TALIVM, IX. 4067, X. 114; AVC·VS | TI, VI. 10831; AVGV*s* | TI (2), VI. 17924, XI. 6623; AVGV*s* | TIANVS, VI. 25038; AVGV*s* | TINI, VI. 13715; AVGV*s* | TIS, V. 8030; AVGV*s* | TO, VI. 1181; AVGV*s* | TORVM, VI. 29294, 36507, X. 1586; AVGV*s* | TVS, V. 1784, VI. 2805; BIAS | TVS, VI. 16995; BLAS | TVS, VI. 9571; CAELES | TES, IX. 4192; CALLIS | TO, VI. 20833; CALLIS | TO, VI. 20283; CAS | TA, VI. 6148, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 219, X. 4763; CAS | TISSIMAE, X. 3356; CAS | *TITATIS*, V. 4187; CAS | TOR, IX. 3219; CAS | TORE, XI. 53; CAS | TVLAE, XIV. 1488; CAS | TVS, *Eph. Epig.* IV. 933; CHRES |

¹ Note TELES | SPO·RO, VI. 18222.

² Grammarians' illustrations are *maie-stas*, *Caper* VII, p. 96 K; *maie-stas* *Bede* VII, p. 279 K.; *pote-stas*, *no-ster*, *Caesellius ap. Caesiod.* VII, p. 205 K; *te-stis*, *Priscian* I, p. 50 H; *Ne-storis*, *Terentianus Maurus* VI, p. 352 K; *apo-stolus*, *Orthogr. Bour.*, p. 300 K, Suppl.; and cf. *a-stlla*, **pe-stilum* (= *pestulum*), *Caesellius ap. Caesiod.* VII, p. 205 K, and *is-thmos*, *Priscian* I, p. 42 K.

³ Cf. such spellings as OHRESSTINA, VI. 13712, IVSSTI, V. 6127, IVSSTA, IX. 1298, and VESSTA, VI. 3097, which seem to show an effort to isolate the *s*.

TENI, VI. 24253; CHRES | TVS, VI. 11707, 32997; CLVS | TVMINA, XI. 4489; COMAS | tVS, VI. 3396; CONSI | TIT, VI. 404; COS | TINO, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 788; CVS | TODIAE, VI. 10238; DIS | TINGVITVR, XI. 5285; EDIS | TE, VI. 18351; EPIS | TVLIS, VI. 8613; ES | TIVALIVM, X. 5348; ES | TO, XIV. 2112; EVARIS | TO, VI. 25287, 34403; EVARIS | TVS, XIV. 882; AEVARIS | TVS, XI. 4224; EVENVS | ti, VI. 24079; FAVS | TA, X. 8323; FAVS | TILLA, VI. 17051; FAVS | TINA, V. 3710; FAVS | TINA, VI. 24612; FAVS | TINO, IX. 1641, X. 4785; FAVS | TINVM, *Not. d. Sc.* 1880, p. 97; FAVS | TINVS, IX. 647; FAVS | TIO, X. 2919; FAVS | TO, VI. 5700, X. 8119; FAVS | TVM, VI. 2074; FAVS | TVS, VI. 11839, 23706; FAVS | TVS, VI. 23560; FES | TA, V. 3730, 4994; FES | TAE, VI. 5345; FEs | TI, VI. 2696; FES | TIANVS, XI. 5785; FES | TO, VI. 14537; FES | TVS, V. 8247; HIS | TAR, VI. 5277; HIS | TONIESIVM, IX. 2860; HONES | TA, X. 7890; HONES | TISSIMAE, IX. 2803; HONES | TVS, IX. 2613; HOS | TIAS, IX. 5565; HOS | TILIA, VI. 18773; HOS | TILIVS, VI. 25551; IADES | TINI, X. 1402; IS | TERCORIA, V. 1706; IS | TIPEN, VI. 32894; IVS | TAE, V. 3968, IX. 1478, X. 3751, VI. 33417; IVS | TE, VI. 21332; IVS | TINA, VI. 22493, X. 4514; IVS | tinAE, IX. 1274; IVS | TINA, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 114, XI. 1857; IVS | TINE, XI. 6023; IVS | TINI, V. 694; ius | TINO, X. 4512; IVS | TINVS, VI. 10221, IX. 1759; IVS | TITIA, IX. 1576; IVS | TITIAES, XI. 6204; IVS | TO, VI. 18121a; IVS | TO, VI. 20802, XI. 1891; IVS | TORVM, IX. 6400; IVS | TVS, V. 5020, VI. 24211, XI. 603, 1790, 6281, XIV. 634; MAGIS | TER, VI. 2078; MAGIS | TERIO, XI. 1947; MAIES | tatiQ, XI. 1429; MEDIAS | TINORVM, XIV. 1878; MEGIS | TE, VI. 34928; MERVIS | TIS, V. 5701; MINIS | tRATOR, VI. 33781; MNHC | tHCO-MENOV, X. 7176 (note); MODES | TA, VI. 17693, 22105; MODES | TAE, V. 2523; MODES | TO, VI. 13a; MODES | TVS, IX. 1895, VI. 33215; MODes | TVS, IX. 2223; ORES | TES, VI. 26432; OREs | TES, VI. 29800; OS | TENSE, XIV. 294; OS | TILIA, VI. 27977; OS | TITATIS, VI. 3454; PALES | TRICE, VI. 36393; PHILOS | TORGO, VI. 6788; TIC | TH, VI. 11933; POS | TAE-RISQVE, VI. 34574; POS | TERI | QVE, VI. 25306; POS | TERIS, VI. 10677, IX. 3922; POS | TERIS, VI. 27977; POS | TERISQ, VI. 7899, 11071, 15197, 15710, 22057, 34267, 35567, 35672, 36338, X. 2191, XIV. 508; POS | TERISQ, VI. 18818; POS | TERISQVAE, VI. 17213; POS | TERISQVE, VI. 6783, 7457, 8931, 10235, 10238, 10498, 10536, 10989, 11824, 12739, 13205, 13418, 14513, 15423, 16126, 17158, 18052, 18935, 20227, 20598, 21852, 22275, 22685, 23111, 24630, 26159, 26271, 26313, 26796, 30072, 33076, 34241, 34890, 36581, IX. 4329, X. 3594, XIV. 667, 735, 864; POS | TERIS | QVE, VI. 25793; pos | TERISQVE, VI. 16620, 19140, 22569, 35554, 38085, X. 7853, XIV. 1502; pos | tERISQVE, VI. 23208; POS | teRISQVE, VI. 29527; POS | terisque, VI. 30226a, 35577, 36195; POS | TERISQVE, VI. 12417; POS | TERISQVE, VI. 22682; POS | TVMIanVS, VI. 32742; POS | TVMIO, VI. 24877; POS | TVMVS, VI. 2065, 2068; pos | TVMus, VI. 2074; POS | TVMus, VI. 2074; POTIIs | TATII, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 6; POTES | TATEM, VI. 1759; POTES | TATIS, X. 7996; PRAEPOS | TERA, VI. 22203; PRAES | TANTIAM, X. 3764; PRAES | TANTIOR, X. 2936a; PRAES | TANTISSIMAE, IX. 1578; PRAES | TANTISSIMO, IX. 1685, X. 1126, 5919; PRAES | TARE, X. 5336; PRAES | TETVR, XI. 2596; PRIS | TINAM, VI. 34561; QVAEs | TORI, V. 4341;

quaes | TORI, X. 408; REPOS | TO, XIV. 1688; RES | *t*TVERIT,¹ X. 4800; RES | TITVIT, X. 7494; RES | TITVIT, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 798; RIIS | TITVIT, IV. 806; RES | TITVTA, XI. 5217; RES | TITVTA, VI. 22205; RES | TITVTA, VI. 25559; RES | TITVTAE, VI. 26342; RES | TITVTAE, VI. 19886; RES | TITVTI, VI. 32873; RES | *tituti*, IX. 6333; RES | TITVTO, VI. 18200; RES | TITVTORI, XIV. 2917; RES | TITVTVS, VI. 23711, XIV. 1263; RES | TVTAE, V. 8856; RES | TVTO, VI. 2636; RES | TVTVS, VI. 18333; RVS | TICA (2), XI. 1147; RVS | TICO, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 795, XIV. 58; SALLVS | TIA, VI. 8454; SALLVS | TIAE, X. 6109; SALLVS | TIAE, XIV. 912; SINIS | TERIORI, VI. 26562; SVPER | TIS, V. 6464; SYNIS | TOR, VI. 17580; TES | TACIO, VI. 10242; TES | TAMENTI, VI. 33033; TES | TAMENTO, VI. 2437; TES | TAMENTO, X. 7518; TES | TIMONIVM, XI. 4097; TETRAS | TYLO, VI. 2080; TETRAS | *tylo*, VI. 2086; THES | TYLLIS, V. 7935; THAVMAS | TV . . . , IV. 383; VENVS | TA, VI. 28454; VENVS | TAE, X. 7964, XIV. 1266; VETVS | TASQVE, VI. 1793; VETVS | TATI, *Eph. Epig.* VIII. 798; VETVS | TATE, IX. 3162; XYS | TVS, VI. 10531.

NST

IN | STEIVS, VI. 15641.

CONS | TANTIAQVE, X. 4863; CONS | TANTINO, IX. 5955, X. 287, 6837, 6970; CONS | TANTIO, XI. 2697.

STR²

NICO | STRATO, VI. 10503; *no* | STRVM, VI. 1527; PALE | STRA, VI. 25473.

CAMPES | TRI, VI. 32706, IX. 3445; CAS | TRA, IX. 795, XI. 2806; CAS | TRENSE,³ VI. 8547; *cas* | TRENSE, VI. 29932; CAS | TRENSIS, VI. 4444; CAS | TRICIAE, VI. 16652; CAS | TRICIVS, X. 6338; CAS | TRIS, VI. 3293; CAS | TRORVM, V. 29, VI. 31172; EQVES | TRE, VI. 32328; EQVES | TREM, IX. 339; *eqVes* | TRIS, IX. 3158; EVPALES | TRO, XI. 1732; *alias* | TRO, VI. 19462; HIS | TRICILLA, X. 4036; INLVS | TRIA, X. 5651; INLVS | TRIS, VI. 32023; INLVS | TRE, XI. 4118; INDVS | TRIAQVE, VI. 1793; INDVS | TRIENSIVM, V. 7468; INDVS | TRIVM, X. 478; MAGIS | TRATIBVS, XI. 3943; MAGIS | TRATVS, XI. 1420; *magis* | TRVM(2), VI. 2068; MES | TRIVS, VI. 2812; MINIS | TRANTIBVS, VI. 2060; MINIS | TRATORVM, VI. 8924; NICOS | *trato*, VI. 34887a; NICOS | TRATVS, VI. 29248; NOS | TRAE, VI. 10458, IX. 3429, XI. 5295; NOS | *traM*, V. 532; NOS | TRAM, X. 477; NOS | *t*RI, V. 532; NOS | TRI, XI. 1354; NOS | TRO, V. 532; NOS | TRO, VI. 9150, XI. 6858; NOS | *t*RO, X. 6836; PROMAGIS | TRO, VI. 1422; PROS | TRAVIT, VI. 1716b, 1716c; SILVES | TRI, XI. 2650; SOS | TRATA, VI. 13684; VES | TRAM, VI. 1585b, VOS | TRVM, XI. 1823.

NSTR

DEMONS | TRATA, V. 5050.

¹Cf. RESS | TITVTORI, X. 4553.

²Grammarians' illustrations are *no-strum*, *ve-strum*, Caper VII, p. 96 K; *plo-strum*, *lu-strant*, *capi-strum*, *clau-strum*, *ra-strum*, *campe-stre*, Caesellius ap. Cassiod. VII. 205 K; *plau-strum*, *capi-strum*, *clau-strum*, *ve-strum*, *ra-strum*, Albinus VII. 307 K.

³Such spellings as CASSTRESE, VI. 8523 apparently suggest the separation of *s* from the following consonants.

A. SUMMARY OF CASES IN QUESTION (BY CONSONANT GROUPS)

CONSONANT GROUPS	FOR RECEIVED THEORY PLACING CONSONANTS WITH THE FOLLOWING VOWEL			AGAINST RECEIVED THEORY DIVIDING CONSONANTS BETWEEN PRECEDING AND FOLLOWING VOWELS		
	Perfect Cases	Restored by Conjecture or from Early Copy	Total	Perfect Cases	Restored by Conjecture or from Early Copy	Total
<i>cn</i>	1	..	1	1	..	1
<i>ct</i>	25	1	26	64	10	74
(<i>ctr</i> ¹).....	..	..	..	2	..	2
(<i>nct</i> ¹).....	18	6	24	21	1	22
<i>dn</i>	1	..	1	..	..	..
<i>gn</i>	5	3	8	19	5	24
<i>mn</i>	25	2	27	30	5	35
<i>pn</i>	2	..	2	2	..	2
<i>ps</i>	..	..	..	5	1	6
(<i>mps</i> ¹).....	1	1	2	..	..	..
<i>pt</i>	13	2	15	33	6	39
(<i>mpt</i> ¹).....	5	..	5	6	1	7
(<i>ptr</i> ¹).....	..	..	..	1	1	2
<i>sb</i>	..	..	..	5	..	5
<i>sc</i>	15	4	19	83	17	100
<i>scl</i> ¹	..	..	..	1	..	1
<i>sm</i>	1	..	1	8	..	8
<i>sp</i>	1	..	1	20	3	23
<i>st</i>	38	13	51	241	48	289
(<i>nst</i> ¹).....	1	..	1	6	..	6
(<i>nstr</i> ²).....	..	..	..	1	..	1
<i>str</i> ¹	2	1	3	41	10	51
Total.....	154	33	187	590	108	698

B. SUMMARY OF CASES IN QUESTION (BY VOLUMES OF THE *Corpus*)

VOLUMES OF THE CORPUS	FOR RECEIVED THEORY PLACING CONSONANTS WITH THE FOLLOWING VOWEL			AGAINST RECEIVED THEORY DIVIDING CONSONANTS BETWEEN PRECEDING AND FOLLOWING VOWELS		
	Perfect Cases	Restored by Conjecture or from Early Copy	Total	Perfect Cases	Restored by Conjecture or from Early Copy	Total
IV.....	1	2	3	5	..	5
V.....	15	..	15	50	13	63
VI.....	92	16	108	289	58	347
IX.....	11	3	14	49	12	61
X.....	23	6	29	98	17	115
XI.....	4	4	8	67	5	72
XIV.....	8	2	10	32	3	35
Total.....	154	33	187	590	108	698

¹ In these groups of three consonants it is a question of dividing *c-tr*, *no-t*, *mp-s*, *mp-l*, *p-tr*, *s-cl*, *ns-l*, *s-tr*, or of placing the three consonants with the following vowel.

² It is a question here of dividing *ns-tr* or *n-str*.

It is a justifiable statement, therefore, based upon the results of an elaborate count, that in the disputed groups of consonants Latin inscriptions nearly uniformly divide between the preceding and following vowels. Of 885 instances, representing a wide extent of territory, 698, or 79 per cent., divide in this way. The percentages by volumes of the *Corpus* are: IV, 63 per cent.; V, 81 per cent.; VI, 76 per cent.; IX, 81 per cent.; X, 80 per cent.; XI, 90 per cent.; XIV, 78 per cent. The percentages for consonant groups numerous represented are: *ct*, 74 per cent.; *gn*, 75 per cent.; *mn*, 56 per cent.; *pt*, 72 per cent.; *sc*, 84 per cent.; *st*, 85 per cent.; *str*, 95 per cent. Noticeable is the small percentage in the group *mn*. In divisions like *n-ct*, *m-ps*, *m-pt*, *n-st*, the syllabification may have been due to a perfectly natural desire to separate *n* and *c*, *m* and *p*, *n* and *s* quite as much as to place *ct*, *ps*, *pt*, *st* with the following vowel.¹ Subtracting these cases from the total number, we have 818 cases, of which 663, or over 81 per cent., are against the received theory. *sc*, *sp*, *st*, and *str* are the only groups which may begin a word in *Latin*. There are 537 cases of these, of which 463, or more than 86 per cent., divide contrary to the grammarians' rule. Of the groups *cn*, *ct*, *dn*, *gn*, *mn*, *pn*, *ps*, *pt*, *st*, *scl*, and *sm*, which may begin a word in *Greek*, there are 276 cases, of which 195, or 77 per cent., divide contrary to the grammarians' rule.²

Inscriptions of a public character, inscriptions of a relatively early date, and those which are made with evident care, show a marked tendency to avoid breaking words at the ends of lines. It is avoided by the use of ligatures or abbreviations, by superimposed and circumscribed letters,³ by spreading words, and by extending the line out into the frame or molding surrounding the inscription. When a division does occur in these three classes

¹ Such cases as SANO | TI and EMP | TVS, therefore, gain greater weight.

² The figures in Table A (p. 61) would be convincing even if we knew that there was no grammarians' rule, but they are especially significant since they represent the usage that existed in the face of a firmly established, traditional rule of syllabification.

³ This method was employed also by Augustus; Suetonius *Aug.* 87: notavi et in chirographo eius [Augusti] illa praecipue: non dividit verba nec ab extrema parte versuum abundantis litteras in alterum transfert, sed ibidem statim subicit circumductaque.

of inscriptions, it is nearly always a correct one. On the other hand, private inscriptions of a late date, and carelessly made inscriptions of even an earlier period, show numerous line-divisions, and these often violate the regular rules of syllabification. Unfortunately, however, since there are relatively so few inscriptions that can be dated with even approximate exactness, it is impossible to make more than this general statement with reference to the comparative frequency and correctness of division in different periods. A study of data earlier than Julius Caesar shows that inscriptions antedating the last half of the first century B. C. rarely admit divisions of word by line.¹ No division occurs in the *Epistula consulum ad Teuranos de Bacchanalibus*, 186 B. C. (*CIL*. I. 196), the *Lex incerta rep. Bantiae*, 133-118 B. C. (*ibid.* 197), the *Sententia Minuciorum*, 117 B. C. (*ibid.* 199), the *Epistula praetoris ad Tiburtes*, early part of the first century B. C. (*ibid.* 201), the *Lex Cornelia de XX quaestoribus*, 81 B. C. (*ibid.* 202), or the *Lex Antonia*, 71 B. C. (*ibid.* 204). The *Lex parieti faciendo Puteolana*, 105 B. C. (*ibid.* 577), has one (etymological) division, ANTE | PAGMENTO, and the *Lex Vicana Furfensis*, 58 B. C. (*ibid.* 603), shows TABVLA | MENTA and DEDICATVM | QVE. The *Lex Rubria*, ca. 49 B. C. (*ibid.* 205), shows twenty-six cases of division, eighteen of which are correct following the acknowledged rules, five are enclitic, one is etymological, and two involve disputed combinations, namely, FAC | TVM, II. 20, 21, and OM | NIBVS, II. 45, 46. The *Lex Iulia municipalis*, 45 B. C. (*ibid.* 206), has fifteen instances of division. Ten of these are correct according to rule, two are enclitic, two are etymological, and one is a case in question, PRAEFE | CTVRA, II. 89 f.

Occasionally a real desire is manifested to end a line with a complete word, as in *CIL*. XIV.² 696.

D · M
C · BLOSSIO · FAV
FAVSTO · FECE
RVNT · HREDES sic
PATRONO · B · M

Of. note 3, p. 62, with reference to Augustus' usage in his own handwriting.

² A note in the *Corpus* says: "2 fin. FAV litterae erasae sunt, sed adhuc leguntur."

Similarly a wish to employ correct syllabification is apparent in *CIL.* XIV. 1134.¹

D M
L · IVLI · ALBINI
QUIETI · SEQ ·
L · ALBINVS PVPVS
FIL · PATRI PIISSIM
MEMORIAE INSTIT ·
TVIT

The other method (mentioned above, p. 49) by which syllabification is indicated in inscriptions, and which betrays more clearly, perhaps, a conscious effort to divide words into their syllables, is that of interpunctuation.² Inscriptions of this class are not numerous, about 106 having been found in Italy.³ In some cases nearly every word in the inscription is divided into its syllables by interpuncts, as in *CIL.* VI. 15546, IX, 4028; but more often this mode of division is employed only in a few words, as in XIV. 2202, or in one word merely, as in V. 5021. In these inscriptions there are 504 instances of syllabification that involve the application of accepted rules of division; of these eleven only violate the rules. The cases in question are:

VI·CTORI, VI. 15221.

DI · LEC · TVS, V. 6742; E · PIC · TE · SIS, VI. 16898; FAC · TIONIS, VI. 10074; FRVC · TI · ANO, X. 366; FRVC · TI · ANVS, X. 366; OC · TAVIA, VI. 23357; OC · TA · BI · A | NO, VI. 14560; VIC · TO · RI, VI. 28905; VIC · TORI · NVS, V. 5021; VIC · TORI · NVS, VI. 25928; VIC · TVS, VI. 33975.⁴

¹ The *Corpus* explains: "6 fn. T erasa, sed legitur."

² An illustration of this class of inscriptions is given on p. 49.

³ They are *CIL.* V. 783, 1117, 4868, *5021, *6742, *7542; VI. *77, 80, 440, 1070, 1089, 1344, 2428, 2459, 2553, 2557, 2570, 2591, 2669, 2706, 3581, *3689, *5692, 6700, *10074, 10238, 10724, *11682, *12269, *12288, *12524, *12866, *13668, *14580, 14949, *15221, *15546, *15719, *15799, *15917, *16567, *16569, *16898, *17114, 17305, *17308, 17812, 17929, *18084, *19574, *20137, *21617, *22627, *23357, *25928, *26146, *26345, *26363, *28098, *28427, *28905, *29737, 32480, *32475, 32746, 33206, *33975, *34246, *34714, *35572, *36284; IX. *394, *1520, 2892, *3437, 3721, *3997, *4028, *5546, 5906; X. *366, 633, *1344, *1585, *2002, *2166, *2194, *2349, *2723, *2758, *2966, 6354, *6382, *6729, *6792; XI. *3180, *3354, *3854, *3990, *5488; XIV, *34, *808, 1481, *1648, 2170, *2202. Starred numbers contain cases in question. The method of selection was the same as that set forth on p. 50. Such an example as *CIL.* XIV. 1731 was therefore excluded.

⁴ Cf. *IN · VI · CITE*, VI. 80, which seems to show a pause in pronunciation between O and T; and *VIC · OTORINVS*, which occurs twice in XI. 5488. Cases like *SANO · | TISSIMAE*, VI. 26510, where the interpunctuation corresponds with the line division, are entered in the lists constituting the main body of this article, pp. 53 ff.

SA | N·CTIS·SI·MAE, X. 2723.
 DEFVNC·Tα, VI. 36284; fVNC·TA, IX. 5546; SANC·TIS, V. 6742;
 SANC·TIS·| SI·MAE, VI. 15917.¹
 SI·GNO, XIV. 34.
 COG·NA·TVS,² VI. 18034; EG·NA·TI·A, VI. 17114; MAG·NA·NIMVS,
 V. 6742; SIG·NVM, XI. 3854.
 A·LV·MNO, X. 2868.
 A | LVM·NIS, X. 6792; OM·NI, V. 6742; SEM·NE, VI. 26146.
 HE·DY·PNVS, VI. 77.
 IP·SE, VI. 15546.
 O·PTI | MAE, VI. 15799.
 OP·TA·TVS, XIV. 2202; OP·TI·ME, VI. 26353; OP·TI·MI, XI. 3990;
 OP·TI·MO, VI. 12288, IX. 1520; OP·TIMO, VI. 17306; RUP·TA, VI. 15546;
 THREP·TE, VI. 12524.
 RE·DEM·PTO, IX. 1520.
 CRES·CENS, VI. 12269; CRIIS·CIINS, X. 2349; CRES·CEN·TI, VI.
 16569; CRES·CENTI, VI. 16567; CRE | S·CENTIANVS, VI. 15719; CRES·
 CES, VI. 26353; NAS·CI, VI. 15546; PRIS·CIL·| LAE, XI. 3354; PRS·CVS
 (*sic*), VI. 11682.
 COS·MAE, VI. 26345.
 AC | ES·TIA, XIV. 2202; ADRAS·TVS, VI. 21617; A·MET | YS·TO,
 IX. 4028; AV·GV | S·TA·LES, X. 2194; AVGV·S·TALIS, VI. 13668; BLAS·
 T | E·NI, VI. 11682; CAE·LES·TI, VI. 77; CAL·LI S·TE, VI. 5692; CAS·
 TI·NI·O, VI. 14560; CAS·TI·NI·VS, VI. 14560; CEL | ES·TINO, XIV. 608;
 CVS·TODIAM, V. 7542; EGES·TAS, VI. 15546; E·VHEL·PI | S·TO, IX.
 394; FAVS·TE, VI. 12866; FA·VS·TI, X. 1344; HOS·TILIAE, VI. 19574;
 HOS·TILIO, IX. 3997; INIVS·TA, VI. 22627; INIVS·TAE, VI. 15546;
 IVS·TI·NA, IX. 4028; IVS·TVS, VI. 22627; iVS·TVS, VI. 34714; MODES·
 TAE, X. 3190; MO·DES·TE, X. 6382; MYS·TAE, VI. 32475; PANCRHES·
 TVS, X. 6729; PER·EGIS·TIS, VI. 15546; PIS·TE, VI. 15546; PIS·TES,
 VI. 15546; POS·TERIQVE, VI. 20137; POS·TE·RIS·QVE, VI. 15917, 29737;
 POS·TE·RIS | QVE, IX. 3437; POS·TER | QVE,³ VI. 34246; PO·TVIS·TIS,
 VI. 15546; RES·TV·TAE, VI. 28427; SES·TV·LEI·VS, IX. 4028; SES·TV·
 LE·IO, IX. 4028; STA·TV·IS·TIS, VI. 15546; VE·NVS·TA, XIV. 1648;
 BE·NVS·TI, X. 2166.⁴

The mode current in Italy of indicating syllables by interpunctuation is thus seen with perfect clearness. Of the eighty-nine examples here cited, eighty-two—all but seven—divide the consonants of the disputed groups between the preceding and the following vowels. The exceptions occur in the groups *ct* (one instance, *nct* (one instance), *gn* (one instance), *mn* (one instance),

¹ Cf. SANC·T·O, VI. 3689.

² Cf. OON·G·NA·TVS, X. 2758; CONGNATO, X. 1220; OON | GNATVS, VI. 26828; and CONGNAT, X. 3408.

³ Cf. POST·TERIS·Q, VI. 35572.

⁴ Cf. ERAS·STO, X. 2002.

SUMMARY OF CASES OF DIVISION BY INTER-
PUNCTUATION

Consonant Groups	According to Grammarians' Rule	Contrary to Grammarians' Rule
<i>ct</i>	1	11
(<i>net</i>).....	1	4
<i>gn</i>	1	4
<i>mn</i>	1	3
<i>pn</i>	1	..
<i>ps</i>	..	1
<i>pt</i>	1	8
(<i>mpt</i>).....	1	..
<i>sc</i>	..	9
<i>sm</i>	..	1
<i>st</i>	..	41
Total.....	7	82

pn (one instance), *pt* (one instance), and *mpt* (one instance,, none of which may begin a word in *Latin*.

At times a preference for division by interpunctuation to division by line is manifested, for cases like the following repeatedly occur:

HERE | N · NIVS, V. 783; KAR · N | VN · TI · NO, D | VL · CIS · SI ·
MO, V. 1117; CO | N · IVGI, VI. 6700; AV · GV | S · TA · LES, X. 2194.

Of some interest and value are cases of syllable-division occurring within lines: these are caused by (1) some sculptural or sacrificial detail, e. g., VI. 5660, 7930, 22142; (2) symmetrical arrangement, e. g., VI. 5314; (3) a blemish on the surface of the stone, e. g., VI. 25009. Cases of the first class are the most numerous by far, but divisions made for the sake of symmetry, that is, intentional divisions, more often conform, as we should expect, to the acknowledged rules.

Additional proof, if it be needed, of the theory of pronunciation advocated in this paper is afforded by certain inscriptions not discovered in Italy but presumably of Italian origin. These include several public documents found in Spain, and the well-known *diplomata militaria*. In the *Lex Malacitani*, 81-84 A. D. (*CIL*. II. 1964) there are 123 line-divisions which are made

in accordance with acknowledged rules, and six divisions which violate them.¹ The following are cases in question:

FAC | TA, *LI*; REC | TE, *LXV*; COG | NITORES, *LXV*; OM | NIBVS, *LI*, OM | NES, *LXIV*; CIS | TAM, *LV*; POS | TEA, *LXIV*, QVAES | TORVMVE, *LX*.

In the *Lex Salpensana*, 81-84 A. D. (*CIL.* II. 1963), all ten cases of division involving acknowledged rules are correct. PRAEFEC | TO, *XXV*, and CO | GNITA, *XXIX*, are the only cases in question. The *Lex Ursoniensis*, 44 A. D. (*CIL.* II. 5439) contains 124 correct line divisions and two incorrect ones. The cases in question are:

FAC | TA, *LXXII*, RELIC | TVS, *XCIII*; STA | GNA, *LXXIX*; OM | NIA, *CXXIX*; IP | SE, *CXXXII*; REDEMP | TORIBVS, *LXIX*; ES | TO, *XCI*, TES | TIMONIO, *XCIV*, TES | TIMONIVM, *XCIV*.

The *S. C. de sumptis ludorum*, 176-180 A. D. (*CIL.* II. 6278) shows seventeen cases of correct versification, with the following:

SANC | TISSIMI, l. 17; PRAESCRIP | TVM, l. 46; SVMP | TV, l. 29; FIS | CVM, l. 13; QVAE | STVS, l. 7.

Of the 112 *diplomata militaria* known, eighty-seven were found outside of Italy. In dividing words at the ends of lines they follow the accepted rules of syllabification 433 times and violate them nine times. The cases in question are:

fun | CTI, *CIL.* III, p. 2000. FVNC | TIS, p. 853, *ip* | SIS, p. 870, IP | SIS, p. 877; SVBSCRI | *pta*, p. 851, SVBSCRI | PTA, p. 852, SVBSCRIP | *ta*, p. 2001; HIS | PANORVM, pp. 864, 1962, VES | PASIAN, p. 877; AS | TVRVVM, p. 852; AVGVVS | TVS, pp. 857, 1965, HONES | TA, pp. 856, 867, 893, 1973, POS | TEA, pp. 855, 1962, 1975, POS | *tea*, p. 2001, POS | TERISQVE, pp. 868, 1963, *pos* | TERISQ, pp. 860, 879.

Of these twenty-five cases, three only place the consonant group with the following vowel.

The results of the foregoing discussion may be summed up briefly as follows: Latin inscriptions frequently divide a word (1) by interpunctuation within a line, or (2) by placing the first part of the word at the end of one line and the last part at the beginning of the following line. These divisions are not haphazard, or due to caprice or individual fancy, but they are made

¹ These are of such a uniform character that I quote them: QV | AE, QV | ISQVE, QV | OD (2), QV | EM, QV | OS.

in accordance with a nearly uniform rule. The results obtained from the study of a large number of such inscriptions should therefore be of value in determining the current mode of syllabic pronunciation. Now, the great majority of divisions involving the application of accepted rules of syllabification are made correctly. Consistently with this we should expect the true mode of syllabic pronunciation to be reflected also in divisions involving disputed groups of consonants, as *pt*, *sc*, *st*. An examination shows that in these cases the first letter of the group is generally placed with the preceding vowel or diphthong, the second with the following vowel or diphthong.

But, it may be said justly enough, we are attempting to determine the *spoken* division of syllables, whereas the inscriptions should illustrate, if anything, the orthographic division. It is perfectly clear, however, from the statistics presented in this paper that the prevailing epigraphic division is *not* the division taught by the Roman grammarians, and the language of the grammarians is such as to justify the assertion that they were thinking of an orthographic division. It is more likely, therefore, that the average stonecutter divided his lines, not according to the set rules laid down by the technicians, but by his subconscious feeling, that is, according to the practice actually observed in his everyday speech. The exceptional cases which we find in the inscriptions are probably due to the carelessness or ignorance of the engraver, or possibly at times to a real desire to follow the formal rule.

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THE SEPTIMONTIUM AND THE SEVEN HILLS

BY SAMUEL BALL PLATNER

In 1896 Wissowa published an article in *Satura Viadrina* (Breslau), entitled "Septimontium und Subura," in which he discussed the so-called Septimontium or second stage in the growth of the city of Rome, and gave a new explanation of the meaning and position of Subura at that early date. His views have been generally accepted by topographers, although of late dissenting voices have been heard. I have therefore thought it worth while to review briefly the history of the *septem montes* of Rome, and to present and discuss Wissowa's theory of the Septimontium and Subura.

In the literature of the Ciceronian and Augustan periods there are not infrequent references to the seven hills (*septem montes*) of the city of Rome, such as the following from Vergil (*Aen.* vi. 783): *septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces felix prole virum*, and (*Georg.* ii. 534): *scilicet et rerum factast pulcherrima Roma septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces*. Cicero (*Ad Att.* vi. 5. 2) speaks of the ἑπτὰ λόφον, and Tibullus (ii. 5. 55) writes: *carpite nunc tauri de septem montibus herbas, dum licet hic magnae iam locus urbis erit*. Varro (*De lingua Latina* v. 41) says: *Septimontium nominatum ab tot montibus quos postea urbs comprehendit*, and (*ibid.* vi. 24): *dies Septimontium nominatus ab his septem montibus in quis sita urbs est*. Aulus Gellius (xiii. 14), where he is quoting the opinions of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus, consul in 53 B. C., speaks of the *septem urbis montes* in such a way as to show that Messala used the term as an ordinary designation for Rome in his day. We may therefore assume without reservation that in the periods under review men spoke regularly of the *septem montes* of the city, and the question presents itself: Which were these seven hills?

A comparison of the notices found in the historians, Dionysius, Strabo, Livy, Varro, Tacitus, etc., makes it clear that these

septem montes were the hills of the city inclosed by the Servian wall, although there is nowhere an exact catalogue of all these hills in one passage. Tradition varied more or less in assigning the addition of some of the hills to this or that king, but its oldest form represented Servius as having incorporated the last two, the Esquiline and the Viminal. The chief variation in the traditional account concerned the Quirinal and the Caelian; but be this as it may, there is little doubt that under *septem montes* in the Ciceronian epoch were included normally the Palatine, Capitoline, Aventine, Caelian, Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal—five *montes* and two *colles*.

In later imperial times, however, with the growth of the city, it is evident that considerable confusion was introduced into this list, as is shown by Servius' note on the passage from Vergil (*Aen.* vi. 783) already quoted:

bene urbem Romam dicit septem inclusisse montes et medium tenuit. nam grandis est inde dubitatio. et alii dicunt breves septem colliculos a Romulo inclusos qui tamen aliis nominibus appellabantur, alii volunt hos ipsos qui nunc sunt a Romulo inclusos, id est Palatinum Quirinalem Aventinum Caelium Viminalem Aesquilinum et Ianicularem.

In this passage the list is that of the Servian hills, except that the Janiculum has been substituted for the Capitoline; a substitution easily explained by the fact that the Janiculum had become an important part of the city in Augustus' reorganization, and that the Transtiberine region could not be entirely omitted. Servius assumes that even in Vergil's time this must have been the ordinary view of the content of *septem montes*, for the expression *breves septem colliculos . . . qui tamen aliis nominibus appellabantur*, whatever this may mean, certainly does not refer to the seven hills of the Servian city as ordinarily understood.

So also the Bern. Scholiast on this same passage says: *septem id est septem montes Romae Aventinus Tarpeius Caelius Ianiculus Quirinalis Viminalis Esquilinus*. Tarpeius being only another common name for Capitoline, we have here the list of the hills in the Servian city, with the substitution of the Janiculum for the Palatine. A comparison of such notes shows that the later commentators felt bound to admit the Janiculum into the list, and therefore eliminated one or another of the original names.

In the Regionary Catalogue of the fourth century the list of hills includes the following: *Caelius Aventinus Tarpeius Palatinus Exquilius Vaticanus et Ianiculensis*; and in the *Mirabilia* of the twelfth century we find *Ianiculus Aventinus qui et Quirinalis dicitur Tarpeius Palatinus Exquilius Vaticanus et Ianiculensis*, showing an increasing uncertainty of tradition.

Occurring first in Varro we find another term, *Septimontium*, used in a double signification. In the *De lingua Latina* (v. 41) Varro writes: *ubi nunc est Roma Septimontium nominatum ab tot montibus quos postea urbs muris comprehendit, e quis*, etc. There can be no doubt that Varro means by this to state categorically that the settlement which has now become the city of Rome was once called Septimontium, because it extended over seven hills, the same which the Servian wall afterward inclosed. Mommson has explained the passage to mean that there were as many hills in the Septimontium as in Rome, but not necessarily the same. This would involve the change of *quos* to *quot*, and even then it would be somewhat difficult to reconcile the text with the fact that Varro proceeds after *e quis* with a description of the seven Servian hills. Another reference to Septimontium in this sense is found in Festus (321), where we read: *Sacrani appellati sunt Reate orti qui ex Septimontio Ligures Siculosque exegerunt*.

The other meaning of the word is the festival celebrated on December 11, which occurs in the following passages:

Varro *L.L.* vi. 24: *dies Septimontium nominatus ab his septem montibus in quis sita urbs est feriae non populi sed montanorum modo ut Paganalia qui sunt alicuius pagi*. Here it is perfectly clear that Varro believes that the festival of the Septimontium derived its name from the seven Servian hills, and that it was a festival which was celebrated by the *montani* in their local organization, as distinguished from the *populus* as a whole. Comparison of this passage with that previously cited from Varro makes it certain that there too the writer is thinking only of the Servian hills, and not of any different list.

This Septimontium was evidently one of the more important rural festivals in imperial times. Suetonius *Dom.* 4, says: *septimontiali sacro quidem senatui equitique panariis plebei sportellis*

cum obsonio distributis initium vescendi primus fecit. Columella (ii. 10. 8) speaks of the *Septimontialis satio*; and Palladius (xiii. 1) writes: *faba circa septimontium seri potest.* Tertullian (*De idol.* 10), in speaking of the temptations to idolatry to which teachers are exposed, says: *etiam strenuae captandae et septimontium et brumae et carae cognationis honoraria exigenda omnia.* Other references to the origin of the festival are: Schol. Veron. ad *Aen.* ii. 635: *septem montes unde etiam dies sacer septimontii constitutus est*, and Plut. *Qu. Rom.* 69: τὸ δὲ σεπτιμόντιον ἄγουσιν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν ἑβδομὸν λόφον τῇ πόλει προσκατανεμηθῆναι καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐπτάλοφον γενέσθαι.

In the calendars the festival is mentioned three times. First in the rustic calendar, dating from the early Empire, found in Mantua and called *fasti Guidizzolenses* (*CIL.* I. 253). In this calendar only seven festivals in the six months from July to September are noted, one of which is the Septimontium on the third day before the Ides of December, the 11th. The other occurrences are in the calendar of Furius Dionysius Philocalus, 354 A. D., where it is written *Septimontia* and in that of Polemius Silvius, of 449 A. D., where it is erroneously ascribed to December 12. These late references show that the festival lasted until the end of the Empire.

In the other calendars which contain this date, the *fasti Maffei*, *Praenestini*, *Amiternini*, and *Antienses*, there is no mention of this festival, but only notice of an Agonium. This was explained by Mommsen as another designation for Septimontium, but the prevalent view at present is that Agonium is only a general term, denoting a celebration in honor of some deity whose name is not given, and that the Septimontium occurred along with this Agonium on December 11, just as the Liberalia took place on March 17, along with another Agonium (Martiale).

As we know that the festival was celebrated as early as Varro's time, some explanation of its omission from these calendars must be sought, and it is doubtless found in the fact that is noted expressly by Ateius Capito, cited in Festus (245), that all *sacra* were divided: *publica sacra quae publico sumptu pro populo sunt quaeque pro montibus pagis curiis sacellis; at privata quae*

pro singulis hominibus familiis gentibus fiunt. In the calendars only the *feriae publicae* of the first kind are mentioned, and the Septimontium, being plainly a *sacrum pro montibus*, would not be mentioned in the ordinary *fasti* of the earlier Empire. This corresponds exactly with Varro's statement, already quoted, that the Septimontium was *feriae non populi sed montanorum modo ut Paganalia*, etc. Over the precise meaning of *montani* and *pagani* there has been much discussion, but the evidence justifies Wissowa in summing up the matter as follows:

.... die in mehreren derselben Zeit angehörigen Zeugnissen erwähnten *montani* nicht anderes sind als die Angehörigen dieser sieben Berggemeinden. Abgesehen von der öfter erwähnten Varrostelle (vi. 24), wo die *montani* als Teil der Gesamtheit des *populus* gegenüber gestellt werden, geschieht ihrer stets Erwähnung zusammen mit den *pagani*, und zwar in der Weise dass man sieht wie beide zu einander in Verhältnisse der gegenseitigen Ausschlössung stehen, zusammengenommen aber eine höhere Einheit ergeben; d. h. *montani et pagani* bezeichnete an sich die gesamte hauptstädtische Bevölkerung, der Name beschränkte sich aber zu Ciceros Zeit in praxi auf die *plebs urbana*, ähnlich wie später der der XXXV *tribus* auf die *plebs frumentaria* (*loc. cit.* pp. 5, 6).

The conclusion would therefore be that the Septimontium was celebrated at the end of the Republic by the *montani* as such, although practically this embraced all the population of the city, about local centres, and that it did not become one of the *feriae publicae* of Capito's first class until the old and normal distinctions in such matters had been lost.

So far it is easy enough to follow the tradition, but there is another series of references which complicates the problem seriously. In Festus (348) we read as follows:

Septimontio ut ait Antistius Labeo hisce montibus *feriae*: Palatio cui sacrificium quod fit Palatuar dicitur; Veliae [villae *cod.*, but the emendation is certain] cui item sacrificium; Fagutali [faguali *cod.*, emendation again certain], Suburae, Cermalu, Oppio, Caelio monti, Cispio [cis pto *cod.*, where again the emendation seems certain and necessary] monti.

This list contains the Palatium, Cermalus, and Velia, the three parts of the Palatine, the Fagutal, Oppius and Cispus, the three parts of the Esquiline, the Caelian, and the Subura. Paul. Diac. in his epitome (341) writes:

Septimontium appellabant diem festum quod in septem locis faciebant sacrificium: Palatio Velia Fagutali Subura Cermalu Caelio Oppio et Cispio.

There is also a mutilated gloss on the Festus passage which may be emended to read as follows:

(Septimontium dies ap)pellatur mense (Decembri III idus qui dicitur in) fastis Agonalia (quod ea die septem m)ontibus fiunt sa(crificia: Palatio Velia F)agutali Subura (Cermalò Caelio Oppio) Cispio.

Now, it is at once clear from these citations that Labeo interpreted the festival of the Septimontium as applying to a list of hills entirely different from those of the Servian city, and belonging to an earlier stage of the city's existence, when its extent was much narrower. In other words, Labeo and Varro are absolutely at variance with each other, and it is entirely impossible to reconcile their statements by any exegetical jugglery.

Further, there are eight hills named instead of seven, and it is self-evident that some error is lodged here; for no antiquarian would be so foolish as to cite the names of eight hills to explain Septimontium. Various measures have been resorted to in order to reduce the number to seven. Niebuhr struck out *Subura*; Bunsen, *Caelio*; Huschke changed the order and, inserting *in*, reads *Subura in Caelio*. None of these methods commends itself with any great force. It is evident that this list is arranged on no topographical or historical basis, and the only question arising is how to make seven out of an apparent eight.

Leaving this for the moment, and going back to the two explanations of Septimontium, we have to compare a note of Servius, already cited, on *Aen.* vi. 783:

alii dicunt breves septem colliculos a Romulo inclusos qui tamen aliis nominibus appellabantur; alii volunt hos ipsos qui nunc sunt a Romulo inclusos, id est Palatinum Quirinalem Aventinum Caelium Viminalem Esquilinum Ianicularem; alii vero volunt hos quidem fuisse aliis tamen nominibus appellatos.

There seems to be no doubt that *breves septem colliculi* refers to the hills that are given by Festus, and that the divergence in view between his source and Varro had continued until a late period, when antiquarians were divided between the two opinions and a third which was a combination of the two. All of which leads us surely to this conclusion, that in the Ciceronian period there was a festival called the Septimontium, celebrated presumably by the inhabitants of the city about local centres, but

whose origin was already so uncertain that learned antiquarians like Varro and Labeo published diametrically opposite explanations. This is the more surprising as it was a matter which concerned the topography of their own city. Such divergence of opinion on such a subject would certainly seem to be strong evidence for the remote antiquity of the Septimontium itself.

Now it has been generally assumed by recent topographers that we may distinguish two stages in the growth of the city between the earliest settlement on the Palatine and the city that was marked out by the so-called wall of Servius Tullius, and these two stages have been called the Septimontium and the City of the Four Regions. The evidence for the first of these is wholly derived from Labeo's explanation of the festival of the Septimontium, and from topographical possibilities and probabilities. The third stage is based on Varro's description of the four regions into which the city was divided—a division which is thought to antedate the Servian extension. As already stated, Wissowa's monograph contains the most careful presentation of this view, but it has recently been called in question on two grounds: that of too great artificiality, and that of too little basis of evidence. His argument in outline is this:

Varro was mistaken in assuming that the hills of his time were those of the Septimontium, and Labeo was right in believing that it was an earlier and different list; for it would be highly improbable, if not impossible, that the substitution should have been made in the other direction; and the discovery of an inscription of the Ciceronian period relating to the religious organization of the *montani* of the *mons Oppius* as a distinct body, with *magistri*, *flamines*, and a separate treasure, points to the continuance of earlier practice, when the Oppius was one of the *montes* of the city. This view is further strengthened by the occurrence in literature of *montani Palatini*, *montani Cermalenses*, and *montani Velenses*. *Montani* are distinguished from *pagani*, as pointed out above, and the Paganalia was the festival of the latter. We must therefore go back to a religious division of the city, when the dwellers on the hills were distinguished from the rest (*pagani*), and this period must antedate the development of the conception of the seven hills of republican Rome, as otherwise we should not find the terms *Velenses* and *Cermalenses* in use. As Paganalia corresponds to *pagi* and *pagani*, so something must presumably correspond to *montes*, *montani*; and the assumption that Septimontium does so correspond seems almost inevitable, especially when we remember Capito's analysis of *sacra* into *sacra pro montibus*, etc. After the new organization of the city by

Augustus the old distinction between *montani* and *pagani* naturally passed away, and the Septimontium became a festival for all the citizens, although this tended more and more to become a rural observance.

Further—and this is a most important step in the reasoning—if the Septimontium, or festival of the *montani*, was one of the *feriae publicae*, it must have originated at a time when there was no such distinction between *montani* and *populus* as a whole as Varro indicates, but when the *montani* were the only citizens with full civil and religious rights in the community; and the long series of years during which the religious organization of the *montani* remained closed against the rest of the inhabitants is evidence that the period in question can not have been unimportant and brief, but must have been long enough to mark a distinct stage in the city's history. Witness the occurrence of Septimontium as a name of a period, as well as of a festival. We are to remember also that the sacrifices were offered, not to other deities, but to the seven hills themselves.

Now, no matter what error there may be in Labeo's list of eight hills, it is perfectly clear that the Quirinal and Viminal were not included; in other words, that the Septimontium has to do with a condition of things antedating the extension of the city over that northeastern region, part of the territory comprised within the four regions of Servius, and which we have been wont to regard as marking a stage in the city's growth before the time of Servius. This forces us to assign the Septimontium to the first period after the inhabitants of the Palatine hill had extended their sway over some of the neighboring territory. If the Septimontium was the name of the city at any period of its existence, it must have been between the Palatine settlement and the City of the Four Regions. Supposing, then, that Varro is right in saying that Septimontium did denote a stage in the growth of the city, we must place it at this period, and admit that Varro was mistaken in his list, for reasons stated above.

To this argument of Wissowa's the objections may at once be made that two occurrences of Septimontium as the name of a period are not enough to warrant us in believing in the truth of the tradition; that, if there had been such a period, we should have certainly had other references to it; and, most important of all, that it is impossible to admit that so learned an antiquarian as Varro should have been in doubt about such a matter. This last is a serious objection, and therefore, leaving it for the present, it will be well to examine the questions connected with the names of the *montes* themselves.

Three passages need to be taken into account, those already quoted (p. 73) from Festus and Paulus, and a third from Lydus, whose reputation for obscurity is here ably sustained. *De mens.* 118 Bekker:

ἐν ταύτῃ καὶ ἡ λεγομένη παρ' [αὐτῶν Σεπτί]μόννδιος ἑορτὴ ἐπετελεῖτο, τούτεστιν ἡ περίοδος τῆς πόλ[εως, ὅτι ἐπὶ ε' λ]όφους τὰ τεῖχη τῆς Ῥώμης

ἐκτέταται. ὀνόμα[τα δὲ] τούτ[ων· Πα]λάτιον Σκῶλιον Ταρπήιον Ἀβεντίνον
 Τιβο[ύρτιον Πρα]υ[έσ]τιον Βιμινάλιον. [παρὰ] δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ἐτέρως οὕτως·
 Ἀβεν[τ]ίνος Κέλιος [Ἑσκ]ῶλιος Καπιτολῖνος Βελινήσιος Κυ[ρινά]λιος Παλα-
 [τίνος].

The uncertainties and possibilities of the text of Lydus are numerous, but it appears probable that he is attempting to reproduce the view contained in the passage from Servius previously cited, and that in his first list he intends to give the names of the seven hills of the republican city, Τιβο[ύρτιον] standing for Caelian and Πρα]υ[έσ]τιον for Quirinal, although this is very problematical. In the second list he has, as a matter of fact, given the Servian hills over again, except that Βελινήσιος (Velia) has displaced the Viminal. His evidence may be regarded, therefore, as valueless for the actual lists, but as valuable for its bearing on three points: (1) that he, too, recognized Septimontium as a name of one stage in the city's growth (ἡ περίοδος τῆς πόλ[εως] ὅτι ἐπὶ ζ' λ]όφους τὰ τείχη τῆς Ῥώμης ἐκτέταται); (2) that there had been almost always two interpretations of the application of the term Septimontium; and (3) that any definiteness of distinction in the names of the two sets of hills had long since died out. We are left, therefore, to the testimony of Labeo alone for the names of the earlier list.

There are in this list three difficulties—one purely formal, namely the presence of eight instead of seven names, and two questions of topographical fact, namely the explanation of Subura and Fagutal. It is now generally admitted that Fagutal was the name applied to the slope of the Oppius toward the Velia, the present situation of the well-known church of S. Pietro in Vincoli. In earlier times it was sometimes regarded as the valley between the Oppius and the Cispius, but that was when the valley of the Subura was also thought to have had a place among the *montes*. This identification of the Fagutal may be regarded as an accepted fact, and Labeo's list contains, therefore, the three parts of the Palatine—Palatium, Cermalus, and Velia—which are thoroughly vouched for by manifold evidence, the three parts of the Esquiline—Oppius, Cispius, and Fagutal—and the Caelius and the Subura.

The Subura in historical times was one of the best-known

districts of Rome, not altogether to its credit. It was the valley stretching from the Forum up between the Oppius and the Cispius, and can not by any subterfuge have been called a *mons*. Another suggested explanation is that Subura was first part of one of the hills, and then became the designation of the valley at its foot; but this would be an unexampled and unnatural transfer.

Not to linger over less probable hypotheses, Wissowa argues as follows:

Niebuhr's method of simply striking out Subura is wrong, for the mention of Caelius is irregular; that is, in the Festus citation it is inserted between Oppio and Cispio, thus breaking the order *Oppio monti Cispio monti*, in which it seems to be quite clear that after the five substantive forms the two adjectives *Oppius* and *Cispius* are used with *mons*, while in the epitome Caelius is the only word that has changed its place. Caelius is also the only name that has the same form in the early list and in that of the hills of Servius, for Palatium becomes *mons Palatinus*, so that the suggestion of the interpolation of Caelius lies near at hand.

On the other hand, there seems to be no possible reason for the interpolation of Subura, and even if Subura is dropped from the Septimontium, the *regio Suburana* of the next stage of Rome's growth remains still an unsolved mystery, if it is supposed to refer to the historical Subura, inasmuch as we have ample evidence that it (the *regio*) lay principally on the Caelian! Everyone will remember the very peculiar shape that earlier maps gave to the *regio Suburana* in order to make it include all that seemed to belong to it. Careful examination shows with sufficient clearness that this *regio* must have included only the Caelian district, and there seems to be no other explanation possible except to admit that the topographical unit, from which the *regio* was named, lay on the Caelian, and was quite different from the Subura of later times. This unit must have been a hill, to correspond with the usage in other cases, and therefore one of the parts of the Caelian, as the adjacent hills are excluded by the limits of the other three regions, as Varro enumerates them. The conclusion, therefore, is that the mention of the Caelian in the series of the seven hills of the Septimontium is incorrect, but that it is by no means a mere interpolation; for no one who had intentionally inserted an eighth hill would have omitted to drop one of the other names that had become almost obsolete, so that the number might correspond. Caelius belongs in Labeo's text, but as an explanation of Subura, which Labeo knew was not the Subura of his time, but a part of the Caelian. This theory gives us four natural and symmetrical regions, and leaves the valley of the later Subura outside of the city until the union of the earlier Roman settlement with that on the Quirinal and Viminal—a topographical necessity.

While it is not certain to which part of the Caelian we should attach the name Subura, whether to the western part (with Richter) or to the eastern part (with Wissowa), so far as his explanation of Caelio-Subura goes the latter's argument seems probable,

well supported by evidence, and altogether acceptable, *provided* we may believe that there was a difference between the name Subura in historical times and earlier. He says:

Aside from Labeo, there is no evidence to be got from literature, nor has any etymology of the word been found. Varro and Verrius derive the name *Suburana tribus* or *regio* from a *pagus Succusanus*, and we know that the official abbreviation of this word was Suc. Plainly, therefore, the original form was Sucusa or Succusa, the name of the part of the Caelius. The ancients regarded these two names as identical, but this does not prove that they were so by any means, especially as, etymologically, Subura can not have been derived from Sucusa, and the way out is to assume that they were originally separate things, and that the names became confounded in later times when the earlier names of parts of hills gradually dropped out of use. Verrius says that the *pagus Succusanus* derived its name "a stativo praesidio quod solitum sit succurrere Esquilis infestantibus eam partem urbis Gabinis," and, so far as this goes, it is additional evidence for a district on the Caelian, rather than in the valley of the later Subura—a most irrational place for a garrison to be stationed to defend the city from the attacks of the Gabinians.

On the whole, this theory seems to me the only one that can lay any claim to probability, or to being a reasonably satisfactory explanation of the situation. The principal difficulties—and the only ones that are of special importance—are, first, the discrepancy between Varro and Labeo, and the apparent ignorance on the part of the former of the original content of Septimontium as given by the latter. If Varro was not ignorant of this, he must have deliberately refused to admit its truth, in which case we should, I suppose, be bound to accept his view as against that of Labeo in a matter of Roman antiquities. To be taken in connection with this objection, however, is the increasing confusion in regard to the whole matter of the names and number of the hills, so that a difference in the first century B. C. does not seem quite so strange as it otherwise might. Anyone who had accepted the canonical account of the founding of Rome, as it had taken shape in the time of Cicero, would probably find it hard to divert his thoughts from the history of the addition of the seven Servian hills, as we find it given in Livy. The silence of other Roman writers about the Septimontium does not seem a valid objection in the face of reasonable evidence, no matter how confined in compass. I see no other way, therefore, than to admit that Varro was mistaken in this instance—or else to throw out the whole theory.

The second objection is that of the confusion in the meaning of Subura, and the transfer of the name in historical times to the valley. This difficulty can be explained, apparently, in no other way than that which Wissowa has worked out; and here again, if one rejects the possibility of this explanation, he must perforce reject the whole theory.

Personally, I think that the weight of present evidence is strongly in favor of this view, and that it is the only working hypothesis as yet advanced which enables us to correlate the known facts of early Roman topography. This it does so well that there is not sufficient ground for refusing to accept it.

The history of the "Seven Hills" is therefore this: After the city had extended its limits beyond the Palatine, it included seven hills, or separate points of hills, the three of the Palatine, Palatium, Cermalus, and Velia, the three of the Esquiline, Oppius, Cispius and Fagutal, and the eastern or western point of the Caelius, Succusa (Subura). A festival, the Septimontium, was established in honor of the existing city, celebrated by the *montani* separately. The same name was given to the city itself, probably before the institution of the festival.

After the Servian wall was built, in historical times, the old Septimontium was explained as referring to the seven hills now inclosed within this wall, viz.: Palatine, Capitoline, Aventine, Caelian, Esquiline, Viminal, and Quirinal. This became the canonical content of the term, recognized by the people in general and even by historians, the only exceptions being a few antiquarians like Labeo; although it seems that a dim idea was floating about that originally some other hills had been meant. But the *septem montes* of Latin literature were those just enumerated.

After Augustus had reorganized Rome and divided it into fourteen regions, of which the Transtiberine district formed one, and a very important one, it seemed manifestly improper to omit the Janiculum from the list of the seven hills, and therefore, as time went on, we find this hill substituted for one of the Servian, as, e. g., for the Capitoline in the note of Servius. In the earlier Middle Ages the Vaticanus also appears.

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NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

A CASE OF IOTACISM IN THEMISTIUS

In Themistius on Aristotle's *Physics* vi. 9 (p. 200. 8 Schenkl, p. 393. 25 Spengel) the editions read:

καταύθα δὴ τὴν ἐπ' ἀπειρον διαίρεσιν αἰτιατόν ὡς ἐνεργεία ποιεῖται ὁ λόγος αὐτὴν οὐ
δυνάμει. τοσοῦτον γὰρ οὗτος τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ διαφέρει τῷ μὴ ποιεῖν εἰς ἡμίση τὴν διαίρεσιν
ἐπ' ἀπειρον, ἀλλ' ἴσον δὴποτε λόγον.

The last four words do not yield the sense required. Themistius means that the bisection *ad infinitum* of Zeno differs from the Achilles and the tortoise fallacy, in that the latter divides successively, not in halves, but *into whatsoever ratio*. We must plainly replace ἴσον δὴποτε λόγον by εἰς ὃν δὴποτε λόγον. For the idiomatic use of δὴποτε cf. Herod. vi. 134: ὁ τι δὴ ποτε πρήξοντα; Epicurus *Sentent.* 36: κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἴδιον χάρας καὶ ὅσων δὴ ποτε αἰτιῶν; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1144 a. 33: καὶ τὸ ἀριστον ὅτι δὴποτε ὄν;

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TACITUS *DIALOGUS* 20. 10

Praecurrit hoc tempore iudex dicentem, et nisi aut cursu argumentorum aut colore sententiarum aut nitore et cultu discriptionum invitatus et corruptus est, aversatur.

In the spirited defense of the power and significance of the new oratory which Aper presents, the suggestion of the *corrupting* influence of great eloquence is an inappropriate touch, only suitable to an opponent of the claims of oratory; cf. a fragment of Cic. *De re publ.* in Am. Mar. 90. 4. 10. For the general course of Aper's confident argument the appropriate word is obtained by the change of a single letter, viz., *corruptus*. The judge is allured by the charm and sweep of the orator's language, and is finally carried away—*invitatus et correptus*. The juxtaposition of these two ideas in descriptions of oratorical power is frequent. Cic. *De or.* ii. 176: *si adsequetur . . . ut eos quocumque velit vel trahere vel rapere possit*, etc. *De or.* i. 90: *dicendo . . . hominum mentes adlicere, voluntates impellere quo velit*. Quint. x. 1. 110: (*iudex*) *non rapi videatur, sed sequi*. Anon. *De rhet.* Spg. I^o. 210. 28: (ἡ ὑπόκρισις) . . . δαλεάζει καὶ καθέλκει τὴν γνώμην τοῦ κριτοῦ. Cf. *De or.* ii. 187; Quint. vi. 2. 3; viii. 3. 4; ix. 4. 12; xii. 10. 61. For *corripere* in this usage see Quint. ix. 2. 104: *Celsus excitare iudicem . . . satisfacere, precari, corripere, figuras putat*. Augustine *C. Cresc. Donat.* i. 10 (Migne IX, p. 453): *ibi (in ecclesia) forsitan putas*

corripiendos et convincendos esse diversa sentientes—where *corripiendos* and *convincendos* refer respectively to the functions of rhetoric and dialectic, with the use of which Cresconius has charged Augustine.

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SCHLICHER ON "THE MOODS OF INDIRECT QUOTATION"

Mr. Schlicher's suggestive paper in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXVI, pp. 60 ff., deserves careful and detailed consideration. I shall not now raise the more obvious questions regarding the validity of his method in general, but desire briefly to call attention to two points of minor importance.

Much of the persuasive force of Mr. Schlicher's presentation arises from the circumstance that his theory so well fits the facts of German grammar that those who are imbued with the idioms of that language will be tempted to accept it. In striving for this result, however, he has exposed some vulnerable points. Obviously the theory arose from a study of the German construction. It fails when applied to the facts of Latin grammar. A moment's reflection will reveal how dissimilar are the facts of the construction in these two languages. In the German construction of indirect discourse—I speak chiefly of the older dialects—the mood, roughly speaking, answers the question: "Do I vouch for, or do I not?" In Latin it is entirely different. Here the mood determines whether the verb in question is felt to be included in the quotation or not. A theory that purports to explain the construction in both languages is inadequate if it fails to explain this vital difference. It will not be enough to answer that the difference is the result of a long specialization into diverse directions from a common source. That common source (as common it may have been) could hardly have been the simple psychological one suggested by Mr. Schlicher; for the difference here pointed out is a purely logical one.

Secondly, the examples cited from early Latin usually show a "repudiation," not of simple statements, but of commands and the like, in which one naturally expects the listener's immediate "rejection," "repudiation," or approval. *Non taces insipiens? Taceam!?* is very far from indirect discourse. Such examples can hardly be said to deal with "discourse" or matters of ordinary quotation. Though frequent in Plautus, they never once show a hint of developing a sentence similar to "*er wār ja heimgegangen*" used with the interpretation that Mr. Schlicher gives it. As for the German examples, in his eagerness to find a basis for his complex construction in the data of parataxis, is he not relying upon "simple" sentences that are of a secondary origin, sentences that possess a certain pseudo-simplicity, but derive to a large extent both form and connotation from the complex and more explicit constructions? Certainly the tense of the verb in the example just quoted would indicate as much.

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BOOK REVIEWS

A Companion to Greek Studies. Edited by LEONARD WHIBLEY.
Cambridge: University Press, 1905. Pp. xxx + 672. 18s. net.

There is some appropriateness in hailing the appearance of this work in the initial number of a journal devoted to classical philology. In these days the field has become so broad that the specialist must welcome any attempt, as well conceived and executed as this is, to sum up clearly the main results of explorations in fields to which he has devoted less attention. Chap. i treats of the geography, fauna, and flora of Greece; chap. ii presents elaborate chronological tables; chap. iii embraces literature, philosophy, and science; chap. iv, art; chap. v deals with mythology and religion; chap. vi includes, under the head of public antiquities, the topics of constitutions, law and finance, population and slaves, colonies and commerce, measures, weights, and money, war, ships, and the calendar; chap. vii, on private antiquities, is equally comprehensive; chap. viii surveys the dialects, epigraphy, palaeography, textual criticism, metre, and the history of scholarship.

It will be a satisfaction to all who have had to rely on Iwan Müller's *Handbuch* to find in English such authoritative accounts, amounting to treatises in themselves, on literature, philosophy, and law, as Jebb, Jackson, and Wyse contribute to this volume. Nevertheless, there are serious deficiencies in the book as a whole. The absence of full references to authorities, except in a few of the articles, will make the book less valuable as a basis for further research; and this lack is not made up by the bibliographies appended to each section. Good bibliographies may be found, e. g., on population (p. 416), scholarship (p. 651), dress (p. 534); but many are entirely inadequate. At the end of the sections on fauna and flora no mention is made of the work of Keller, Hehn, and Hahn. Again, Cartault, Torr, and Ridgeway are the only authorities given for the trireme, though the writer of this section shows an intimate knowledge of other discussions in a recent number of the *Classical Review*.

The Table of Contents is admirably constructed, occupying twenty pages, and the four indices are helpful (though the reader will not find "ostracism" anywhere in them), but the editor might have done much more in the way of supplying cross references. In § 92, on Alexandrian criticism, there should have been a reference to § 713, and a serious conflict of statements would thereby have been avoided. In § 92 it is said

that the origin of the division of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into twenty-four books is unknown; in § 713 the division is positively attributed to Zenodotus, no authorities being given. The former statement is the safer, since ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματικῶν τῶν περὶ Ἀρίσταρχον (Ps. Plut. *Vit. Hom.* 4) is a loose expression for "grammarians," and Eustathius (*Il.*, p. 5) says that Ἀρίσταρχος καὶ μετ' ἐκείνον(!) Ζηνόδοτος made the division, which leaves us still in doubt. In § 580 we read the incorrect statement that wives were present at their husbands' meals and thus might meet his friends. The facts are correctly given in § 610 by another contributor. The editor should have corrected another slip in § 580, where we read that the story of Panthea is told in the *Anabasis*; read *Cyropaedeia*.

It is hardly fair, perhaps, to carp at inconsistencies in spelling, since we have no standard in English. When, however, the editor tells us in the preface that Greek words like Nike and Pentekostys are usually transliterated, we wonder why he himself, in his excellent chapter on constitutions, should write (p. 372) the forms *Babyca* and *Cnaceion*.

It is obviously impossible to discuss at length all of the matters which a careful reading of this book suggests, but one may praise the illustrations, and wish for more; the different styles of temples, for example, should have been shown in diagrams. The type is clear, the paper is good, and the misprints, with the exception of wrongly placed acute accents, are happily infrequent.

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Kaiser Hadrian und der letzte grosse Historiker von Rom:
Eine quellenkritische Vorarbeit. Von E. KORNEMANN,
 Leipzig: Dieterich, 1905. Pp. 136. M. 4.20.

Kornemann's article was called forth by a work by Otto Schulz, entitled *Leben des Kaisers Hadrian* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1904). He presupposes knowledge of Schulz's book on the part of the reader. Both works deal with the sources and reliability of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, particularly of the life of Hadrian, but cover in a more or less cursory manner all the lives down to and including Alexander Severus.

In 1889 H. Dessau (*Hermes* XXIV [1879], pp. 337 ff.) had awakened new interest in the study of the *S. H. A.* by an investigation in which he aimed to prove that all these biographies were the work of a forger of the time of the emperor Theodosius. Mommsen (*Hermes* XXV [1880], pp. 228 ff.) so far modified this view as to retain belief in the six authors, of the time of Diocletian-Constantine, named in the manuscript, while admitting that these biographies, united in a corpus about 330 A. D., suffered from the hand of a reviser of the time of Theodosius. This theory held its ground till 1901, when, with the works of F. Leo on Greek and

Roman biography, and especially of J. M. Heer, "Der historische Wert der Vita Commodi" (*Philologus* Suppl. IX, pp. 1-208), another advance was made. It now appeared that both the compiler and the Theodosian reviser introduced changes and falsifications into the lives, which originated out of a combination of historical and biographical parts; the former valuable, the latter generally worthless.

Schulz, in his Leipzig dissertation of 1903 and in the work above cited, extended these investigations to cover all the *Lives*, from Hadrian to Caracalla. Portions of the same valuable, chronologically arranged, historical work are found in all the *Lives*, but they are mutilated and enlarged by biographical insertions and additions. Marius Maximus was author of neither the chronological nor the biographical portion, but the citations from his work were introduced either by the compiler or, as Schulz believes, by the later reviser. Kornemann strengthens and builds further on this foundation, while condemning the more general work of Lécivain (*Études sur l'histoire Auguste*, Paris, 1904).

After this introduction we come to the main portion of Kornemann's investigations. Hadrian's birthplace is discussed on pp. 7-11. The statement of the *Vita Hadr.* 1. 3 that he was born at Rome is shown to be inconsistent with immediately succeeding statements of the same *Life*. A correction of *Romae* to *Italicae in Hispania* would not only make the entire *Life* consistent on that point, but would bring it into accord with the remaining historical evidence. Kornemann seems justified in considering the word *Romae* a change due to a later reviser.

On pp. 11-21 the question whether Hadrian was adopted by Trajan is handled. This involves an analysis of the sources of chaps. 2-4. 7 of the *Life*. Kornemann first shows that the original chronological source has suffered much more from contamination and addition than Schulz had admitted. Omitting these additions, the remainder is then divided into two portions. One, showing the gradual growth of Trajan's favor for Hadrian until the adoption, is rightly traced through the chronological source back to the *Autobiography* of Hadrian. The other, ascribing Hadrian's accession to the favor of the empress Plotina, is consequently identified with the biographical source. So far we may follow Kornemann with a fair degree of certainty, but his final decision to follow the biographical source and deny the adoption by Trajan is not so well established. The decision between varying reports of seemingly equal authority is seldom certain.

In the third section, on Hadrian's first years of rule, Kornemann follows Schulz more closely, yet here also he is inclined to reject more as later forgery or interpolation. The fourth section deals with the travels of Hadrian. These chapters, 10-14. 8, belong to the chronological portion, as Schulz had noted, but Kornemann adds that the indebtedness is of very unequal extent. While defending against Schulz the authenticity

of a few sections, he finds on the whole the story of the travels a much thinned and interpolated extract from the *Autobiography*. His position here seems secure. The fifth section takes up the second half of Hadrian's life. Kornemann follows Schulz in ascribing most of this portion to the biographical source, only relatively unimportant changes being made.

On p. 70 we come to the constructive portion of the author's work—the determination of the character, extent, and author of the anonymous historical source of the *S. H. A.* He collects from the earlier *Lives* many passages which show accurate historical information, carefulness of titular and technical references, but a marked poverty of expression, while other passages show just as decidedly the lack of these qualities. The first set must come from the anonymous historian, the second from a biographer. A comparison of similar statements in the different *Lives* still further determines the character of the anonymous history and shows that the extracts from it, made by the *S. H. A.* and especially by Spartianus, are accurate and even literal, though much abridged.

The extent and date of this history are fixed by determining which is the latest *Life* to show its influence. In opposition to the original view that it belonged to the time of Septimius Severus, Schulz maintained its use in the *Vita Caracallae*, and Lécivain also in the *Vita Macrini*. Kornemann goes still further, claiming the use of this source in the lives of Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus. The fact that practically the same result has been reached by an investigation, independently made, in the *Life* of Heliogabalus, by a graduate student working with me, supports the general accuracy of this position, though the use of the Anonymous in the *Life* of Alexander Severus is not very clearly defined.

The best proof that the Anonymous lived and wrote in the time of Alexander Severus is found in the party character and tendency of the work, as Kornemann has set them forth. On pp. 94–102 he has collected all the passages showing the attitude toward the senate—a stately array that must impress the reader. The tendency and spirit of a single author can be surely detected throughout. On pp. 103–12 follows an admirable portrayal of the friendliness of the Anonymous to the whole house of Severus, except to Heliogabalus, and of his freedom from hostility to all emperors except the worst.

It is particularly in the portrayal of the senate, of the affairs of the city, and of the imperial policy, that the Anonymous is strong. To the provinces he pays less attention, and his knowledge seems meager except in regard to Egypt and the western provinces of Africa. Furthermore, the Anonymous was hardly friendly to the soldiery and failed in exact description of military operations. He was certainly not a soldier. It seems more likely that he was a senator, but I question whether we are ready to accept Kornemann's identification of him with Lollius Urbicus, cited only in the *Vita Diadumeni* 9. 2, where, however, it is not part of

an original historical excerpt, but, as Kornemann has noted, stands in a passage betraying the hand of a later reviser. If this be right, the possibility of a certain identification of the Anonymous with Lollius becomes very dim, though the cleverness of Kornemann's exposition must be admitted. That Lollius Urbicus, senator, son of Hadrian's favored officer, from an African family, and already aged in the time of Alexander Severus, could have written such a history as this, is easy to believe, but that he wrote this particular one we have no satisfactory proof.

On the whole, however, Kornemann's work must be most highly praised and accepted as the foundation for future investigations in the *Lives* treated. He surpasses his predecessors in his freedom from prejudice and his readiness to admit the possibility of a combination of sources as well as later revision, even in the shorter passages, which show the characteristics of this or that source. Careful analysis on this basis will, I believe, yield still further results.

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The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire. By J. P. MAHAFFY. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. viii+154. \$1 net.

In these six lectures, delivered in the University of Chicago, Professor Mahaffy summarizes the results of twenty years' research. It is needless to say that he moves about with perfect mastery in this most difficult and most unsatisfactory, perhaps, of all great historical periods. The constant recurrence of his old-time *bêtes noires*, his high-Toryism and Homeric frankness, are more than atoned for by his charm of style and the noble and brilliant concluding lecture.

Moreover, we fully accept his defense, set forth in 1896, of the use of modern analogy, and we may go farther and disclaim the need of any Olympic aloofness in the employment of modern parallels. But is it not just to require of the historian who trenches on *current* politics that he shall vindicate his claim to do so by showing something of the qualities of the high statesman? Professor Mahaffy is both too near and too far from his home-politics.

Some grammatical slips and an Irish bull (p. 41) require correction, and on p. 55 something—perhaps a passage—appears to have dropped out before "Still more it lay." One finds it hard to account at this date for the extraordinary remark on p. 73: "The Greeks had long since laid aside the habit of consulting the wisdom of Egypt and the East, from which their civilization had once sprung."

W. S. MILNER.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, TORONTO.

University of California Publications, Classical Philology. Vol. I.
Berkeley: University Press, 1904.

No. 1. *Hiatus in Greek Melic Poetry.* By EDWARD BULL CLAPP. Pp. 1-34. 1904. \$0.50.

This paper shows the certain though vanishing use of the digamma in melic poetry. Alcman uses it the most freely, while Anacreon ignores it. Digamma is widely used to prevent hiatus, rarely to make position. Final diphthongs and long vowels are, with rare exceptions, shortened in hiatus, this shortening is almost exclusively found in dactylic rhythms, and there generally in the second and third feet. Melic poetry in the use of digamma and final vowels in hiatus differs from Homeric poetry in that it uses them less freely. Professor Clapp has put in clear and compact form the results of his own and of previous investigations.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY.

JOHN A. SCOTT.

No. 2. *Studies in Si-clauses.* I. *Concessive Si-clauses in Plautus.* II. *Subjunctive Protasis with Indicative Apodosis in Plautus.* By H. C. NUTTING. Pp. 35-94. 1905. \$0.60.

Dr. Nutting's study is a piece of descriptive syntax that should exemplify the kind of analysis to which grammatical material ought to be compelled to submit before generalizations are made. It proves the uselessness of mere numerical ratios like *si sit-sit: si sit-est:: a: b*, of which there has been a sufficiency. In the first section concessive *si*-clauses are analyzed under the groups of "simple" and "intensive" clauses. In the second part the occurrences of the type *si sit-est* are separately examined and grouped under the following six heads: "Pure Conditional Sentences," "Concessive Sentences," "*Si* in Object Clauses," "The Indefinite Second Singular," "Loosely Attached Clauses," and "*Mirari* (*mirum*) in Apodosis." In the subdivisions, due stress is laid upon the nature of the verb (e. g., *posse, velle*), tense, and, what is too often neglected, the closeness of attachment of the *si*-clause. Nutting reaches the only conclusion that is logical, namely, that these sentences must be studied separately, and that no "sweeping explanation can be found which is valid for all cases." On the whole, there is a strong resemblance between his method of work and results and those of Blase, whose *Studien und Kritiken* I. Teil, 1904; II. Teil, 1905 (Mainz) appeared at about the same time.

In the third section one fails to find any mention of the fact that the imperfect subjunctive may be performing the function of a preterite-future in several expressions, like *expectabam siqui eas assereret manu*, *Poen.* 1392; the distinction is certainly an essential one. Furthermore, the summary on p. 81 of the uses of *posse, quire*, and *velle* is based upon so few occurrences as to have little general validity.

BYRN MAWR COLLEGE.

TENNEY FRANK.

- No. 3. *The Whence and Whither of the Modern Science of Language.*
By BENJAMIN IDE WHEELER. Pp. 95-109. 1905. \$0.25.

This is the address delivered at the St. Louis Congress of Arts and Science, October, 1904, in which, with characteristic appreciation of the larger aspects of a subject and skill in their presentation, are sketched the broad lines of development in the modern science of language, the general movements and points of view, with their sources and relations.

C. D. B.

- No. 4. *On the Influence of Lucretius on Horace.* By WILLIAM A. MERRILL. Pp. 111-29. 1905. \$0.25.

This paper is a laborious study of a subject to which the diligence of earlier workers had left small room for important additions. Not only genuine, or even possible, Lucretian reminiscences in Horace are adduced, but also a vast array of wholly irrelevant examples which are mere casual coincidences in the idiom of a common language. For the most part the author distinguishes reasonably between such instances and real cases of relationship, as, for instance, when he remarks that "*dormitat Homerus—Homerus sopitu' quietest* have no connection." Very true, but the reader will not escape the feeling that his own judgment is impugned by such a juxtaposition as well as by the author's comment. There are, I think, no certain examples of Lucretian influence adduced which had escaped the vigilance of Munro, and one must conclude that the investigation was made without reference to his commentary. Its value as an independent contribution to the subject should rest therefore upon the general conclusions, which set forth: that Horace was influenced by Lucretius in early life (*Sermones*), only slightly in the *Odes* i-iii, again in *Epp.* i, and not at all in his later works. This generalization is not new—it was arrived at and formulated in essentially the same terms by Weingärtner¹ more than thirty years before—nor does it seem to me entirely sound. It aims apparently to connect the influence of Lucretius with periods of addiction to Epicurean thought in the life of Horace. But the fact that in the *Epodes* (contemporary with the *Sermones*) there is no real trace of Lucretius, would suggest that the larger influence discernible again in *Epp.* i is due to the literary form and subject-matter rather than to time of composition.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

¹"De Horatio Lucretii imitatore," *Diss. Hallenses* II, p. 46. It should be added that Weingärtner's dissertation was inaccessible to the author during the preparation of his study, but was found just before publication; no allusion, however, is made to Weingärtner's general conclusions.

Archiloque, sa vie et ses poésies. Par AMÉDÉE HAUVETTE. Paris: Fontemoing, 1905. Pp. x+302. Fr. 7.50.

The history of lyric poetry in Greece begins with Archilochus, poet of the lyre and sword, the first great hater and the first unsuccessful lover of Europe, a passion-swept man whose career was embittered by the pain of outraged love and the mischances of adventure on land and sea; but who found in the ebb and flow that attend human life a cause for no undue depression. Not merely is Archilochus the first Greek poet with a clear-cut individuality—an individuality more intense than that of any of his successors in the lyric art; he is an artist of a high order, a great technical innovator who influenced later Greek literature more profoundly than any other single poet. The “inventor” of the keen iambic and of trochaic verse, possibly also of the elegiac distich, he was the first to associate verses of different lengths and of different rhythms, and thus to introduce the strophe. Of this poet, vituperative, manly, and tender, the great creator in lyric poetry, there remain all told scarcely more than 275 verses or parts of verses.

The time is opportune for a re-examination of his life and art. The papyrus of Strassburg (Reitzenstein *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin* 1899, p. 857) has recently added the fragments of two poems, one of which is the model for the tenth epode of Horace. The “Monumentum Archilochi,” composed by the Parian historian Demeas perhaps as early as the fourth century, was first made known in 1900 by Hiller von Gärtringen, and is now republished, after a second inspection of the stone, in the *Inscriptiones Cycladum praeter Tenum* (Berlin, 1903). Presenting a survey of the facts referred to in the poems of Archilochus, and by referring them to the annals of Paros, Demeas’ work is valuable not only for the interpretation of the poet and as a witness to his cult at Paros, but also because it assures us that the Alexandrian chronology of the poet may well have had a basis other than mere synchronizing with events of Lydian history.

M. Hauvette, the accomplished author of the admirable work on Herodotus, had already, prior to the publication of the present volume, written on the new fragments in the *Revue des études grecques* for 1901, and on the “Monumentum” in the *Bull. de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* for 1901. The *Archiloque* is the most important contribution to the study of the life and works of the Parian poet that has yet appeared; and it has the great advantage over the valuable essay by Crusius in Pauly-Wissowa’s *Real-Encyclopädie* that it is able to utilize the newly discovered fragments. The text of the poems is not re-edited, but in all other respects the book takes up anew every aspect of the many questions that centre about the career and art of Archilochus. We have thus a volume of three hundred pages dealing in

detail with the chronology of the life of the poet, the transmission of his works, his dialect and vocabulary, his metres and musical accompaniment, his ideas and sentiments, the character of his satire, and quality of his composition and style. Throughout the evidence is presented by M. Hauvette without prejudice, and a full command of the writings of his predecessors has begotten no spirit of subservience.

The scholar who has to deal with lyric fragments builds his theories oftenest on sand, and especially when he attempts to reconstruct a life so rich in vicissitude as that of Archilochus. Jurenka finds the ultimate source of Archilochus' disaffection with men and things in his political reverses. So unsubstantial is this that M. Hauvette, with equal uncertainty, attributes it to the slavish origin of his mother, Enipo, a name which he holds is not derived from the satirical character of the poet's verse (*ἐνίπτω*).

The limits set to this notice render impossible any adequate discussion of controverted points. We may merely call attention to some few matters of special interest. Thus, with regard to the eclipse of frag. 74, which has been regarded as affording the one sure chronological fact in the history of the poet, M. Hauvette argues with some plausibility that Aristotle's statement shows that there is nothing to prove that the poet actually witnessed the eclipse; it may not have been that of April 6, 648, visible at Thasos, but that of April 15, 657, a total eclipse for countries east of Rhodes. Of the dates to which the *ἀκμὴ* of the poet is referred, 688 is that of the beginning of his adventures at Thasos, 665 that of his sojourn at Paros after his return. This at least allows a reasonable time for the troubles at home which must have occurred after the Thasian episode and which bulk largest in the extant fragments. Rohde, on the other hand, threw overboard all the traditional chronology of the poet as based on the mere coincidence of the accession of Gyges and the colonization of Paros. In frag. 89 *ἀχρημένη σκυτάλη* is not to be limited to a written message—a point of some interest in connection with the controversy over the early age of writing for literary purposes. We agree with M. Hauvette that the poems of Archilochus are essentially sympotic, that is, that they were originally sung in a company of friends. With regard to the dialect, our author holds, against most dialectologists, that Archilochus did borrow epic forms (*-οιο, Ἰλαος*, etc.) The Alexandrian edition consisted of one book of elegies, at least three books of iambics (trimeters, tetrameters, epodes), and one book of various other pieces. In the concluding chapter M. Hauvette endeavors to show that Archilochus stands nearer to the Homeric *δαίδαλ'* than to the spirit of the seventh century, which witnessed the most profound transformation of the Ionic spirit: "il se rattache bien plutôt à l'ionisme de l'épopée: il écrit, à quelques nuances près, la langue d'Homère, et il a aussi, des aèdes, le don d'une vision nette de la réalité, le goût des images familières, le génie

du pittoresque simple et naturel." The splendor of Homer does indeed shed some luster over the poet of Paros, but we can not find him more akin to the *δοῖς* than to the age in which he lived. If he seems unmoved by the newer life of Ionia, it is because the stormy events of his career filled his horizon to the exclusion alike of the vanishing heroic world and of the stirring movements of the wider Ionic life. M. Hauvette does not take account of the fact that an appreciation of Archilochus' place in literature is to be gained in part by reference to the life and art of his younger contemporary Alcman, and not exclusively by comparison with the epic or the Seven Sages and nascent philosophy.

HERBERT WEIR SMYTH.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

Reden und Aufsätze von Theodor Mommsen. Mit zwei Bildnissen.

Zweiter unveränderter Abdruck. Berlin: Weidmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1905. Pp. vi + 479. M. 8.

Under date of November 1, 1904, Otto Hirschfeld issues this selection from the addresses and other writings of the master, pending the gradual publication of his complete works. The book thus occupies a middle ground between the tributes paid by all the world at the time of Mommsen's death and the biographies and collected works which will in due time appear. Two addresses delivered during his rectorate of the University of Berlin (1874-75) receive the place of honor, one of these being in commemoration of the docents and students who had fallen in the war of 1870-71. Far more space is given to sixteen addresses in the Academy, together with his words of welcome upon the reception of certain new members, notably Scherer and Harnack, thus fitly concluding the series of addresses which begins with his own *Antrittsrede* in 1858—a document for the future historian of scholarship in the nineteenth century. The other addresses were for the most part delivered upon the occasion of royal birthdays, or upon that of Leibniz, patron saint of the Academy. They range in date from 1874 to 1895. In subject they give striking evidence of the wide range of Mommsen's interests, of the historic vision to which all things were equally new and old, of the political sagacity and patriotism which were never overpowered by the weight of his learning. The Roman principate and the new German Empire, national unity, scientific studies and the state, the Academy's own undertakings, Luther and the Humboldts, Frederick the Great, Queen Louisa, William the First, old age and Jacob Grimm, Tacitus' *Germania*, the times of Apollinaris Sidonius, the national odes of Horace—such was the varied menu of the academic birthday feast. Two speeches in the Prussian diet form a transition to the lectures and

miscellanies which fill the second half of the volume, the subject of these speeches being the Royal Library and the museums. Their historic interest is not diminished by the fact that most of the reforms advocated with such earnestness have now been realized, after thirty years. At last the cavalry have retreated, and the fiery sword of the *gardes du corps*—as Mommsen seemed to himself to see it—no longer warns the peaceful reader away from his coveted paradise Unter den Linden. The lectures selected are six in number (1863-91), and treat of coins, the Arval Brothers, the Roman catacombs, the German policy of Augustus, the exploration of the *limes*, and the *Carmen Saeculare* in the light of the celebrated inscription. Among the miscellaneous *Aufsätze* the majority deal with national or educational themes; but there are also articles on the history of the death penalty at Rome, and on Cornelius Gallus; brief tributes to the memory of Jahn, de Rossi, and Bamberger; finally two addresses of congratulation to Moltke on his ninetieth birthday. It is a rich and varied treat, for which we have to thank the promptness of Hirschfeld. No one can read even a small portion of these addresses and other papers without a deeper impression of the personality of the great historian than can be had from the larger works, written—especially in his later years—with a self-restraint and self-suppression of which few historical writers have been capable. The balance is here restored. The man rises above his books, even if the reader's memory can not conjure up from behind that massive pulpit of the Academy a slender figure reading one or another of these addresses in a voice feeble with age, but with an unabated vigor of expression, while a hushed audience hung upon each word as though it might be his last.

FRANK GARDNER MOORE.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE.

Index Phaedrianus. ADOLPHI CINQUINI, Ph.D. Mediolani: Ulricus Hoeplius, MCMV. Pp. 87. L. 3.50.

Good indices of the ancient writers are, as the author of this work maintains, greatly to be desired. He has followed the text of Lucian Müller, and states that he intends to follow the *Index* with a complete lexicon to Phaedrus. Such a work as this can be tested only by constant use; but, so far as can be determined from a brief examination, it is accurately and carefully done, and it is clearly and elegantly printed. On p. 38 *impudenti* should be *inpudenti*.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

Handlexikon zu Cicero. Von H. MERGUET. Erstes Heft, A-D; Zweites Heft, D-M. Leipzig: Theodor Weicher (Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung), 1905. Each part pp. 200, M. 6.

This work serves as a supplement to the author's well-known lexicons to the orations and to the philosophical works of Cicero, in that it gives his complete vocabulary, hitherto available only in the *Thesaurus Ciceronianus* of Nizolius (about 1535), according to the latest texts and with the addition of some variant readings. The examples are not, however, exhaustive, as in the works referred to above, but are selected with the view of registering the various meanings of each word, and at the same time illustrating the syntax and style of Cicero. In the case of terms which give testimony as to matters of antiquities this also is taken account of in the choice of citations.

The accuracy of the work may be taken for granted in the case of a lexicographer of so great experience, and his success in choosing and arranging his examples can be tested only by continual use. The book is sure to be one of great value to scholars, and the reviewer wishes to state explicitly that such criticisms as he has ventured on are made solely with reference to conditions in America. Much information is properly omitted in a special lexicon of the ordinary type, which might perhaps be expected in a *Handlexikon zu Cicero*, which would seem to lie on the border-line between the special and the general lexicon.

The arrangement of the articles, which is in general that of the author's larger lexicons, is not always convenient for reference, and frequently obscures the semasiological development of the words. As is stated in the Preface, the work will be of great value to teachers and students of Latin writing, as well as to those who are pursuing special studies in Cicero, and to these it will mainly appeal in this country. All teachers of Latin will find it serviceable, but the ordinary student could use the book only in conjunction with a general lexicon. As a rule, only the primitive meanings of the words are given, while the derived and tropical senses must be inferred from the examples. This point, as well as the one mentioned above about the arrangement of the citations, may be illustrated by the article *aes*, where the first example contains the phrase *aes alienum*, calling for a meaning which is not given in the definitions, and one which is somewhat remote from the primitive sense of the word. In many cases, however, this must be admitted to be an improvement on the excessive division and subdivision of meanings which is rightly criticized by Elmer in the *Proceedings of the American Philological Association* XXXV, p. xxxiv. Consistency in this respect is not always observed; for instance, under *aries* both "ram" and "battering-ram" are given, while under *aquila* we have only "eagle," though the examples include both the bird and the standard. The examples of *aries*, *aquila*,

and similar words, in which the reference is to the constellations of those names, are doubtless omitted because they are regarded as proper names, which are not included in the lexicon. In that case it is difficult to see why *Catamitus* (p. 100) is printed with a capital.

The omission of all etymologies, as well as of any information about forms, except so far as the latter can be drawn from the examples, is probably due to considerations of space. It is less easy to justify the omission of all marks of quantity, since to give them would have required no additional room. The list of works cited seems to be incomplete, since it does not contain H IV, a (= *Aratea*), from which an example is given under *cate*. On p. 95, l. 3, *canse* is printed for *canes*, and on p. 139 *coflictio* for *conflictio*.

The work is well and clearly printed, and it is gratifying to be informed that all the manuscript is in the printer's hands, and that the completion of this welcome addition to our list of special lexicons may be looked for within the year.

JOHN C. ROLFE.

Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus. By H. A. J. MUNRO.

Second edition. London: Bell, 1905. Pp. xii+250. \$2.50 net.

Good wine needs no bush, and Munro's well-known book no additional commendation to that which the first edition so bountifully received. It has served for the stimulation of now a whole generation of students of Catullus, in spite of the fact that few of Munro's emendations of the text have been accepted by other scholars. The book has long been out of print, and will find a hearty welcome in its reissue, which was perhaps prompted by the desire to compete with a recent mechanical reproduction of the *Criticisms* along with the same author's *Aetna*.

The new edition differs from its predecessor only by including three short articles contributed by the author to the *Journal of Philology* after the publication of his book. The reader who wishes to find them, however, may feel inclined to utter a brief malediction upon the editor of the new edition, who omits to state what, or where, they are. The first, on Cat. 63. 18 (p. 143), proposes to read *hilarate procitatis* for *hilarate erocitatis* of cod. O (*crocitatis* G), citing Phil. Gloss. *procitat*, *προεκκαλείται*, and Paul. Fest. 225. 7. The emendation will hardly find acceptance. *Procitatis* is palaeographically less probable than *erocitatis* (= *erae citatis*), and *citatis* chimes in excellently with the other words expressing excited swiftness that abound in this poem.

The second note is on 64. 276 (p. 150), where Munro would read *uestis ubi* [sc. *erat*?] for *uestibuli*, criticizing Ellis' rendering of "the shelter of the royal porch" on the ground that the *uestibulum* was an unroofed fore-court. Ellis, in the second edition of his *Commentary*, did not

mention Munro's emendation, though he apparently laid the criticism to heart, changing his version to "the inclosure of the royal vestibule," and explaining *tecta* as "the buildings which made up the *uestibulum*, a spacious court from which the palace was entered." But both Munro and Ellis may perhaps be wrong in their notion of what Catullus had in mind as a *uestibulum* (Munro apparently depends on Marquardt). The poet was no archaeologist, but he doubtless knew that a Roman *uestibulum* might be, in whole or in part, a roofed portico running along the front of a house. Witness, for example, the construction of the so-called House of the Vestals in Pompeii (Strada Consolare), before its rebuilding, and the entrance portico of some of the early Roman churches. The transfer of epithet in 64. 276 is of course amply justified by such phrases as *Lydiae lacus undae* (31. 13), and *domus tecta paterna* (64. 248); and the text needs no emendation, and no such explanation as Ellis' gives. But suppose it did—could anyone but Munro believe that Catullus wrote such a banal thing as *sic tum, uestis ubi, linquentes*, etc.?

Munro's third note is on 107. 7 (p. 219), where he would read *aut magis aeuum | optandum hac uita ducere quis poterit*, a suggestion not sufficiently defended by his belief that this passage is directly imitated in *Culex* 79, nor yet by his palaeographical explanation.

But when all is said and done, Munro's book is an indispensable aid to students of Catullus, though possessors of the first edition need not feel too conscience-stricken if they do not buy the second for the sake of these three notes.

E. T. M.

Evidence in Athenian Courts. By ROBERT J. BONNER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 98. \$0.75 net.

The purpose of this work, as stated by the author, is to deal with the whole subject of evidence in the courts of ancient Athens from the standpoint of English law, and most admirably has that intention been carried out. Dr. Bonner's knowledge of English legal procedure has stood him in good stead.

Only one who is both a Grecian and a lawyer could have treated the rules of evidence in Athenian courts so vividly and sympathetically, and at the same time in so thorough and scholarly a fashion.

It is true that the technical terms of the Attic law find no exact equivalent in English legal terminology, yet by the use of the latter nomenclature the subject gains, for the English reader at least, an attractiveness, a clearness, and a life which it would not otherwise possess.

For purposes of comparison and illustration this little book might well find a place in the curricula of universities and law schools in all English-speaking communities.

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CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

The <i>De analogia</i> of Julius Caesar; its Occasion, Nature, and Date, with Additional Fragments	By G. L. Hendrickson	97
Cicero's Amaltheum	By Frank Gardner Moore	121
Did Women Testify in Homicide Cases at Athens?	By Robert J. Bonner	127
The Date of <i>Notitia</i> and <i>Curiosum</i>	By Elmer Truesdell Merrill	133
Bisected Trimeters in Attic Tragedy	By Thomas D. Goodell	145
A Group of Greek Papyrus Texts	By Edgar J. Goodspeed	167
Sir Richard C. Jebb.	By J. W. W.	176
Notes and Discussions		177
JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE: <i>Verse 1681 of the Aves of Aristophanes.</i>		
J. J. SCHLICHER: <i>The Subjunctive in Indirect Quotation.</i>		
W. G. HALE: <i>Schlicher's "Moods of Indirect Quotation."</i>		
Book Reviews		183
GREENIDGE, <i>History of Rome, Vol. I</i> (Abbott).—WYSE, <i>Speeches of Isaeus</i> (Seymour).— <i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, Vol. XVI</i> (Heidel).—TONKS, <i>Brygos—His Characteristics</i> (Tarbell).—CAGNAT, <i>Cours d'épigraphie latine, Supplément</i> (Dennison).— <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> (Capps).—FRANK, <i>Attraction of Mood in Early Latin</i> (Bennett).—SKEAT, <i>Primer of Classical and English Philology</i> (Buck).—DITTENBERGER, <i>Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> (Ferguson).—KEILKEMAN, <i>On the Syntax of Some Prepositions in the Greek Dialects</i> (Brown).—TRAHEY, <i>De sermone Ennodiano</i> (Rolfe).		

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THE *DE ANALOGIA* OF JULIUS CAESAR; ITS OCCASION, NATURE, AND DATE, WITH ADDITIONAL FRAGMENTS

By G. L. HENDRICKSON

It is customary to say that Cicero's treatise *De oratore* reveals no trace of that controversy with the school of contemporary purists—whom without further definition and for brevity's sake we may designate as Atticists—which is in so large a measure the animating element of the two later works of the rhetorical trilogy, the *Brutus* and the *Orator*.¹ The absence of such allusion has been used as a criterion for determining the chronological relationships of Atticism at Rome, for interpreting the purpose and tendency of the *De oratore* itself, and in general it has played a considerable rôle in the study of the literary history of the time. It is not my purpose to question the validity of this conclusion directly, but rather to show that at least one of the important contributions to the movement, the treatise of Julius Caesar *De analogia*, owed its origin to certain utterances contained in the third book *De oratore*, relative to the importance of and the means

¹ O. Harnecker *Jahrb. f. Phil.* OXXV (1882), p. 607: "Zunächst ist ausserordentlich bemerkenswert, dass die Bücher vom Redner noch gar keine Spur eines solchen Streites zeigen." Schanz *Röm. Lit.* I², p. 240: "(Diese Opposition) war noch nicht erstarkt als Cicero im J. 55 seine Schrift über den Redner schrieb; denn hier geschieht dieser jungattischen Bestrebungen keine Erwähnung." Hirzel *Der Dialog* I, p. 483, 1: "Zwar von dem Streite Ciceros mit den Atticisten ist in *de oratore* kaum etwas zu merken." Cf. also Norden I, p. 224 extr., and Landgraf *De Ciceronis elocutione*, etc. (Würzburg 1878), p. 7 note.

of attaining to a pure Latinity. That the words of Cicero which challenged Caesar to a reply were in turn directed against earlier theorists, holding a position exactly analogous to Caesar's, would be my justification for contending that the ranks of the Atticists (though the name had not yet come into vogue) and of their rhetorical opponents were already sharply arrayed when the *De oratore* was written.

The emergence of the question from the shadow of scholastic debate into the light of public discussion was, I suspect, largely due to the heavy weight of authority and persuasiveness which Cicero threw into one side of the scale by the treatise *De oratore*. For as it can be made probable, I think, that Cicero's utterances elicited Caesar's work, so it is likely that a fuller record of the time would reveal his influence upon the contributions to this controversy which were made by others. For though there is certainly but little in the *De oratore* which can be conceived of as directed immediately against the position of the Atticists, yet the significance of the treatise as a polemical document lies rather on the positive side, in the vigor and fulness with which it elaborates an ideal of rhetorical abundance and embellishment which was wholly opposed to the qualities of conversational simplicity and idiomatic purity which the Atticists cherished. But in order to understand the points of view from which the work must have given offense to the purists, and from which it elicited Caesar's protest, it will be necessary to outline briefly something of the earlier history of the grammatical-rhetorical tendencies which reached their first culmination in the Roman Atticism of Cicero's time.

Atticism as the designation of a grammatical-rhetorical ideal was merely a narrower limitation and sharper definition of the older term Hellenism. The pursuit of Hellenism as a goal of special stylistic effort belongs naturally to the time when the Attic dialect was becoming the recognized *κοινή* of the Hellenic world, and when therefore corruption from foreign and dialectical sources could be judged and checked by reference to a certain standard. *Ἑλληνισμός* is not found in the lists of stylistic virtues which have come down to us from the earlier rhetorical sources.

The treatise of Demetrius *De elocutione* which has drawn so largely from early Peripatetic sources is silent on this point, and furthermore it is expressly attested by late rhetorical treatises that Hellenism was a subsequent addition to the earlier lists of qualities of style.¹ The earliest technical allusion to it is found nevertheless in Aristotle (*Rhet.* iii. 5 init.): ἔστι ἀρχὴ τῆς λέξεως τὸ ἐλληνίζειν. Here, however, as the succeeding context shows, ἐλληνίζειν is syntactical congruence of a simple type, and not the painstaking care in the choice of words and in the observance of correct grammatical forms, by which the developed cult of Hellenism strove to maintain the traditions of the past and stem the tide of barbarous innovation.

The definite recognition of Hellenism as the goal of stylistic effort comes characteristically from the Stoics. Their doctrines of style were an outgrowth of their logic. Thought and language were merely two manifestations of the same thing—λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and λόγος προφορικός. Correctness of speech was necessary to accuracy of thought. Their stylistic principles were essentially a specific definition of the Peripatetic λόγος πρὸς τὰ πράγματα.² They asked for nothing more than a correct and pure use of the mother-tongue—Ἑλληνισμός. This was their goal and the superior caption to which they subordinated all particular virtues of style and all warnings against error.³ The Stoics, as is well known, are the essential creators of grammar, in the sense at least that they reduced to system the scattered speculations of earlier philosophers and observers. Grammar early became a power which rhetoric could not ignore, but the two subjects were essentially antipathetic. Grammar inherited from its parent, philosophy, a traditional hostility to rhetoric, and found rhetorical exuberance

¹ Tzetzes *Chiliad.* xi. 369 (after naming four virtues of narrative: σαφές, μεγαλοπρέπεια, συντομία, πιθανόν): Ἑλληνισμὸν οἱ νέοι δὲ φάσκουσι τῶν ῥητόρων | οὐχὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν κατὰ τῶν πρὶν ῥητόρων; and Georg. Pletho VI. 588 (Walz): ὁ τῶν ὀνομάτων γὰρ Ἑλληνισμὸς νεωτερικόν ἐστιν. Cf. also Walz II. 14. 21.

² See the writer's article on the "Origin and Meaning of the Ancient Characters of Style" in the *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXVI (1905), p. 259.

³ In the statement of their doctrines in Diogenes Laertius VII. 59, Ἑλληνισμός is designated as φράσις (Graeci φράσιν vocant, Latine dicimus elocutionem. Quint. viii. 1. 1; and x. 1. 87: phrasin, id est corpus eloquentiae), while the other virtues of style are called λέξεις.

of diction, metaphor, and rhythm constantly at variance with the simpler standards of correctness and idiomatic purity, to the attainment of which Hellenism looked.

In the earlier stages of this pursuit stylistic effort did not go beyond the avoidance of the more conspicuous barbarisms of the *κοινή*, with acceptance of the corresponding Attic usage. But as this common dialect was recognized as having its origin in Attic, so by degrees exclusively Attic usage came to be looked upon as the norm of Hellenism. Finally, by a gradual and perhaps imperceptible development, Atticism became frankly recognized as the goal of practical grammatical study. But this was no new nor radical point of view, and the old term *Ἑλληνισμός* for the most part still continued to do duty when it had become pure Atticism. For Hellenism in prose had always been Atticistic—and could not, indeed, have been otherwise; and frankly avowed Atticism was only the final step in a tendency which was as old as the study of Hellenism.

The earliest coherent record of the stylistic doctrines of the Stoics (Diog. Laert. vii. 59) is traceable with much certainty to Diogenes of Babylon, who was a member of the embassy of Attic philosophers which visited Rome in the year 155. Diogenes was at this time an old man, but more than a decade earlier his pupil, Crates of Mallos, the Pergamene grammarian, had, as Suetonius tells us, introduced at Rome the comprehensive literary studies which were embraced under the name of grammar. Suetonius only speaks of the critical and exegetical studies of Crates, but it can not be doubted that he devoted attention to grammar in the narrower sense, the goal of which was the determination of Hellenism. It is this aspect of grammar to which I shall here confine attention—*ἡ γραμματικὴ περὶ τὸν Ἑλληνισμόν*.

The Latin equivalent of *Ἑλληνισμός* is *Latinitas*, *Latine loqui*. As *Ἑλληνισμός* in the definition of Diogenes is *φράσις ἀδιόπτωτος*, so *Latinitas* is *sermo purus, ab omni vitio remotus* (Auct. *Ad Her.* iv. 12. 17). How early the conception appears in Roman literature it is difficult to say; but the Scipionic circle was throughout under the influence of Stoic teachers, from whom they derived their general attitude toward style—their sobriety and restraint,

and their aversion to rhetorical exuberance. From this source too they derived the impulse to cultivate and maintain (against the excesses of rhetorical experiment and innovation) the purity of the native conversational idiom. With them *Latine loqui* was the term of highest literary praise, and such a predicate concerning L. Furius Philus, the young friend of Laelius, Cicero reports in the *Brutus* (108): *perbene Latine loqui putabatur litteratiusque quam ceteri*. In this circle condemnatory judgments were passed upon the popular literary favorites of the time (as the fragments of Lucilius reveal), and it is probable that the judgments concerning the impurity of the language of Caecilius and Pacuvius¹ go back to relatively early criticism from such sources.

As in Greek the norm of Hellenism was sought in the older language—Homer and the early Attic—so in Rome Plautus, Naevius, Cato (to whom were soon added Terence, Laelius, and Scipio Africanus) were early set up as the purest sources of *Latinitas*. In general, the theoretical studies at Rome in this field were closely modeled upon the contemporary Greek studies which looked to *Ἑλληνισμός* as their goal. This led by the beginning of the first century to the transference to Rome and to the Latin language of the prolific controversy concerning analogy and anomaly, both of which aimed by different methods to arrive at a more secure and certain determination of correct usage—*Ἑλληνισμός* or *Latinitas*.² Since the study of Hellenism had

¹ Male locutos esse, mali auctores Latinitatis (*Brutus* 258 and *Ad Att.* vii. 3. 16). Cf. Reitzenstein *M. Terentius Varro* etc. (Leipzig, 1901), p. 90; Büttner *Porc. Lic.*, p. 59.

² The connection of analogical studies in grammar with Atticism was suggested by Mommsen (*Röm. Gesch.* III⁶. 579), and has recently been set forth in more detail by Norden (*Ant. Kunstpr.* I. 184). Since then the matter has been touched upon by several scholars, some of whom seem to have drawn the erroneous conclusion that the Atticists, *qua Attici*, were necessarily analogists. This is of course far from being the case, and W. Schmid (*Berl. phil. Woch.* 1904, 429) has pointed out instances in which the analogical forms of words were found in the *κοινή*, while the corresponding Attic forms were anomalous. But such observations should not, on the other hand, lead to any identification of Atticism and anomaly. The truth is that all grammar, whether guided by the principle of analogy or depending upon observation of early usage (anomaly), was Atticistic, looking to the determination of a pure and pristine Hellenism. Analogy and anomaly, or any other conceivable points of view, were merely methods for attaining to a common goal. Cf. Probus *Instituta artium* (*G. L.* IV, p. 47): nunc huius artis, id est grammaticae, omnis dumtaxat Latinitas ex duabus

been developed especially by the Stoics, and in the first instance as an instrument of more precise logical discussion, it was definitely anti-rhetorical, with consequent recognition of the conversational idiom as the only true and natural form of speech. Similarly *Latinitas* always has as its equivalent *Latine loqui*, not *Latine dicere*; it is *sermo*, not *contentio*.¹

Coming at length to Caesar, it is generally conceded that he is to be grouped with the Roman Atticists. His writing reveals a certain stylistic Atticism discernible in the reproduction of some features of the style of Xenophon.² The characteristic feature of his Latinity is a painstaking correctness or elegance,³ in accordance with a much severer norm of idiomatic purity (*urbanitas*) than Cicero anywhere reveals.⁴ This affected not only forms (avoidance of barbarism) and syntax (avoidance of solecism), but also appropriateness and idiomatic purity in the choice of words (*πρέπον* and *κυριολογία*). Conversational tone (*loqui*, not *dicere*) and pragmatic objectivity are the general effects sought, with consequent avoidance of manifest rhetorical art. In all this Caesar's style agrees with what we learn from other sources of the small group who called themselves Atticists. Their stylistic code in a word was an effective and elegant use of the conversational language, with the aim of attaining such results in Latin as were exemplified by certain Greek writers who were held to have realized this ideal—Xenophon, Lysias, Hyperides. Of those

partibus constat, hoc est ex analogia et anomalia. The position is sound, but only intelligible in the impartial perspective of sufficient remoteness from the warfare of the two principles, when the truth of both could be accepted without partisan adherence to the one or the other.

¹ One of the earliest definitions of grammar is that of Demetrius Chlorus (ca. 100 B. C.): *γραμματική ἐστὶ τέχνη τῶν παρὰ ποιητῶν καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν συνήθειαν λέξεων εὐθεσις* (Sext. Emp. *Adv. gram.* 84).

² Xenophon had long served as a model of simple, non-rhetorical style in the school of Roman purists, whose continuity is unbroken from the time of the Scipionic group, through the circles influenced by Q. Lutatius Catulus, down to Caesar himself. The devotion of Scipio to the works of Xenophon is recorded in a well-known utterance of Cicero (*Ad Q. frat.* i. 1. 23). Catulus was one of the precursors of Caesar in the literature of personal memoirs, and from Cicero (*Brutus* 132) we learn that his work *De consulatu et de rebus gestis suis* was written *molli et Xenophontio genere sermonis*. For the influence which the circle of Catulus exercised upon Caesar, see p. 111.

³ See the definition of *elegantia* cited on p. 105.

⁴ See O. Welse *Charakteristik d. lat. Sprache*, 3d ed. (Leipzig, 1905), pp. 135 ff.

whom we know to have been called Atticists no sufficient examples of style have survived, but we may believe with some confidence that Caesar's commentaries for prose, and Catullus' poems for verse, are, essentially speaking, products of this stylistic effort. It was a creed of style not less difficult of realization than avowed rhetorical art—perhaps more difficult, and the painstaking labor which was bestowed upon niceties of purity, elegance, and simplicity is set forth in not a few of the characterizations of representatives of this school. Quintilian, reflecting the hostility with which the rhetorician always contemplated the pedantry of such effort, speaks of those *quos curiose potius loqui dixeris quam Latine* (viii. 1. 2), and he tells the story of Theophrastus' discomfiture on the detection of his foreign birth by the market-woman *quod nimium Attice loqueretur*. In the same category of supersensitiveness he places Asinius Pollio's detection of *Patavinitas* in the language of Livy. It is from this point of view that Cicero's characterization of Calvus is to be understood, who (he says) by too diligent self-scrutiny and castigation lost true vitality in the effort to avoid possible reproach of error. His language in consequence was attenuated by an excessive scrupulosity (*nimia religione attenuata*), and in the same sense Fronto speaks of the grammatical treatise of Caesar as *libri scrupulosissimi*.¹ The epithets of praise which the Atticists strove to earn were *expolitio*, *urbanitas*, *elegantia* (*Brutus* 285). They sought not so much for the merit of positive excellence as for the praise of avoidance of error in reproducing the habit of urbane conversational speech. The Stoic definition of Ἑλληνισμός is φράσις ἀδιάπτωτος ἐν τῇ τεχνικῇ συνθελῶ. Similarly *Latinitas* in the rendering of the Auctor *Ad Herennium* is *sermo . . . ab omni vitio remotus*, in the light of which Cicero's words concerning Calvus (*Brutus* 283) are to be understood: *metuens ne vitiosa colligeret, verum sanguinem deperdebat*.² The matter admits

¹ Compare the characterization of Caesar's language by Gellius xix. 8. 3: *Sermonis praeter alios suae aetatis castissimi*, and Quintilian concerning Calvus, x. 1. 115: *sed est et sancta et gravis oratio et castigata*.

² Cf. Quint. viii. 1. 2: *sed ea quae de ratione Latine atque emendate loquendi fuerunt dicenda, in libro primo . . . exsecuti sumus, verum illic tantum, ne vitiosa essent, praecipimus*. Cf. Zonaras (cited by Lehrs *Herod.*, p. 360): *τίδης δὲ γραμματικῆς*

of much fuller illustration, but for the present let this suffice to outline the grammatical doctrines and stylistic tendencies, which, with *Latine loqui* as their supreme goal, stood at this time in more or less conscious antithesis to rhetorical ideals of an abundant and embellished style.

We have seen that Atticism among the Greeks was an extreme form of the grammatical cult of Hellenism. The studies begun by the Greeks were transferred to Rome and the Latin tongue, and here toward the middle of the first century B. C. the name "Atticism" was adopted by certain extremists, doubtless from the usage of contemporary Greek purists, for these studies in their application to Latin. Cicero's words¹ would suggest that Calvus was the first (Roman) to apply the name to himself; but, however that may have been, he possessed sufficient leadership to muster a school of followers under this new and modish title. But they stood for the same stylistic ideals and for the same studies which before their time, and side by side with them, were pursued under the name of *Latinitas*. Nor did the name apparently long survive at Rome, and it is, I suspect, to the breaking up and disappearance of this particular coterie of Attici (which followed on the death of Calvus) that Cicero alludes in *Tusc.* ii. 3: *genus Atticorum . . . qui iam conticuerunt paene ab ipso foro inrisi*. But the cult of a refined and elegant Latinity continued to be observed in the same spirit as that of Calvus and his friends, and it was represented in the succeeding period most conspicuously by Asinius Pollio and Messala Corvinus, by Horace and Virgil (in their earlier work), and indeed by most of the poets of the circles of Maecenas and Messala.²

τὸ μηδέποτε ἀμαρτάνειν μήτε περὶ μίαν λέξιν μήτε περὶ πλεονας. To the grammatical studies of Calvus Cicero alludes, in passing judgment on his style, in *Fam.* xv. 21. 7: *multae erant et reconditae litterae, vis non erat*. With this compare *Brutus* 252 (concerning Caesar): *ut esset perfecta illa bene loquendi laus, multis litteris et eis quidem reconditis . . . est consecutus*.

¹*Brutus* 284: Atticum se, inquit, Calvus noster dici oratorem volebat . . . Dicebat, inquam, ita; sed et ipse errabat et alios etiam errare cogebat.

²For Asinius it is superfluous to adduce evidence (cf. Norden I, p. 261), except to note that the painstaking effort at purity, which characterized the school as a whole, is recognized in him by Quintilian x. 1. 113: *summa diligentia adeo ut quibusdam etiam nimia videatur*. For Messala it should also be superfluous, so clear is the evidence; but Teuffel (§ 222. 2) and others attach him rather to the Ciceronian tradition. His

To revert at length to our starting-point: The object of these introductory remarks has been to indicate just where and under what caption in Cicero's *De oratore* reference to the studies and activities of contemporary stylistic purists—whether they be called Atticists or not—is to be found. It is, as I have indicated, under the heading of *Latinitas*.

In book iii. 37, Crassus begins the task assigned him of setting forth the subject of style. It may be comprised, he says, under four points: *ut Latine, ut plane, ut ornate, ut apte dicamus*. Of these the first two are taken up together and treated as one aspect of the subject, in contrast to the remaining two. In this grouping of the matter Cicero follows older tradition, for in the Auct. *Ad Herennium* (iv. 12. 17) *Latinitas* and *explanatio* (= *ut Latine, ut plane*) form the two constituent elements of the superior heading *elegantia*,¹ a term which, with considerable amplification and widened range, corresponds to the ἐκλογή τῶν ὀνομάτων of Theophrastus'² analysis of the elements of style. That the attitude of Cicero toward these two points is depreciatory, as of something which has no proper place in rhetorical theory, is revealed at once:

Atque eorum quidem, quae duo prima dixi, rationem non arbitror exspectari a me puri dilucidique sermonis, neque enim conamur docere eum dicere, qui loqui nesciat; nec sperare, qui Latine non possit, hunc ornate esse dicturum; neque vero, qui non dicat quod intellegamus, hunc posse quod admiremur dicere. Linquamus igitur haec, quae cognitionem habent facilem, usum necessarium. Nam alterum traditur litteris doctrinaeque puerili, alterum adhibetur ob eam causam, ut intellegatur quid quisque dicat, quod videmus ita esse necessarium, ut tamen eo minus nihil esse possit (iii. 38).

grammatical studies and extreme purism are attested by various references, of which the most general and significant is the characterization of Sen. *Rhet. Contr.* ii. 12. 8: *Latini sermonis (=Latinitatis) observator diligentissimus*. (The phrase is curiously misinterpreted by Norden I, p. 184 as referring merely to his avoidance of Greek words.) The superior purity of his diction to that of Cicero is alluded to by Tacitus *Dial.* 18: *in verbis magis elaboratus*. The Attic ἀφαιεα of his style is recorded by Quint. x. 5. 2. The standpoint of Horace in the practice of his earlier writing is sufficiently obvious. Direct utterances too which proclaim his theoretical standpoint are not wanting, especially in *Serm.* book i, but they require interpretation, which must be reserved for another time. The position of Virgil is implied in the words of *Catalepta* 7: *Ite hinc, inanes, ite, rhetorum ampullae | inflata rore non Achaico verba*.

¹ *Elegantia est quae facit ut <locus> unus quisque pure et aperte dici videatur.*

² See Dionys. *De Isoc.* 3.

The polemical point of Cicero's condescending words lies in the fact that the study to attain a faultless Latinity constituted the largest part of the stylistic doctrine of the contemporary school of grammatical purists, whose efforts were directed toward a subtle mastery of that conversational idiom (*loqui*), which is here dismissed as merely preliminary to the attainment of oratorical utterance (*dicere*).

But although Cicero handles these two topics in the form of a *praeteritio*, with a certain arrogance as of one holding a superior position, yet, since he was familiar with the points of view of the grammatical schools, he has preserved not a little which contributes to our understanding of these studies. So for example, apart from their characteristic neglect of rhetorical utterance to which allusion has been made, we get their point of view relative to the early language as affording a norm of usage uncorrupted by rhetorical elaboration (39), their traditions of purity which were traced back to Laelius and the Scipionic circle (45), the designation of Plautus and Naevius¹ as types of the flawless Latinity of the forefathers (45), the imitation or affectation of antiquity as a means of attaining to a more perfect speech (42). It is not my purpose to analyze the contents of this chapter, further at any rate than may be necessary to see and to understand Cicero's attitude toward the subject. This attitude may be stated briefly as, (1) a consistent depreciation of the relative significance of these studies as a whole (in comparison with the rhetorical elaboration of language), and—granting the importance of a pure Latinity—(2) an effort to minimize the value of grammatical theory, in comparison with purely empirical means to this end, viz.: the hearing of good speakers who have preserved the tradition of the older usage, and the reading of the books of early writers. As a result, the acquisition of a pure Latinity, so far from being a matter of difficult study or art, or an attainment of conspicuous praise, is easy, natural, and a thing which

¹ An indication of the age of such criticism is afforded by the well-known dictum of Aelius Stilo: *Musa Plautino sermone locuturas fuisse, si Latine loqui vellent*. To this time (ca. 100 B. C.) may also belong the epitaph of Naevius which concludes: *Itaque postquam est Orchi traditus thesauro, | obliti sunt Romae loquies lingua Latina* (Gell. I. 24).

should be the characteristic possession, not of the trained orator, but of the good citizen. These points of view appear repeatedly, and I will cite some of the characteristic utterances in which they are contained:

Sed omnis loquendi elegantia, quamquam expolitur scientia litterarum [= γραμματική], tamen augetur legendis oratoribus et poetis; sunt enim illi veteres, qui ornare nondum poterant ea quae dicebant, omnes prope praeclare locuti; quorum sermone adsuefacti qui erunt, ne cupientes quidem poterunt loqui nisi Latine (39).

For the simplicity and elementary character of the matter, and the ease with which it may be acquired, see the concluding words of 38, cited above, and compare further the following passages from the *Brutus*, which may be introduced here in further illustration of Cicero's position:

ipsum Latine loqui est illud quidem, ut paulo ante dixi, in magna laude ponendum, sed non tam sua sponte [the position of the grammatical purists] quam quod est a plerisque neglectum: non enim tam praeclarum est scire Latine quam turpe nescire, neque tam id mihi oratoris boni quam civis Romani proprium videtur. (*Brutus* 140, said in reply to the criticisms passed upon the purity of the language of Antonius.)

Ad hanc elegantiam verborum Latinorum, quae etiam si orator non sis et sis ingenuus civis Romanus tamen necessaria est, adiungit illa oratoria ornamenta dicendi, etc. (*Brutus* 261).

One of the things most admired in a pure Latinity is a certain elegance and subtlety of pronunciation characteristic of the city of Rome—*urbanitas*, just as there is a characteristic flavor of Attic pronunciation which sets it off from the usage of the rest of Greece. But this is in no sense a matter of study or theory, but merely one of observation and birthright (42 extr. and 43).¹ Cicero does not, to be sure, entirely ignore the value of theoretical study, but as we saw, in the passage iii. 39 above, he subordinates it to the empirical considerations referred to, and so also in 48 he allows a place to the *subtilior cognitio ac ratio litterarum*, along with the *consuetudo sermonis cotidiani ac domestici* and the *lectio veterum oratorum et poetarum*. But concerning his general attitude of depreciation there can be no doubt.

Again, the second quality of style, clearness—*ut plane*

¹ Cf. also *De officiis* i. 133.

dicamus—is treated in a similar cursory fashion, as something so easy that it may be passed over without serious discussion: *tam facilis est tota res*, etc. (49). Finally, in concluding the treatment of the two first qualities of style, Latinity and clearness, and passing over to the rhetorical *ornatus*, the attitude of Cicero is revealed in a parting shot:

Faciles, inquit, Antoni, partes eae fuerunt duae, quas modo percucurri vel potius paene praeterii, Latine loquendi planeque dicendi (52).

Over against these he arrays the magnitude, intricacy, variety, and difficulty of the truly oratorical functions:

Reliquae sunt magnae, implicatae, variae, graves, quibus omnis admiratio ingeni, omnis laus eloquentiae continetur; nemo enim unquam est oratorem, quod Latine loqueretur, admiratus; si est aliter, inincident, neque eum oratorem tantum modo, sed hominem non putant (52).

It is clear, I think, that Cicero speaks almost contemptuously, certainly slightly, of that goal of effort, to the attainment of which the contemporary purists were bending all the efforts of their elaborate grammatical and literary studies. Against their grammar, with its worship of correctness and purity, he arrays the ancient mistress of emotional speech, rhetoric; and as grammar was the offshoot of philosophy, so too she had fallen the natural heir to the ancient feud of philosophy with rhetoric.¹

To sum up briefly our survey of this portion of the *De oratore*, let us note that Cicero has emphasized especially the elementary, easy character of these first two qualities of style. He has further urged that they make small requirements upon theory and doctrine for their attainment; the *consuetudo* of good speakers will accomplish all that is required. In further reinforcement of this point of view I would cite finally a later passage of the third book concerning the use of *verba propria*, that is, the ordinary non-figurative words for the designation of objects, a class of words which were thought of as falling especially within the territory of *Latinitas*.²

¹ Cicero's position is not of course an isolated one; its connection with the general hostility of rhetoric toward the claims of grammar may be seen by comparing Quint. i. 4. 5: quo minus sunt ferendi qui hanc artem ut *tenuem* atque *ieiunam* cavillantur.

² *ἀκυρολογία* (*improprietas*) is one of the three cardinal sins against *ἑλλητισμός*.

Sed in hoc verborum genere propriorum dilectus est habendus quidam atque is aurium quodam iudicio ponderandus est; in quo *consuetudo* etiam bene loquendi valet plurimum. Itaque hoc, quod vulgo de oratoribus ab imperitis dici solet 'bonis hic verbis,' aut 'aliquis non bonis utitur,' *non arte aliqua* perpenditur, sed quodam quasi naturali sensu iudicatur; in quo non magna laus est vitare vitium, quamquam est magnum (iii. 150).

In this passage, apart from the direct statement that usage is of more service than art for the choice of such words, I would call attention to the criticism of the large claims of the grammarians which is contained in the words *in quo non magna laus est vitare vitium*; for the Stoic definition of Ἑλληνισμός is φράσις ἀδιόπτωτος, to which corresponds the definition of *Latinitas* as *sermo ab omni vitio remotus*. To such definitions, and the elevation of them to standards of style, Cicero's criticism looks.¹ And, indeed, with the pure conversational idiom as the goal of effort, it will be understood how excellence could not rise above irreproachable correctness. Taking advantage therefore of such an acknowledged position, Cicero urges that there is no merit in the avoidance of faults of speech; or, as he says elsewhere, pure Latin is not so much the characteristic mark of a good orator as of a free-born Roman citizen. In short, the precepts of *Latinitas* only afford the foundations; the true creation of art and theory is the superstructure which the orator shall rear upon them.

Verum tamen hoc quasi solum quoddam atque fundamentum est, verborum usus et copia bonorum. Sed quid ipse aedificet orator et in quo adiungat artem, id esse nobis quaerendum atque explicandum videtur (iii. 150).

We have here the same antitheses, colored with the same polemical implications as before, between the simple and easy acquisition of a pure Latinity, and the laborious, artistic task of oratorical embellishment. Many other utterances of a like character can be adduced both from the *Brutus* and the *Orator*, some of which would reveal even more sharply the hostile attitude of Cicero toward the standpoint of the grammatical purists; but for the present enough, I think, has been presented to make the

¹ Cf. Quint. viii. 1. 2, cited above, p. 103, note 2, and the definition of the goal of grammar there cited.

general relationships clear. I have touched also, in passing, upon the elaborate pains which were and had been devoted to the attainment of purity and correctness of speech by a stylistic school at Rome which had long been arrayed against the rhetoricians.

Concerning Caesar's treatise *De analogia* the information which has come down to us is very meager. Our earliest and most important source, the *Brutus*, yields us an instructive paraphrase of the title, and the fact (confirmed by other sources) that it was addressed to Cicero. Next in importance is the brief item of Suetonius (*Iul.* 56): *reliquit et de analogia duos libros . . . (quos) in transitu Alpium, cum ex citeriore Gallia conventibus peractis ad exercitum rediret . . . fecit*. This affords us a clue to the time of composition, and besides it suggests that the work can scarcely have been a systematic and deliberate treatise upon the subject. That it was in fact a controversial pamphlet, called forth by particular circumstances, as I shall endeavor to explain, deprives the statement of Suetonius of its paradoxical impressiveness,¹ and makes its composition entirely parallel to that of the *Anticato*, a partisan reply, written in camp on the eve of the battle of Munda.

The *De oratore*, as we learn from a letter of Cicero to Atticus (iv. 13. 2), was completed in November of the year 55 and declared ready for transcribing. It was therefore presumably in circulation in the early part of the year 54. It is well known that at this time Caesar was bent on gaining the active good-will and support of Cicero, an attitude which soon was met with reciprocal advances on Cicero's part.² It is not unlikely that Cicero himself would have forwarded a copy to Caesar at his winter headquarters in Cisalpine Gaul, or perhaps more probably one may conjecture that either Trebatius in April, or Quintus Cicero in May, of the year 54 may have been the bearer of a copy destined for

¹ Fronto (*Ad M. Aurelium*), p. 221: quod te vix quloquam nisi raptim et furtim legere posse prae curis praesentibus scripsisti, fac memineris et cum animo tuo cogites, C. Caesarem atrocissimo bello Gallico cum alia multa militaria, tum etiam duos de analogia libros scrupulosissimos scripsisse: inter tela volantia de nominibus declinandis, de verborum aspirationibus et rationibus inter classica et tubas.

² Cf. Drumann Vol. III, p. 318 and references. *Ad Quint. frat.* ii. 13 (15a). 2.

Caesar.¹ But conjecture is idle, and it suffices to know that in one way or another a copy would have come into Caesar's hands before leaving his Cisalpine quarters for the summer campaign, which he did in May of the year 54. With what feelings and judgments he may have read the work as a whole we are not here concerned; but as regards Cicero's depreciatory and condescending treatment of the significance for the orator of the first quality of style, *ut Latine dicamus*, it has been made clear that it must have been a challenge to the literary and stylistic ideals in which Caesar had been reared, and which in his own work he was endeavoring to realize.

The subject was not, of course, new to him. The usage of a pure colloquial idiom was traditional in his family,² and we learn from Suetonius that in his youth he modeled his oratorical style upon that of his uncle Julius Caesar Strabo,³ a man famous not only for his wit, his urbanity, and his charm of speech, but also for a conversational style and manner which was more effective than the rhetorical vehemence of other orators.⁴ Caesar Strabo was a student of the niceties of Latinity, and Marius Victorinus (*G. L.* vi. 8. 9) reports innovations in pronunciation and orthography dating from him, which are ground for believing that he participated in the theoretical studies of his brother,⁵ Q. Lutatius

¹ That Quintus was in communication with Caesar concerning the literary work of Cicero appears from ii. 13 (*Ad Quint. frat.*). 2: quoniam tu scribis poema ab eo nostrum probari. From ii. 15 (16). 5 we learn that Caesar himself had communicated with Cicero concerning this work. The first book he admired: reliqua ad quandam locum *πεθυμένα*, hoc enim utitur verbo. Cicero begs his brother to tell him whether the subject-matter (*res*) or the style (*χαρακτήρ*) displeased Caesar. It is idle for us to try to decide a point concerning which Cicero himself was not clear, but it may be worth while to observe that Caesar's criticism *πεθυμένα* is singularly like the criticism of Cicero's style which Calvus and Brutus communicated to him in letters. Cf. Tac. *Dial.* 18 extr.: Cicéronem a Calvo quidem male audisse tamquam *solutum et enervem*, a Bruto autem, ut ipseus verbis utar, tamquam *fractum atque elumbem*.

² *Brutus* 252.

³ Sueton. *Iul.* 55: genus eloquentiae dumtaxat adulescens adhuc Strabonis Caesaris secutus videtur.

⁴ Cf. *Brutus* 177 and *De officiis* i. 133: sale vero et facetiis Caesar, Catuli patris frater, vicit omnes, ut in ipso illo forensi genere dicendi *contentiones* aliorum *sermone* vinceret.

⁵ *Frater uterinus*. The Catuli, father and son, enjoyed a unique reputation for the purity of their speech: ei autem optime uti lingua Latina putabantur (*De offic.* i. 133). Cf. *Brutus* 132: incorrupta quaedam Latini sermonis integritas, and *De or.* iii. 29: (culus oratio) est pura sic, ut Latine loqui paene solus videatur. Cf. Böttner *Porcius Licinus*, p. 166, for the grammatical studies of Caesar Strabo.

Catulus, the most eminent purist of his time, and that he endeavored in his own practice to carry them into effect. The early grammatical and rhetorical training of Caesar was under the direction of the grammarian M. Antonius Gniphio, a native of Gaul, educated at Alexandria,¹ through whom presumably Caesar was imbued with the Alexandrine doctrine of analogy in grammar. This point of view was, it seems certain, the animating principle of Gniphio's work *De Latino sermone*,² of which a fragment preserved by Quintilian illustrates an analogical innovation in forms like *ebura*, *robura*, *marmura*, instead of *ebora*, etc.³ We see therefore some of the influences which disposed Caesar to set a high value on the literary significance of simple, conversational style, and furthermore to believe that grammatical theory was an important instrument for the attainment of a pure Latinity. A portion of his argument in support of this latter contention still survives, as will appear presently.

But it may be said that I attach undue importance to Cicero's brief treatment of *Latinitas*; that, with an eye for the tree rather than for the forest, I have exalted to undue significance a small section, which is indeed but an inconsiderable part of the whole. It should be said however that, while it is true that Cicero's depreciation of the large claims that were made for the theoretical study of Latinity occupies but a small space in the *De oratore*, yet the importance of this part must not be judged only by what is said of it positively, but also by what is implied concerning it negatively. For, as we have seen, Cicero contrasts with the simple and elementary character of the claims of *Latinitas* the really great and characteristically oratorical qualities of style, *copia* and *ornatus*. It is not an exaggeration to say that in these we have the main theme of the whole work—the resources by which a large and abundant and embellished style, based upon a comprehensive knowledge of things, is to be

¹Suet. *De gram.* 7: M. Antonius Gniphio, ingenuus in Gallia natus . . . institutusque Alexandriae . . . docuit primum in Divi Iulii domo pueri adhuc . . . docuit autem et rhetoricam.

²Suet. *loc. cit.*: Scripsit multa . . . et Ateius Philologus duo tantum volumina de Latino sermone reliquasse eum tradit.

³Quint. 1. 6. 23.

obtained.¹ Oratorical *ornatus* represents the flower or product of all the wide studies which Cicero inculcates.

The depreciatory treatment of the theoretical study of Latinity was a challenge to Caesar's training and conviction, and he took up the gauntlet in behalf of himself and of his contemporaries of like interests and tastes. Fresh from the reading of the *De oratore*, he employed the enforced leisure of the tedious journey across the mountains in the composition of the *De analogia*—a defense of the literary significance of pure colloquial Latinity and of the theoretical studies which led to its attainment. The title *De analogia* may strike one perhaps as altogether too narrowly framed to allow us to think of it as an answer to Cicero, or as having been elicited by him. But let us see. Cicero had not denied the importance of pure Latin for the orator, but he had urged that it was an easy thing to master, and could be got best from the reading of good books and the hearing of pure speakers. Against this point of view Caesar arrays the importance and necessity of *theory*, and accordingly he chose as his title the doctrine which dominated the grammatical studies of his time, the criterion by which the fluctuating and uncertain in language should be reduced to law—analogy. The goal of all grammatical study was the determination of correct usage (*ἑλληνισμός*, *Latinitas*), and Cicero therefore, in later reference to the treatise (*Brutus* 253), paraphrases the technical title quite in accordance with Caesar's intention by the phrase *de ratione Latine loquendi*.

The work was dedicated to Cicero, not because such a dedication would afford Caesar a desired opportunity to flatter the orator with exaggerated compliments, but because its theme was a vindication of the points of view which Cicero had dismissed so slightly. The procedure was entirely analogous to Cicero's dedication of the two works in which he attacks the Atticists to Brutus, a partisan of the school attacked. The treatise was not a contribution to the literature of grammatical theory for its own sake, but had its origin rather in the bearing of grammatical studies upon the work of the orator. That is to say, it took as its

¹ *De or.* iii. 125: In hoc igitur tanto tam immensoque campo cum liceat oratori vagari libere . . . facile suppeditat omnis apparatus ornatusque dicendi; rerum enim copia verborum copiam gignit, etc.

starting-point Cicero's undervaluation of the significance of these studies, in comparison with the larger tasks of rhetorical elaboration of language. This is shown by the fragments which Cicero has incorporated in the *Brutus*, the first of which declares that the choice of words (which it was the function of grammar to control) is the source of eloquence:

Qui (sc. Caesar) etiam in maximis occupationibus ad te ipsum (sc. Ciceronem) . . . de ratione Latine loquendi accuratissime scripserit. primoque in libro dixerit *verborum dilectum originem esse eloquentiae*.¹ (*Brutus* 253).

The longer fragment which follows (containing the well-known dedicatory compliment to Cicero, for which it is quoted) gives, in words of courteous protest, the claim which Caesar makes for a recognition of the earnest study of the conversational idiom side by side with the language of oratorical abundance. (That the words are a direct quotation from Caesar, Cicero assures us.)

Ac si ut *cogitata praeclare eloqui* possent, nonnulli studio et usu elaboraverunt (cuius te paene principem copiae atque inventorem bene de nomine ac dignitate populi Romani meritum esse existimare debemus), hunc facilem et cotidianum novisse sermonem num² pro relicto est habendum?

In these words there is contained, I believe, unmistakable allusion to the passages in the *De oratore* which we have examined. In the first place, oratorical utterance *cogitata praeclare eloqui* (where *eloqui* is chosen in technical contrast to *loqui*³), with its characteristic Ciceronian *copia*, is contrasted with the *sermo facilis et cotidianus*, just as in Cicero the oratorical *ornatus* and appropriateness are set over against the simple obviousness of the first two qualities of style, *ut Latine, ut plane dicamus*. Caesar

¹ It might be urged that Cicero has conceded this point in *De oratore* iii. 150 (cited above, p. 109); but how grudgingly, and with what difference of tone and emphasis! The spirit of Caesar's utterance is illustrated by the grammatical source which Quintilian reproduces in i. 4. 5: quo minus sunt ferendi, qui hanc artem (sc. grammaticam) ut tenuem ac ieiunam cavillantur: quae nisi oratoris futuri fundamenta fideliter iecit, quidquid superstruxeris corruet.

² I have accepted, with the more recent editors, Stangl, Martha, and Wilkins, the correction *num* for *nunc* as essential to express the obvious intention of the passage. Ernesti, Halm, and others have attained the same end by different remedies.

³ On the logical distinctions between *loqui*, *eloqui* (*dicere*), *proloqui*, etc., see Augustine *De dial.*, ch. 4: Mart Capella iv. 838; and Cic. *Orat.* 113.

accepts, with a touch of subtle irony, Cicero's reiterated characterization of this conversational idiom as easy—

quae cognitionem habent *facilem* (iii. 38)

tam *facilis* est tota res (49)

faciles partes eae fuerunt duae (52)—

but he asks nevertheless whether, though it be easy and of every day character, it can still be passed over so lightly as Cicero has urged—*num pro relicto est habendum*. The allusion to Cicero's words appears again from a comparison of such passages as these:

*linquamus*¹ igitur haec, etc. (38)

praetereamus igitur praecepta Latine loquendi, etc. (48)

partes eae, quas modo *percucurri* vel potius paene *praeterii* Latine loquendi planeque dicendi (52).

The answer of Caesar is of course implied in the form of the question, putting with urbane interrogation the denial which it is the object of his treatise to record and sustain.

To gather up briefly the convergent lines of evidence which point to the relationship that I assume to have existed between the two works: The date of the *De analogia* must for other reasons be placed very near to that of the *De oratore* (though no evidence fixing the date more exactly between the years 55–52 has hitherto been found); the work was addressed to Cicero and can not reasonably have ignored any recognized attitude on his part toward the questions involved; a divergence of opinion between the two men is implied in the whole form of the fragment contained in the *Brutus*; finally, specific allusion to Cicero's depreciatory attitude toward the theoretical study of the conversational idiom is seen to be contained in this fragment.

In view then of these considerations we shall be justified in concluding: (1) that the *De analogia* was elicited by certain utterances of Cicero's *De oratore*; (2) that it was written in the spring of the year 54² with the memory of Cicero's recent words

¹The juxtaposition of Cicero's *linquamus* with Caesar's *pro relicto* must defend the latter phrase against the suspicion of corruption.

²The dates which have been assigned to the work are the year 55 (Schlitte *De C. Iul. Caesare grammatico* [Diss. Halle, 1865], p. 12) and the winter of 53/52 (Köchly-Rüstow *Einkl. in das Bel. Gal.*, p. 91, n. 59 [cited by Schanz], a work which has not, however, been accessible to me). The year 55, with tentative suggestion of 54 as a possible date, is selected by Beck (*Plinii libri dubii sermonis* [Leipzig, 1894], p. xv), who seems to be the latest scholar to have touched upon the subject.

fresh in the writer's mind; (3) that it was apparently rather a controversial pamphlet than a systematic treatise.¹

The fragments of the *De analogia* have been collected by the editors of Caesar, by Lersch in his *Sprachphilosophie der Alten* I, p. 131, and by Schlitte in the monograph referred to in note 2 on p. 115. To these fragments I venture to suggest two important additions, both from an early period of our record.

I. We have seen above that Caesar accepts, though not without a touch of ironical reserve, Cicero's characterization of the pure colloquial idiom as easy and a thing of everyday usage. If that is so, why did it require a laborious knowledge of grammatical theory for its mastery? Cicero had held that it did not. It was therefore incumbent on Caesar to show reason why the study of grammatical theory was necessary. With what sort of arguments did Caesar sustain his claim of this necessity? They are contained, I suspect, without essential modification of point of view, in the argument which Cicero presents in *Brutus* 258 ff., though I imagine that Cicero has distorted the true relations in slight degree by the flattering suggestion that Caesar was the first to see the necessity of theory: that was a claim which Caesar would scarcely have made for himself.

Solum quidem, inquit ille (Atticus),² et quasi fundamentum oratoris vides, locutionem emendatam et Latinam, cuius penes quos laus adhuc fuit, non fuit rationis aut scientiae, sed quasi bonae consuetudinis. Mitto C. Laelium P. Scipionem: aetatis illius ista fuit laus tamquam innocentiae sic Latine loquendi—nec omnium tamen, nam illorum aequalis Caecilium et Pacuvium male locutos videmus—sed omnes tum fere, qui nec extra urbem hanc vixerant neque eos aliqua barbaries domestica infuscaverat, recte loquebantur. Sed hanc certe rem deteriorem vetustas fecit et Romae et in Graecia. Confluxerunt enim et Athenas et in hanc urbem multi inquinatae loquentes ex diversis locis.³

¹ The only other considerable fragment of the work which has been preserved in original form reveals the interrogatory, controversial style of the treatise. Gellius xix. 8. 7: num tu harum rerum natura accidere arbitraris, etc. A conception of the general manner may perhaps be gained from the defense of analogy in Varro *L. L.* ix.

² It is to be noticed that this passage also is put into the mouth of Atticus.

³ The progressive corruption and barbarization of Rome by the influx of foreigners is commented on in a similar manner by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, representing a standpoint of grammatical purism like that of Caesar. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 89: *αὶ δὲ τῶν*

Quo magis expurgandus est sermo et adhibenda tamquam obrussa ratio, quae mutari non potest, nec utendum pravissima consuetudinis regula.

The whole of 258 may therefore be looked upon as an argument drawn from the armory of Caesar, and while it may not be considered a verbatim fragment, yet in any comprehensive reconstruction of the *De analogia* it must claim a place, which has not been accorded to it. How ill the whole argument sits with the hotly urged opinions of Cicero, expressed both before (in the *De oratore*) and after (in the *Orator*) the writing of the *Brutus*, may be seen by a brief comparison. In the concluding words of this paragraph the necessity of an immutable criterion, namely *ratio*, is urged, and the utter fallibility of usage is vigorously proclaimed—*nec utendum pravissima consuetudinis regula*. But in the *De oratore* iii. 150, excellence in the choice of words and their forms is measured, not by rule, but by natural feeling and the verdict of the ear: *in quo consuetudo etiam bene loquendi valet plurimum*. The same defense of *consuetudo* against the results of grammatical theory is the underlying principle of what is said concerning *σύνθεσις* in *Orator* 150 ff. One phrase typical of many may serve for illustration: *nec vero reprehenderim "scripsere," . . . et "scripserunt" esse verius sentio, sed consuetudini auribus indulgenti libenter obsequor* (*Or.* 157).

Whether the Caesarian matter extends beyond section 258, it would be rash to affirm; it seems to me, however, not unlikely that the illustrative matter which follows (to 261) may in part

βαρβάρων ἐπιμιξίαι, δι' ἃ ἡ πόλις πολλὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀπέμαθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γίνεσθαι. καὶ θαῦμα τοῦτο ἂν εἶναι δόξειε τὰ αἰετὰ λογισαμένοις, πῶς οὐχ ἅπας ἑξέβαρβαρώθη, Ὅπικος θ' ὑποδεξαμένη καὶ Μαρσὸς καὶ Σαυρίτας καὶ Τυρρηκὸς καὶ Βρεττιώσι, Ὀμβρικῶν τε καὶ Λεγδῶν καὶ Ἰβήρων [καὶ Κελτῶν] συχνὰς μυριάδας, ἀλλὰ τε πρὸς τοῖς αἰρημένοις ἔθνη, τὰ μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς Ἰταλίας, τὰ δ' ἐξ ἐτέρων ἀφειγμένα τόπων μυρ' ὅσα, οὐθ' ἀμόγλωττα οὐθ' ὁμοδίαιτα, ὧν καὶ βίους σὺγκλυδας ἀναταραχθέντας ἐκ τοσαύτης διαφυρίας πολλὰ τοῦ παλαιοῦ κόσμου τῆς πόλεως νεοχμῶσαι εἰκὸς ἦν (cf. Norden *De Stilone Cosconio Varrone grammaticis* [Ind. Lect. Greifswald, 1895], p. ix). Dionysius conceives of the Latin language as having been originally an Aeolic dialect which has suffered corruption from so much foreign contamination: τοῦτο μόνον ἀπολαύσαντες ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπιμιξιών, τὸ μὴ πᾶσι τοῖς φθόγγοις ὀρθοεπεῖν (l. 90). It is clear that considerations of this sort were the reasons to which the grammarians both in Greece and Rome appealed in justification of their activity. It was the task of grammar to restore language (within practical limits) to its original purity, and analogy was one of the principles—and the dominating one—by which it sought to make good the defects of early record. Cf. also the important passage in *Fam.* ix. 15. 1 and *Brutus* 168 ff.

have been derived from Caesar, including the story of Sisenna's discomfiture at the hands of the facetious C. Rusius. Sisenna was an analogist,¹ and, like Caesar, aimed to restore the original purity of the language by rule,² but with the zeal of an evangelist of a new gospel he was extreme in its application and applied his *ratio* in frequent defiance of fixed *consuetudo*. It is, I should suspect, therefore Caesar's judgment which Cicero reports, *recte loqui putabat esse inusitate loqui* (260). Against such an earlier standpoint of grammatical *ratio*, which could only discredit it in the eyes of men of practical sense, Caesar raised his protest concerning the avoidance of all that was rare or unusual.³

II. The second fragment which I would restore to the *De analogia* is less extensive and less important. It is derived, too, from a different source, but the confirmation of its genuineness depends upon a portion of Cicero's narrative. It is contained in a quotation which the elder Pliny incorporates into an enthusiastic apostrophe to Cicero (*N. H.* vii. 117):

Salve primus omnium parens patriae appellate, primus in toga triumphum linguaeque lauream merite, et facundiae Latiarumque litterarum parens atque, ut dictator Caesar hostis quondam tuus de te scripsit, *omnium triumphorum laurea maior, quanto plus est ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse quam imperii*.

It is obvious that Caesar in this somewhat fulsome praise alludes to the notorious verse of Cicero's poem *De consulatu suo*:

cedant arma togae, concedat laurea linguae.

He accepts Cicero's own estimate of himself (perhaps with an aside to his friends), and pays it back with interest—*omnium triumphorum laurea maior*. That was spreading it on pretty thick, and we may believe that Cicero looked with some appre-

¹ As we see from Varro, cited by Gellius ii. 25. 9. It is probable that the words of Cicero (*Brutus* 228), *doctus vir et optimis studiis deditus*, refer to his grammatical studies, and from the same passage we learn that he enjoyed the reputation of unimpeachable Latinity (*bene Latine loquens*), a judgment which is confirmed by Fronto, who places him among a group of authors *particulatim elegantis*, and by the citations of later grammarians. It should cause his soul unrest to know that the scholarship of our day assigns him to the Asiatic school (cf. Marx *Proleg. in Auct. ad Her.*, p. 140).

² *Sisenna autem quasi emendator sermonis usitati cum esse vellet* (*Brutus* 259).

³ The relationship of the injunction of Caesar to the practice of Sisenna is suggested also by Marx *loc. cit.* (n. 1, above), and by Reitzenstein *M. Terentius Varro*, etc. (Leipzig, 1901), p. 63.

hension upon flattery from another which interpreted the significance of his own figurative *laurea* with such glossatorial literalness. The praise was too strong to form a part of the direct quotation from Caesar which is made in the *Brutus*, but allusion to it and cautious restriction of its validity are found there:

hanc autem, inquit (Brutus), gloriam [viz., of being the *princeps* and *inventor* of oratorical abundance and embellishment at Rome] testimoniumque Caesaris tuae quidem supplicationi non, sed triumphis multorum antepono (255).

With these words, placed in the mouth of Brutus, Cicero prunes down the compliment of Caesar to a form tolerable for urbane acknowledgment: the extravagance of Caesar's *omnium triumphorum laurea maior* is reduced to a less invidious plane—*triumphis multorum antepono*. The whole of 255 ff. should be read in this connection, but the general considerations of the relative significance of oratorical (literary) and military values which are contained in the remaining laudatory words of Caesar—*quanto plus est ingenii Romani terminos in tantum promovisse quam imperii*—are reflected in the paragraph following, with a similar reduction of Caesar's extravagance of praise to a plane of acknowledged truth on which it can be accepted publicly without stultification:

Verum quidem si audire volumus, omissis illis divinis consiliis, quibus saepe constituta est imperatorum sapientia salus civitatis aut belli aut domi, multo magnus orator praestat minutis imperatoribus (256).

The fragment has not, of course, entirely escaped the vigilance of the editors of Caesar, but at some point in the progress of this phase of Caesarian scholarship, through some chance of allotment, it was assigned to the *Anticato*,¹ where it threatens to make good its title, if only by right of squatter sovereignty.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

EXCURSUS: A REFERENCE TO THE *De oratore* IN CAESAR'S *Anticato*

As a brief supplement to the foregoing, I would add here one other trace of contemporary allusion to the *De oratore*. Though it touches a different aspect of Cicero's argument and belongs to a later time, yet it affords welcome evidence of Caesar's acquaintance with the third book.

¹ Dinter iii, p. 136; Kähler iii. 2, p. 146.

In sections 52 ff. Crassus, instead of proceeding at once to a presentation of the technological aspects of rhetorical *ornatus*, digresses to a consideration of the real nature of eloquence. It is, he affirms, one of the supreme virtues, the function of which is to put into effect by persuasive speech the results of speculative thought and practical wisdom. And so it was conceived of by the early Greeks: *hanc cogitandi pronuntiandique rationem vimque dicendi veteres Graeci sapientiam nominabant* (56). But, under the influence of Socrates' criticisms, philosophy was detached from this original unity with much detriment to itself as well as to eloquence. To be sure a certain tendency toward specialization of activity had foreshadowed this differentiation, so that Pythagoras, Democritus, and Anaxagoras were primarily thinkers, Themistocles, Pericles, and Theramenes were first of all statesmen, while Gorgias, Thrasymachus, and Isocrates were chiefly teachers. But all conceived of the range of their activity in this broad and comprehensive spirit as an undivided unit. Even Socrates, though the inaugurator of the unhappy divorce of this ideal unity, was himself a product of the larger conception and a type of the power and versatility which it conveyed.

The goal therefore, to which Crassus exhorts his listeners, is the realization of this older ideal (71 ff.), which should incorporate—whether under the name of eloquence or philosophy (142)—all of these activities in a single person. Of the examples cited from the pre-Socratic period it is obvious that Themistocles, Pericles, and Theramenes might be said to embody the conception most perfectly; for Pythagoras, Democritus, and Anaxagoras tended too obviously toward the exclusive pursuit of philosophy, while Gorgias, Thrasymachus, and Isocrates would suggest the one-sided study of eloquence.

We have seen above how Caesar in paying compliment to Cicero took as his starting-point the suggestion which Cicero himself afforded. It will be apparent how in similar manner, in relation to the argument of the *De oratore*, a compliment to Cicero might be framed, by the suggestion that in his own talents and career he exemplified the union of wise statesmanship and eloquence, which he had himself set up as an ideal. It is in this sense, I think, that we are to understand the words of Caesar to which Plutarch alludes (*Cic.* 39): ἐκ δὲ τούτου διετέλει (Καῖσαρ) τιμῶν καὶ φιλοφρονησέμενος, ὥστε καὶ γράψαντι λόγον ἐγκώμιον Κάτωνος ἀντιγράφων τὸν τε λόγον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν βίον ὡς μάλιστα τῷ Περικλέους δοκῶτα καὶ Θερამένους ἐπαινέειν.

CICERO'S AMALTHEUM

BY FRANK GARDNER MOORE

Cicero's desire to imitate the Amaltheum of Atticus first appears in 61 B. C., in the well-known letter on the acquittal of Clodius (1. 16). Atticus had sent him certain epigrammata of his own production: *Epigrammatis tuis, quae in Amaltheo posuisti, contenti erimus, praesertim cum et Thyillus nos reliquerit, et Archias nihil de me scripserit* (§ 15).

The mention of Thyillus and Archias is sufficient evidence that the verses were in Greek. Clearly the statues or busts placed by Atticus in his Amaltheum were to be provided with suitable inscriptions in metrical form. The comparison with those mentioned by Nepos is inevitable. The latter were, of course, in Latin, and Nepos found much to praise in their terseness (Nepos *Att.* 18. 5, 6). He does not imply that Atticus honored any others than statesmen and generals with his *elogia* in four or five verses.¹ It was certainly in this class, rather than as an orator, that Cicero received his place among the statuary of his friend. There is no positive evidence that Atticus' collection of sculptured heroes of Roman history was limited to the Amaltheum, rather than variously disposed about the villa. But, with the certainty that he would place his friend's portrait in a position of honor, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the essential feature of the Amaltheum was an out-of-door gallery of Romans eminent in public life or in warfare.

At all events, Cicero was not merely curious to learn what this feature of Atticus' Epirote estate was. He knows enough of its nature already to desire to reproduce it upon his paternal Arpinas: *Velim ad me scribas, cuius modi sit 'Αμάλθειον tuum, quo ornatu, qua τοποθεσίᾳ, et, quae poemata quasque historias de*

¹That Atticus' metrical *elogia* were at least in circulation among his friends, if not formally published, is the only reasonable inference from the context in which Nepos mentions them, although the reference to *imagines* leaves us in doubt whether the biographer has in mind the original busts or statues, or drawings of some kind in an *édition de luxe*.

'*Ἀμαλθεῖα* habes, ad me mittas. *Lubet mihi facere in Arpinati* (§ 18). In view of the strange conflict of legends gathered about the name of Amalthea, it is not strange that he should ask to know Atticus' literary authorities, whether as a guide in the purchase of statues or reliefs, or merely for his own enlightenment as to what an Amaltheum was, as distinguished from an Academy, a Lyceum, and the other features prescribed by landscape architects for the correct villa—much as the new-fledged country gentleman of today must needs discover pleached walks and all the other lore of the colonial garden. As for the first motive, the question of the sculptures is fully provided for under *quo ornatu*, and we are forced to conclude that the second motive prevailed, but may well assume that something more than mere novelty attracted him to the idea; and the problem does not lose in interest on account of the uncertainty as to just what the Amaltheum of Atticus was.

It has been held,¹ and is still maintained in Pauly-Wissowa, that the name was also given to the entire estate of Atticus near Buthrotum. Certainly it is a striking fact that there is no name for the estate corresponding to *Formianum*, *Arpinas*, and the like. The practice for extra-Italian estates, to be sure, may have differed from the familiar custom, and one must regret the lack of accessible information as to how the Greeks named their country places. Little light is thrown upon the name of Atticus' estate by the commentators on Cicero's *Letters*. Thus Tyrrell:

Amalthea was a villa of Atticus in Epirus, so called from the neighbouring shrine of the nymph Amalthea. It is sometimes called *Amaltheum*. The adjectival form is generally used as in *Tusculanum*, but cf. *Caieta*, above: Att. i. 4. 3.²

Caietam *ornabo*, however, is an inconclusive example, for the name of the town might be used in lieu of the name of the estate, just as Att. 2. 20. 2; *ab Amalthea te non commovebo*, does not prove that Atticus or Cicero would have thought of calling the estate itself Amalthea. Nothing more is involved than a graceful metonymy, as in *Caieta* above.³ That the same figure would give

¹Orelli *Onom.*, after Ernesti; Pape *Eigennamen*; Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa.

²On Att. 1. 13. 1.

³Of., in 1. 13. 1, the playful, and purely figurative, caesis apud Amaltheam tuam victimis.

Amaltheum a wider range than "shrine of Amalthea" is obvious, but the single occurrence in Cicero (*Leg.* 2. 7) does not justify the assumption that the entire estate bore that name, and there is no other tangible evidence. All the support to be found for that theory comes from association of the name with Ἀμαλθείας κέρας as applied to rich and well-watered estates or parks. But the passage¹ which is chiefly relied upon makes the Ἀμαλθείας κέρας a τόπος in an ἄλσος; in other words, plainly a limited spot, not the grove or park as a whole. Hence, conceding that the proverbial significance of the term was amply satisfied by the plane groves of Atticus on the banks of the Thyamis,² proof that Amaltheum was equivalent to Villa Abbondanza, or meant to its owner anything more comprehensive than Cicero's Academy at his Tusculanum, is entirely lacking. There can be small doubt that it was but one feature, like the Tusculan example just cited, or Hadrian's Canopus at Tivoli.

To the question what the Amaltheum was, various answers have been given—a library,³ a gymnasium,⁴ a museum,⁵ a sanctuary,⁶ a building or room containing the library and portraits of famous Romans with pertinent inscriptions,⁷ the estate itself.⁸ The only detailed discussion of the Amaltheum known to the writer is that of O. E. Schmidt,⁹ who sees in it a garden-house, in form perhaps resembling a small basilica, with a fountain, and wall-paintings depicting scenes from the legends of Amalthea, interpreted by inscribed verses, while busts or statues of distinguished men with *elogia* completed the scheme of decoration. That it was a library rests upon no securer ground than the common fashion of adorning libraries with the busts of eminent men of letters. The only literary man whom we know to have had a place in the

¹ *Duris ap. Athen.* 12. 542: καὶ πλησίον Ἰππωρίου πόλεως ἄλσος τι δεικνυσθαι, καὶ ἄλλαι διάφορον καὶ κατὰ ῥήντον ὕδασιν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τόπον τινὰ εἶναι καλούμενον Ἀμαλθείας κέρας, ὃ τὸν Γέλωτα κατασκέπασαι.

² Cf. *Leg.* 2. 7.

³ Cf. the revised Stephanus, Nizolius, Liddell and Scott, Lewis and Short.

⁴ Ernesti (or a *diaeta*).

⁵ Liddell and Scott.

⁶ Orelli, Georges (Lewis and Short), the new *Thesaurus*.

⁷ Hofmann *Ausgewählte Briefe*, *ad loc.*, who adds a motive from the κέρας Ἀμαλθείας: "wahrscheinlich um anzudeuten, dass die Lektüre jener Bücher die schönste Nahrung für den Geist sei."

⁸ Ernesti, Tyrrell, Wernicke, *loc. cit.*

⁹ *Neue Jahrbücher* III (1869), pp. 340 ff.

Amaltheum is Cicero himself, and, as we have already seen, it is reasonably certain from what is said of the *epigrammata* that he was honored there as a statesman and savior of the state, not as an orator. The historical air of the place seems to have been one of its distinguishing features, and in view of the picturesque charms mentioned in *Leg.* 2. 7, we may safely infer that it was not a building simply, but a portion of the gardens, distinctively treated, and adorned with rows of statues—a *Sieges-allee* rather than a Bavarian Walhalla. That the scheme of the landscape gardener was completed by at least one graceful structure is highly probable, and here a kind of casino may well have contained a select library, possibly of an historical character. The nymph Amalthea, at least, was not forgotten, and her shrine may have been the only edifice. Minor features, such as *exedrae*, and fountains would scarcely have been omitted. If the important element had been a building, we should have had inquiries from Cicero in regard to the plan and style of the structure, and less emphasis upon the *τοποθεσία*.¹

If the associations of the Amaltheum were mainly with Roman history, one can not help wishing to know whether Atticus found a link between some one of the many Amalthea legends and his historical theme. It is not impossible that he may have accepted the identification of the nymph with the Sibyl of Cumae,² than whom no mythological figure might preside more worthily at a marble gathering of Roman men of action. But nothing can be discovered to make the conjecture more than a mere conjecture, reasonably derived, however, from the probability, that the catholic tastes of Atticus would lead him to draw out all the different suggestions of the name. That his villa lay on the road to Dodona, where the nymph had a cult, would be sufficient excuse for the erection of a new shrine with a certain *interpretatio Romana*, even without assuming the previous existence of an older sanctuary

¹Schmidt's limitation of *τοποθεσία* to idyllic landscapes in the frescoes seems inconclusive (pp. 341 ff.). For if a glowing description of Misenum and Puteoli or the charms of Syracuse (*ad Att.* 1. 13. 5; *Verr.* 4. 117 ff.) was a *τοποθεσία*, the same term might be used in begging a description of his Amaltheum from the owner.

²Suidas 949 Bekker: *Lact. Inst.* 1. 6; *Isid. Orig.* 8. 8. 5: septima Cumana nomine Amalthaea, quae novem libros attulit Tarquinio Prisco; Serv. on *Aen.* vi. 73 makes Amalthea the name of the old woman who came to Tarquin.

on or near his estates. The whole region was full of associations with the legend of Aeneas. Near by was an Ilium and other Trojan names connected with the Helenus story—names which no one would think of accepting, if it were not for the testimony of Varro,¹ who had seen the country—was it on a visit to Atticus?

Returning to Cicero and his desire to have an Amaltheum of his own, after the letter of 61, making inquiries and announcing his wish (1. 16. 18), he writes in the middle of the following year (2. 1. 11), begging Atticus to come and inspect: *Amalthea mea te expectat et indiget tui*. In April, 59, he acknowledges the receipt of further suggestions: *De 'Αμαλθείᾳ quod me admones, non neglegemus* (2. 7. 5). A visit was really expected, at first at the *Formianum* and then at the *Arpinas* (2. 16. 4), but we have no means of knowing whether Atticus in person aided in planning the Amaltheum. The prooemium to the second book of the *Laws* describes the impressions of Atticus on the occasion of his first visit² to the ancestral home of Cicero. After walking about in the gardens by the Liris the three speakers in the dialogue now come to the small island at the mouth of the lesser stream, the Fibrenus. It is the *Insula Fibreni*, or *Insula Arpinas*, often claimed as the actual birthplace of the orator.³ But nothing can be clearer from the present passage than that the house was not upon this islet, which was a quiet and meditative spot, barely large enough for a palaestra. After Atticus has glowingly described the picturesqueness of the place, Marcus

¹ Serv. on *Aen.* 8. 349: Varro Epiri se fuisse dicit et omnia loca isdem dici nominibus, quae poeta commemorat, se vidisse.

² Cf. 2. 2: antea mirabar . . . cogitabam . . . nunc contra miror.

³ Even Hülse seems to place the entire Arpinas upon this diminutive island (Pauly-Wissowa)—a view which conflicts with the passage in the *Laws*. Mommsen placed the villa on the site of Isola di Sora (*CIL.* X. 1, p. 558). Schmidt identifies the *Insula Fibreni* with the Carnello island, about a mile above the delta at the confluence (p. 336). But this is to ignore the plain language of *Leg.* 2. 6: statim praecipitat in Lirē [sc. Fibrenus]. Hence the islet must have been in the delta, and its gradual disappearance would not be surprising. Too much weight seems to have been given by Schmidt to an isolated fragment of a later book—the suggestion that the speakers return to the Liris. But while 2. 1 appears to promise the conclusion of the discourse at the island—in insula quae est in Fibreno . . . sermoni reliquo demus operam sedentes, it is not safe in an unfinished work to conclude that the promise was literally fulfilled. We are not even sure that the dialogue was completed the same day. Finally the spot which the speakers are leaving in the fragment from the fifth book is a young plantation, and deficient in shade—no mention of island or Fibrenus.

remarks that the Thyamis must be in no way inferior, and Quintus adds: *Est ita, ut dicis; cave enim putes Attici nostri Amalthio platanisque illis quicquam esse praeclarius*. The point of comparison is not between the whole Arpinas and the entire estate of Atticus in Epirus. The island in the Fibrenus is compared with a spot by the banks of the Thyamis, the *modica palaestra* upon the island with the *gymnasium*¹ of Atticus—his Amaltheum. In other words, it seems perfectly clear that this island palaestra was the spot where the Amaltheum was to have been reproduced. That it was never actually carried to completion² is to be inferred from the absence of any allusion to the subject in this passage. If the plan had been carried out, it would be difficult to account for the omission of any mention of it in such a context. Cicero in doing the honors of the Arpinas for Atticus, on his first visit, could hardly have failed to mention a feature directly borrowed from the villa in Epirus, and to point out with pride, or with deprecating modesty, his open-air Temple of Fame. Evidently the project was almost forgotten after ten years or more, much as the more famous project for a *Fanum Tulliae*, after filling a large place in the correspondence with Atticus, finally disappears from view.

We may be sure that Cicero's passing interest in the Amaltheum of Atticus had no special connection with the various Amaltheas of conflicting legends, unless possibly the identification with the Cumaeen Sibyl appealed to him. What attracted him seems to have been the series of busts or statues of Roman worthies with suitable inscriptions. For this purpose the general form of a palaestra was well suited. If we are right in holding that the plan was abandoned before completion, we may well believe that embarrassment over the question of a statue of himself on his own estate was not without its share in his change of purpose.

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

¹ That *gymnasium* and *palaestra* were interchangeable terms is shown by Vitruvius 5. 11; cf. *Att.* 1. 10. 3: *quae tibi palaestra gymnasiique videbuntur esse* (epexegetic-que); cf. *ibid.* 1. 8. 2: *gymnasi xystique*.

² *Ad Att.* 2. 3. 2 is understood by Schmidt as referring to the Amaltheum (p. 343). Atticus in a letter of December, 60, has objected to the small size of the windows in a structure upon which Cyrus the architect was then engaged. It is not improbable that this may have had to do with the Amaltheum, but in a letter written six months after the *Amalthea mea te exspectat*, etc., the allusion is far from certain.

DID WOMEN TESTIFY IN HOMICIDE CASES AT ATHENS?

BY ROBERT J. BONNER

According to the accepted view, women were not competent witnesses in Athenian courts. This conclusion is not based upon any distinct statement in our authorities, but is a matter of inference from the absence of explicit reference to the testimony of women in any of the extant cases.¹ There is, however, a passage in a speech attributed to Demosthenes which can be satisfactorily explained only by assuming that, in cases of homicide, women, and children as well, regularly appeared in the capacity of witnesses. The plaintiff in the case against Euergus and Mnesibulus (xlvi) for perjury gives a lively account of an assault upon a freedwoman in his service. The defendants, together with their kinsman Theophemus, visited the plaintiff's house during his absence for the purpose of making a seizure of property to satisfy a judgment which Theophemus had obtained. Their proceedings were so violent that the slaves took refuge in their own separate apartments and by their shouts alarmed the neighborhood. Agnophilus, who happened to be passing, approached the house, but discreetly refrained from entering in the absence of the owner. In the meantime the defendants and their companion had effected an entrance into the women's apartments, where they found the mistress of the house, the children, and an aged freedwoman who lived with them. While defending her master's property the old servant was so cruelly maltreated by Theophemus and Euergus that she afterward died. After her death the plaintiff consulted the expounders (*ἐξηγηταί*), who instructed him regarding the procedure to be followed in such cases for the purpose of purification. At his request they advised him further with reference to legal proceedings against the perpetrators of the outrage. For two reasons they did not deem it advisable for

¹ Meier-Schoemann-Lipsius *Der attische Process*, p. 876.

him to attempt to prosecute. In the first place, the only witnesses of the assault were his wife and children; for the servants had shut themselves up in their apartments and the neighbors had declined to interfere, although two of them had seen the men departing with their plunder.¹ But the most serious difficulty lay in establishing the right to prosecute, as the deceased was neither his relative nor his slave. The expounders admitted that he and his wife and children might take a solemn oath in the Palladium, but they would thereby be in danger of incurring the odium of perjury.² Being averse to exposing himself and his family to public odium by a false oath, he let the matter drop after further consultation with friends.³

It remains to determine the nature of these contemplated oaths. Clearly they were intended to substantiate the claim to relationship between the prosecutor and the deceased. For the law required from the prosecutor an oath to this effect in all prosecutions for homicide. *κελεύει γὰρ ὁ νόμος τοὺς προσήκοντας ἐπεξείναι μέχρι ἀνεψιαδῶν, καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ διορίζεται ὃ τι προσήκων ἐστὶ, κἂν οἰκέτης ᾖ, τούτων τὰς ἐπισκήψεις εἶναι* (72).⁴ Moreover, if the plaintiff's account of the assault be correct, this is the only part of the case that would necessitate the committing of perjury; and he freely admits that the oath would be false. That the women and children then had the right to appear publicly in the case and make solemn oaths is beyond question. But in what capacity would they have appeared? Would they appear as joint prosecutors,⁵ as regular witnesses, or as special witnesses to the fact of relationship? The data are not sufficient to afford an entirely

¹ Dem. xlvii. 60.

² ὥστ' εἰ διομῶ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ τὰ παῖδια καὶ καταράσσεσθε αὐτοῖς καὶ τῇ οἰκίᾳ, χεῖρων τε δόξεις πολλοῖς εἶναι, κἂν μὲν ἀποφύγῃ σ', ἐπιωρηκέναι, ἐὰν δὲ ἔλθῃ, φθορήσει (70).

³ ψεύσασθαι δὲ πρὸς ὅμᾱς καὶ διομῶσθαι αὐτὸς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα οὐκ ἂν ἐτόλμησα (73). I prefer Dareste's interpretation of this passage: "pour rien au monde je n'aurais voulu mentir devant vous ni me parjurer ni faire parjurer mon fils et ma femme." Liddell and Scott, followed by Kennedy, take *διομῶσθαι τὸν υἱὸν* to mean "to swear by his son's head." Reiske (*Indices Graecitatis in oratores Atticos s. v.*) offers the same explanation.

⁴ Cf. Philippi *Der Areopag*, p. 80; Guggenheim *Die Bedeutung der Follerung im attischen Prozesse*, p. 4.

⁵ Several persons might be prosecutors in the same case; cf. Antiphon vi. 16.

satisfactory answer. It is true that the expounders virtually call them witnesses when they say: ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐ παρεγένου, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ καὶ τὰ παιδιά, ἄλλοι δέ σοι μάρτυρες οὐκ εἰσὶν (69). Besides, it is assumed that a conviction was possible, and it is scarcely probable that there could be any well-grounded hope of success without the testimony of eyewitnesses, even though the circumstantial evidence against the accused was strong. But if they joined in the prosecution, they could not appear as witnesses. In any event they would swear to the same thing that the prosecutor swore to in his *διωμοσία*, when the case came up for preliminary hearing, and would virtually be witnesses in the case. It is impossible to say under what, if any, limitations they would appear.

Though the passage has often been discussed, Mederle alone, so far as I am aware, has touched the question here raised.¹ He regards the oath of the wife as a regular evidentiary oath. But such an oath could not be taken without the consent² of the defendants, and it is scarcely conceivable that if the facts were as the speaker alleges, they would be so blind to their own interests as to admit into court the only eyewitnesses of the fatal assault. It would be better to refuse the challenge to accept the oath, as litigants almost invariably do in the Orators.³ But the fact that the contemplated oath referred to the question of relationship seems to exclude the possibility of its being an evidentiary oath. For, had an opportunity for tendering an oath been afforded, the woman would undoubtedly have sworn to the identity of the plaintiffs as perpetrators of the fatal outrage.

Equally unsatisfactory is Mederle's contention that the boy (τὸν υἱόν) was old enough to appear as a regular witness. The word *υἱός* certainly affords no indication that the boy was an adult, for elsewhere (xxx. 88) we find Demosthenes using *υἱεῖς ἄνδρες* to denote grown-up sons. And, furthermore, while in one passage (72) the plaintiff speaks of the fact that only one of his children

¹ Philippi *op. cit.*, pp. 53, 80 ff., 92; Guggenheim *op. cit.*, p. 4; Mederle *De iuris iurandi in lile Attica decem oratorum aetate usu*, p. 29.

² Meier-Schoemann-Lipsius, p. 900.

³ Only one instance of the acceptance of an evidentiary oath appears in the Orators: Dem. xl. 10. Philippi (*op. cit.*, p. 91) is of the opinion that challenges have no place in courts dealing with homicide.

took the oath, in an earlier passage (70) all the children (*παῖδες*) were to take the oath. Thus Mederle fails to explain how the other children could have taken an oath. In discussing Plato's extension of the rules to include children, Rentzsch¹ says that, not being *sui iuris*, they could neither take an oath nor be punished for perjury. He believes, however, that it is quite probable that they might appear at the preliminary inquiry (*προδικασία*) in Athens in cases of homicide and tell what they knew without being sworn. As he neglects to cite any authority for this remarkable opinion, it is impossible to say whether he had this case in mind or not.

If women were to be allowed to testify in any case at all, it certainly would, according to modern notions, be in homicide cases. Greek feeling on this point very probably was the same as ours, if we may judge from Plato's provision (*Legg.* 937*a*) for admitting the testimony of slaves and children in these cases.

Plato's rules regarding the competency of witnesses afford by implication a striking confirmation of the view that women were competent witnesses in homicide cases. While it is impossible to discover how far Plato's rules were intended to change or modify the Attic law of his day, it is certain that he makes that law his starting-point. His system is confessedly incomplete. Matters of simple procedure, for example, are to be worked out by those who are to put his system into practice (855*d*). Only those matters which he regards as essential are worked out in detail. Sometimes he adopts the provisions of Athenian law as they stand. A good example of this in the law of evidence is the rule which excuses a man from testifying after a second conviction for perjury.² At other times he departs entirely from the usages of his day.³ But still there are obvious gaps which could not very well be left for future legislators to supply. An example in point is his neglect to specify in detail who are to be competent witnesses. After providing for a compulsory process for

¹*De δίκῃ ψευδομαρτυρίας in iure Attico*, p. 17.

²*Legg.* 937*c*; *Hyperides* iv. 12.

³*Cf. Legg.* 855*d ff.*, where he gives in detail the procedure to be adopted by the judges in reaching a decision.

recalcitrant witnesses, he goes on to make special provisions regarding women, slaves, children, and those who have been twice or thrice convicted of perjury. Undoubtedly he intended to confine to male citizens in full possession of civic rights the general right to testify, as was the practice in Athenian law, although he says nothing about it. Another instance in which he must be understood as tacitly adopting some Athenian rule is in regard to women's testifying in homicide cases. Women over forty years are to have a general right to give evidence in any case, and slaves and children are to be allowed under special restrictions to testify in cases of homicide (*Legg.* 937 *a*). On the face of it, women under forty years would be in a position before the courts inferior to that of slaves and children (*παιδί*). This anomaly has been explained by pointing out that infancy in Plato's system extends to thirty years in the case of a man and to forty in the case of a woman. *παιδί* would thus mean "infant," either male or female in the special sense Plato has elsewhere attached to it by implication.¹ But an examination of the passages cited from Plato fails to disclose any good ground for this view. In his system a woman of forty years or more could be a party in a suit or a witness; she could also hold a state office. And in case of wrongdoing toward her parents she was liable, if under forty, to a summary trial before the magistrates (*Legg.* 937 *a*, 785 *b*, 932 *b*). All that one may reasonably conclude from these provisions is that certain privileges were withheld until full maturity. For the fact that marriage and participation in war as soldiers were permitted to women at a much earlier age shows that these restrictions do not by any means imply infancy (*Legg.* 785 *b*). Certain restrictions upon the full exercise of the rights of citizenship appear in Athens.² The explanation of this anomaly must be that Plato starts with the Athenian practice which admitted women to testify in cases of homicide, and extends this same right to "infants"—i. e., infants in Attic law as his readers would naturally understand it—and to slaves. Next he proceeds to increase the privileges of women by allowing them to testify in any case, provided they are over forty years of age.

¹ Guggenheim *op. cit.*, p. 13.

² Gilbert *Greek Constitutional Antiquities*, p. 199.

The absence of distinct instances where women actually did testify need occasion no surprise. Women who lived in seclusion, as did the women of Athens, would rarely participate in, or be present at, any deed of violence. Moreover, comparatively few cases of homicide are dealt with, or even mentioned incidentally, in the extant speeches. And in only two of these half-dozen cases¹ was a woman involved. In the Choreutes and Herodes murder trials in Antiphon (v, vi) no woman was connected with the case. In the poisoning case (i) there is a woman but she is the defendant, and could not in any event be available as a witness. In the Eratosthenes murder trial (Lys. i) a woman was involved, but as she was the wife of the defendant and paramour of the slain man, it is not difficult to account for her non-appearance. In the trial of Agoratus (Lys. xiii) there was nothing that required the testimony of a woman.

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¹ These do not include the fictitious cases of the *Tetralogies* of Antiphon.

THE DATE OF *NOTITIA* AND *CURIOSUM*

BY ELMER TRUESDELL MERRILL

The two related statistical documents of the fourth century commonly called the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* have had a history varied and interesting enough to furnish the plot for a novel of adventure. They sprang from a common source, but hardly lived long enough in an unsullied existence to recognize their own individuality. Neither, indeed, accurately represented their common parent, and the craft of man immediately began its confusing work with them. Some details were speedily added to each by way of improvement, to bring them "up to date." A generation later one was still further emended by borrowing from the other, and the resultant combination was drawn upon for other documents. The details of the history from now on till the great awakening of interest in the topography of ancient Rome that marks the fifteenth century appear to have been insufficiently investigated. Some young student may do us a considerable service by a comparative study of all the extant manuscripts of both *Notitia* and *Curiosum* in the light of the other documents more or less allied with them. But upon the approach of the fifteenth century they were no longer to be allowed to ramble about as irresponsible and anonymous vagrants. Signorili ascribed the authorship of one of them, at least, to the well-deserving Paul the Deacon. Later scholars went him several better. Flavio Biondo attributed a poor copy of the *Curiosum* to Sextus Rufus. Giano Parisio entered the fray, and after duly interpolating a copy already bountifully interpolated by Pomponio Leto, printed the result as the work of Publius Victor, apparently a specially conjured-up double of Aurelius Victor. Later on this pseudo-author appears as Publius Aurelius Victor, or as Publius Fabius Victor. Then that ever-active falsifier, Pirro Ligorio, took a hand, and still further interpolated the pseudo-Victor, writing it out in an imitation of ancient majuscules, with intent to deceive. Onofrio

Panvinio, honest man, came into possession of this manuscript of Ligorio, interpolated it boldly in, as he himself proclaimed, "sex-centi loci," and published the result with cheerful vanity in 1558. This book was widely used, and, as the irony of fate would have it, was generally believed to represent an original of which the real *Notitia* and *Curiosum* (still known) were held to be but stupid and blundering epitomes. Thus matters continued till Sarti, in the last century, succeeded in shattering the imposing claims of mingled fraud and blunder, and restoring the modest rightful heirs to their own again.

Thus far the outline history of the case, which may be sifted in detail out of the pages of Preller, Urlichs, Jordan, De Rossi, and Mommsen. If only these documents were persons, is there not here the material for a plot of the good old-fashioned sort?

In consideration of the complication of the text of *Notitia* and *Curiosum* by reason of interpolations and alterations that date back to a very early period in their existence, it is not strange that scholars since the return of sanity have been at variance on many points concerning them. The original text of each is still somewhat open to question; the precise relation of one to the other, and of both to their common source, admits of further investigation; and on the question of the date to which the composition of each is to be assigned there has been, and is still, a difference of opinion. Bunsen, for example (*Beschreibung d. Stadt Rom* I, p. 175), believed the *Notitia* to have been composed before the time of Constantine, and the *Curiosum* no earlier than the sixth century. Becker was at first disposed to ascribe both Regionaries to the fifth century, along with the *Notitia Dignitatum* (*Handbuch d. röm. Alterthümer* I, p. 71) but later concluded that they were of Constantinian origin (*ibid.*, p. 709). Preller assigned the *Curiosum*, in its existent form, to some time between 357 A. D. and the reign of the younger Theodosius (408-50) and the *Notitia*, which he believed to be merely a recension of the *Curiosum*, to that reign (*Regionen d. Stadt Rom*, p. 66). Mommsen ascribed the *Notitia* to the year 334, and the *Curiosum* to a period anywhere between 357 and the eighth century (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss.* II, pp. 549 ff.; III,

pp. 269 ff.). Jordan places the *Notitia* between 334 and 357 (possibly between 337 and 357; *Topog. d. Stadt Rom* II, p. 9), and the *Curiosum* between 357 and 450 (possibly between 357 and 403; *ibid.* I, pp. 49 ff.; II, p. 540). Richter (*Topog. von Rom*,² p. 7) assigns the *Notitia* precisely to the year 354, and the *Curiosum* to the year 357, or a time not very long ("nicht allzuweit") thereafter. But this last remark evidently frightens him a bit, for he hastens to say that the lack of mention by the *Curiosum* of the restored and renamed Pons Aurelius and Pons Probi is no sure indication that it was composed before 450 A. D. Lanciani believes the *Notitia* to date from 334, and the *Curiosum* from or after 357 (*Ruins and Excavations*, p. vii). And finally, our own Professor Platner (*Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome*, p. 5) says: "The *Notitia* dates from 334, the *Curiosum* from about 357 A. D.," though he could hardly believe it possible, I should judge, that the date of the *Curiosum* could be in any case earlier than 357. He does not take space, however, to assign any reasons for his conclusion.

Now it will be observed that all this variation of opinion about the dates of *Notitia* and *Curiosum* tends to narrow decidedly as we come down the years from Bunsen's time to our own. This is doubtless to be ascribed partly to the natural growth in judgment that one age ought to show as above its predecessors, and partly also to an equally natural tendency, but one not always, I fear, safely founded, to insist on the possibility of fixing an absolute date for everything that must have had an absolute date. The mind can not be happy without dates. The *Notitia*, then, appears to be finally penned up between at most 334 and 357, and only the *Curiosum* to roam more widely afield, being itself limited, however, by an earlier date beyond which it can not retreat, namely, the year 357. The necessary limitations of space in this journal preclude the examination and discussion of the arguments that led the authorities whom I have cited to the conclusions adopted by them. I may remark, however, that those who assign the *Notitia* definitely to the year 334 appear to follow Mommsen therein (I must not include in this statement Professor Platner, of whose reasons I know nothing), and those who assign

the *Curiosum* to 357. precisely, or to a period not far removed therefrom, seem to be actuated mainly by a shuddering dread of the huge vagueness that lies beyond, and therefore cling as closely as possible to the boundary-stone they are sure of, without having a confident reason for their action. In venturing to set forth briefly my own opinion on this vexed question of date I must confine myself to the *minimum sufficiens* of argument, and must repeat many things that are well known.

The general identity of *Notitia* and *Curiosum* shows clearly that they are either derived the one from the other, or both from a common original. Let us assume for a moment the former of these two alternatives. Now, the *Notitia* contains some forty particulars, great or small, that are not found in the *Curiosum*, while the *Curiosum* contains only ten that are not found in the *Notitia*, and at least three of these, as I shall remark below, are clearly glosses of a later date than the proper topographical items (the earliest known manuscript of the *Curiosum* is of the eighth century). Furthermore, the order of particulars is several times different in the two documents, and in general (though it can not be made out for every instance), where this variation occurs, *Curiosum* appears to be right and *Notitia* wrong. Under our provisional assumption, then, the *Curiosum* must be viewed as an abbreviated, and, in point of order, corrected, edition of the *Notitia*, with a very few later interpolations, or the *Notitia* as a considerably interpolated, and occasionally dislocated, edition of the *Curiosum*. Now, of these two possibilities, can any student of the natural history of such texts, and of the times in which they were written, have the slightest hesitation in affirming that the latter, and not the former, alternative is thus far the only possible one? The natural tendency (even as illustrated by the immediately later history of the texts themselves) is toward interpolation, not toward purging—is toward inaccuracy, not toward accuracy. *Notitia* must be a redaction of *Curiosum*, rather than the reverse. (See also a different form of argument in *Jordan Topog.* II. 1.)

But *Notitia* can not be a redaction of *Curiosum*; for by no means all of the particulars in the latter are of late origin, and in

a so richly interpolated edition as *Notitia* there would be no sufficient reason to account for the omission of most of these details peculiar to *Curiosum*, if *Notitia* were descended from *Curiosum*. Moreover, one of these details certainly could not have been omitted from *Notitia*, if it had stood in its source. In the "first Appendix" *Curiosum* reads: *Obulisci VI in circo maximo duo minor habet pedes LXXXVIIS maior habet pedes CXXIIS*. *Notitia*, on the other hand, reads merely: *Obolisci V in circo maximo unus altus pedes LXXXVIIIIS* (so cod. A; but cod. S agrees upon the one obelisk). The *Notitia*, then, can not conceivably be descended from the *Curiosum*.

We are therefore driven to adopt the second of our original alternatives, that the *Notitia* and *Curiosum* are each descended from a common source. I should like to take space to show that the two lines of descent are pure—that is, that there was no cross-fertilization until a period later than that to which we can trace the texts backward; but that may for the present purpose be assumed.

If, now, the *Notitia* and the *Curiosum* are both descended from a common source, to what period is that source, in its latest traceable form, to be assigned? I do not raise here the question as to the period of its original compilation, and its original form, nor the question whether the two appendices formed part of the document in its original form. These questions are too far-reaching for the necessary limits of this paper.

As I have pointed out, a comparison of *Notitia* and *Curiosum* shows that, assuming there has been no cross-copying, the latter contains at most but few additions to the common source. If, now, either *Notitia* or *Curiosum* mentioned but one or two buildings of Constantine's time, we might possibly be justified in regarding these, even in the *Curiosum*, as interpolations, made later than the time of the common origin of the two *Regionaries*; and, since the *Notitia* contains so many additional items, the occurrence of these one or two identical Constantinian items in both documents would be no proof that they stood also in the common source. The latest form of the source might well be, then, of an earlier date than the reign of Constantine. But both

Notitia and *Curiosum* enumerate four structures of Constantine's time—the *Thermae*, the *Basilica*, an *Arch* (in Reg. XI, and therefore not the arch near the Colosseum), and a *Portico*. In consideration of the scanty indications of interpolation in the *Curiosum*, these identical items, though few, yet appear to be too many to allow us to consider them as interpolations. I agree, therefore, with those who consider it proved that the source, in its latest form, was of Constantine's time.

Now, of the four buildings mentioned, the *Basilica* alone can be dated within reasonable limits. Aurelius Victor (*De Caes.* 40. 26) says it was built by Maxentius (therefore between 306 and 312), but dedicated (or re-dedicated?) by the senate to Constantine. (In the *Notitia* it is called *basilica Constantiniana*, both under Reg. IV and in the first Appendix; in the *Curiosum* it appears as *basilica noua* under the Region, but as *basilica Constantiniana* in the Appendix. In the source, therefore, both appellations probably stood combined—*basilica Constantiniana et noua*, or *basilica Constantiniana uel noua*; cf. the similar pair of formal and popular designations, *Romanum* and *magnum*, of the Forum in the heading of Reg. IX.) The *Thermae* were apparently not begun till at least 312 (Aur. Vict. *De Caes.* 40. 27), and must have taken some years to complete, as they were very extensive; but they might well have been mentioned by name before their actual completion. The *Arch*, if the *Ianus Quadrifrons* of the *Velabrum* (so Bunsen, Nissen, Jordan, and others) was apparently not begun till at least 312 (Nissen *Das Templum*, pp. 210 ff.). Of the *Portico* nothing further is known. The "source," accordingly, must have assumed its final form no earlier than 312, and probably a year or two later, to allow for the mention by name of *Thermae* and *Arch*, and perhaps for the double designation of the *Basilica*. But, on the other hand, it could not have reached its final form by the time the *Arch* of Constantine near the Colosseum was built, and the Temple of *Romulus* finished and dedicated to Constantine, for in its evident plan to include the recent structures of Constantine's reign it could hardly have passed over these prominent monuments. The temple was dedicated to Constantine in, or after, 315, according

to current notions, since its dedicatory inscription mentioned that emperor with the title of Maximus, and his first use of that title has been assigned to the year 315, on the basis of Eckhel's investigation of the evidence from coins (Eckhel VIII, p. 94). It seems more reasonable to assume this earliest possible date for the dedication, since the temple was partly built by Maxentius, who had been dead already three years (De Rossi, in *Bull. Crist.* 1867, pp. 66 ff.); and 315 is surely the date of the inscriptions on the arch near the Colosseum. The "source," then, took its final shape certainly before 315, and as certainly after 312—perhaps in 314.

Both *Notitia* and *Curiosum* are, therefore, productions of a date later than 314. As to the *terminus ante quem*, let us deal with the *Curiosum* first. Of all the specifications peculiar to that document alone, there is only one that clearly refers to an erection of later date than the source. That is the specification of the second obelisk in the Circus Maximus, already mentioned; and this obelisk was set up in 357 A. D. (Amm. Marc. xvii. 4. 14). The precision of manner in which the new item is included, with the careful specification of height to the half-foot, joined to the fact that no other structures clearly erected later than the "source" are gathered in (not the Temple of Romulus, nor the Arch near the Colosseum, nor even the Equus Constantini of 334; see below) strongly suggests that the mention of the new obelisk was added to the MS of the *Curiosum* very shortly after its erection, and that as an isolated, contemporary fact, not as the result of a formal revision of the document, which would certainly have involved more changes.

But there are three other phrases found in the *Curiosum* alone that, to judge from their character and tone, must have been of a considerably later origin than 357. They have a distinctly mediaeval flavor and air. Two of them are lexicographical glosses; viz., the addition of the words *quod est putea* to *lacos*, and of *quod est siccissos* to *latrinae publicae*, in the second Appendix. The third is mythological, reminding one of the *Mirabilia*: under Reg. XIV, where the *Notitia*, doubtless reproducing accurately the "source," reads merely *Herculem cubantem*, the *Curiosum* reads, *Herculem sub terram medium cubantem*

sub quem plurimum auri positus est. Such glosses as these are likely to have crept into the text—or into the margin, at least—nearer the date of our earliest MS (s. VIII) than 357 A. D. If it could be proved that the writer of that MS found them in the margin of his immediate exemplar, we might, in our assignment of the date of origin of the *Curiosum*, simply disregard them, and, in the lack of other evidence, fall back upon 357, or a date very soon thereafter, as the date of the document as a whole. But, though trivial, and even foolish, they do not stand on an essentially different foundation as parts of the MS from the mention of the second obelisk. That mention was indubitably not due, as I have pointed out, to a formal revision of the document, which would surely have led to more far-reaching changes. It is a gloss, like any other. That it is a valuable, and a datable, gloss is our good fortune. But to assign the birthday of the document to the date of that particular gloss, merely because its date only happens to be known within probably a few months, is to employ language in an arbitrary and misleading way. And as to the five other items or words peculiar to the *Curiosum* (Regg. II *Dacicum*, III *ludum magnum*, VIII *et Mineruae*, IX *Neptuni*, and *Mineruam Calcidicam*; see above for Reg. IV *basilicam nouam*), it is impossible to say whether they were added (probably as isolated glosses) before or after 357.

Jordan was inclined to think that the *Curiosum* was composed into its extant form (exclusive of the three late glosses mentioned above) before 403 A. D., on the ground that otherwise the renewed gates of the Honorian wall would naturally have been mentioned (of course in the Appendix). That might be true, if the *Curiosum* had ever been subjected to a formal revision and correction. So would some other things have then been included. But the absence of these, and the presence of but very few particulars apparently or certainly not found in the "source," are conclusive against the occurrence of any such formal scholastic, or official, or quasi-official, revision. Therefore nothing about the date of the document can be concluded from the absence of mention of these gates. The same may be said about other similar suggestions.

All, then, that can be reasonably affirmed about the date of the *Curiosum* is that a certain statistical document, having an origin in official sources, assumed, in 314 A. D., or at a date not more than a year removed from that in either direction, the form from which, before, or very soon after, 357 A. D., a copy was made; and this, with the gradual accumulation of a very few desultory glosses (one of which can be assigned to an origin not earlier than 357 A. D., and probably at most but a very little later), was the ancestor, not many generations removed, of our *Curiosum* of the eighth century.

Now we are prepared to deal with the question of the *Notitia's* date. Here again, as for the *Curiosum*, the *terminus post quem* is 314 A. D. (or plus or minus a year). And again, like the *Curiosum*, of the variations peculiar to this particular document (and there are forty of them, great and small) one can be dated with a fair degree of probability. In the eighth region (Forum Romanum) the *Notitia* mentions in immediate connection with the senate-house, an *equus Constantini* (of course an equestrian statue). Similarly, the anonymous compiler (s. VIII) of the itinerary preserved at Einsiedeln mentions as on the right hand after passing down the Via di Marforio, and under the Arch of Severus, and just before turning around the corner of S. Adriano into the Subura, a *cauallus Constantini* (Urlichs *Cod. Vrb. Rom. Topog.*, p. 71). And the same Einsiedeln MS, in the accompanying collection of inscriptions, gives an inscription *in basi Constantini*, datable as of 334 A. D., from the specified name of the *consul ordinarius*; and this inscription occurs in immediate connection with that on the Arch of Severus (*ibid.*, p. 63). Now, it is of course not absolutely certain that the *basis Constantini* of the inscription is that of the *cauallus Constantini* of the Itinerary; but the lack of mention by either document of other Constantinian monuments in the immediate neighborhood makes the probability very decided that the two items refer to the same thing. Furthermore, the similar collocation of the *equus Constantini* of the *Notitia*, and the *cauallus Constantini* of the Itinerary, with the similar lack of mention in the *Notitia* of any more adjacent Constantinian structures, establishes a like strength

of probability that they refer to the same statue. Therefore the conclusion is tolerably certain that the *equus Constantini* of the *Notitia* was set up in 334 A. D. So far the common argument, though differently expressed.

Now Mommsen was of the opinion that the *Notitia* must have assumed its present form in precisely the year 334 A. D. He argued that it could not have been before that date, because of the mention of the *equus Constantini*; and it could not have been after that date, since a certain Chronicle which is surely of that year copies (so he held) from the *Notitia*. But Jordan pointed out that the Chronicle does not necessarily depend upon the *Notitia* (*Topog.* II, pp. 30-39) and although I should not argue in precisely the same manner, I agree in the conclusion reached, and need not rehearse my own argument here. Therefore Mommsen's determination falls to the ground, and we are still left to discuss the *terminus ante quem*.

Now, though it is of course conceivably possible that all the other thirty-nine variations of the *Notitia* crept into it between 314 and 334 A. D., yet this is by no means likely. There is no indication of a formal revision and enlargement, any more than in the case of the *Curiosum*; and if even desultory glosses were being added to the text in considerable numbers during that vicennium, there would appear to be great probability that such important monuments as the Temple of Romulus and the Arch near the Colosseum would, one or both, have found their way in also. But they did not. The indication would seem to be, therefore, that at least the greater part of these thirty-nine variations are of later date than the year 334. The mention of the *equus Constantini* in the *Notitia* is to be explained in the same way as that of the second obelisk of the Circus Maximus in the *Curiosum*. The *equus* was a new, and therefore striking, thing when the owner of the *Notitia* MS, prompted by novelty, jotted it down in his margin. The Temple and the Arch were already familiar, and therefore commonplace, things, and he was not setting about a formal review and improvement of his document. The other thirty-nine variations may have accumulated throughout a considerable term of years. It is by no means necessary to

believe, as most, if not all, recent students have done, that these variations were all in before 357, the date of the erection of the aforesaid second obelisk. Two men, we know, possessed at that time MSS from the Constantinian "source." There were very likely a dozen others equally fortunate in this respect. But why should we suppose that every one of these men was so devoted to the improvement of his record as to pull out his MS, when that obelisk went up, and correct the Appendix in accordance with the fresh event? At least one, we know, did so. His MS gives us our *Curiosum*. At least one did not do so. His MS gives us our *Notitia*. How the others acted, if there were others, we can not tell. Their MSS have not come down to us.

Similarly, the absence of mention of the Honorian gates, and of the rechristened bridges of the fifth century, can furnish no reason for concluding that the *Notitia* had assumed its present form before the time of those structures. Nor can the number of MS generations between the source of 314 (?) A. D. and the lost Speyer MS of the eighth or ninth century be determined. I have, to be sure, some impressions on this point, and on the date and origin of certain of the additions in the *Notitia* to the items of the source, but there is not space to discuss them here.

The only reasonable conclusion from our present evidence, as it appears to me, concerning the date of the *Notitia* is quite as vague as that concerning the *Curiosum*. The Regionary commonly called the *Notitia* had a common source with the *Curiosum* in a statistical document, which assumed, probably in 314 A. D., or within a year of that date in either direction, the form from which, before 334 A. D., or at most very soon thereafter, a copy was made, which was later interpolated from a gradual accumulation of glosses, one of which can be assigned to the year 334, or to a time very soon thereafter. When all the remaining glosses were accumulated, and whether within a single generation of the MS or not, can not now be determined. But at most probably only a few generations separate the Constantinian "source" from the *Notitia* of the (lost but copied) Speyer MS of the eighth or ninth century.

It is of course possible that the archetype of either *Notitia* or *Curiosum* may have been, not a copy of the MS of 314 A. D., but that actual MS itself; but in this case the copy which served as the archetype of the sister document must have been made before the process of interpretation had fairly begun.

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BISECTED TRIMETERS IN ATTIC TRAGEDY

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It is part of the modern metrical tradition that iambic trimeters divided by a caesura in the middle are rather rare, and are more or less faulty. A few quotations of fairly recent date will be sufficient as illustrations. Thus Rossbach: "Still more is the caesura in the middle of the verse avoided, because this gives the trimeter an unrhythmical division." For *Pers.* 465

Ξέρξης δ' ἀνέμωζεν κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος

and 509

Θρήκην περάσαντες μάλισ πολλῷ πόνοι

and *Eur. Suppl.* 699

καὶ συμπατάζαντες μέσον πάντα στρατόν

he accepts G. Hermann's remark that the ἀρρυθμία was deliberately chosen *um den Inhalt malend hervorzuheben*. A similar "excuse" for the faulty structure frequently turns up in the notes of school editions. Gleditsch, recognizing the existence of verses thus divided and citing *Soph. El.* 1036

ἀτιμίας μὲν οὖ, προμηθείας δὲ σοῦ
ἀποπροσέχεισχετικῶς

then adds: *Doch schwindet das Anstössige der caesura media, wenn eine Elisionssilbe über den dritten Fuss hinausgreift,*¹ for which he cites *Ag.* 20

νῦν δ' εὐτυχῆς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνον.

That in other cases the caesura media is objectionable is assumed. Christ is more cautious not to go beyond the facts; he merely admits² the occurrence of several (*mehrere*) such verses, "especially in Aischylos and Aristophanes." Masqueray, after stating that the most frequent caesura of the trimeter is the penthemimeral, the hephthemimeral being far less common, then displays evident reluctance to allow any other.³ So in the line

ἔγω προφήτης σοι λόγων γενήσομαι

¹ *Griech. Metrik*², p. 222.

² *Metrik*², p. 141.

³ *Metrik*², p. 334.

⁴ *Traité de métrique grecque*, §§ 153-63.

he puts the caesura between *προφήτης* and the enclitic; in

μήτηρ Ἀγαύη σή, τρίτου δ' Ἴνῳ χοροῦ

he put it between *Ἀγαύη* and *σή*. In the lines

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλη δέσποιν', ἐπεὶ σε μανθάνω

and

ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἐνδίκῳς γ' ἀτιμάζοιτό σοι

he says we must suppose that the elision was not made. There is no apparent reason for such treatment of these lines, other than the supposed rule that the media caesura is to be admitted only under the direst necessity. Yet he is forced to admit cases of that caesura, citing as examples of it

ὥς ἐν μιᾷ πλήρῃ κατέφθαρται πολλὸς.

As regards possible explanations of the significance of such "irregular" verses Masqueray is willing to go no farther than *Nous n'en savons rien. Constatons simplement les faits*. The like assumption of rarity and of disagreeableness appears in Wecklein's note on *Prom.* 640

οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑμῖν ἀπιστήσαι με χροί.

"Verses lacking the usual caesura, and dividing themselves into two halves, are not frequent in Aischylos. The greatest number (seven) occurs in the *Persians*. In this place the ill effect is somewhat relieved by a pause after *οὐκ οἶδ'*." So on *Pers.* 254 he notes that here, as in 468 and 512, "the heaviness of the rhythm" is in harmony with the thought. Still more positively Kaibel, in his edition of the Sophoklean *Elektra*, remarks on 1036 (quoted above):

The trimeter broken in the middle is all the *hässlicher* ^{more disagreeable} in that the equal division is strongly brought out by the antithesis of thought and by the rime; much less disagreeable, for example, is *Phil.* 1021

*σὺ μὲν γέγηθας ζῶν, ἐγὼ δ' ἀλγύνομαι
τοῦτ' αὖθ' ὅτι ζῶ,*

both because there is no rime and because the thought does not end with *ἀλγύνομαι*. Yet in *Phil.* 1009

ἀνάξιον μὲν σοῦ, κατάξιον δ' ἐμοῦ

Sophokles has another verse quite like *El.* 1036. On the greater care shown by Euripides cf. Wilamowitz *Eur. Her.* II, p. 170.

This note of Wilamowitz is worth quoting at some length; it is on line 754:

Had Euripides written ὃ πᾶσα Κάδμον γῆ, διάλλυμαι δόλῳ, he would have written, not indeed an incorrect line, but a cacophonous one (*einen mislautenden vers*), *wie er es nie getan hat*. For it sounded very disagreeable (*hässlich*) to a Greek when the trimeter is broken in the middle. For the Romans, who had to put up with pitiful substitutes in their imitation of foreign meters, there would be a caesura, it is true, after Κάδμον; but a Greek hears the verse instead of scanning it. With the elision γαῖ' ἀπόλλυμαι δόλῳ, the Euripidean verse has no caesura, for the elision makes the words almost grow together into one. But it is not necessary for a trimeter to have a caesura, it must merely have no wrong one; that is, for tragedy, it must not be broken in the middle, and must not fall into the three equal parts of which it is made up. Euripides has no such fault (*hat keinen solchen fehler*); for if anyone counts in either class *Suppl.* 303, e. g.

σφᾶλλῃ γάρ ἐν τοῦτῳ μόνῳ, τᾶλλ' εὖ φρονῶν,

he understands only scanning. There is a pause after μόνῳ, not before. . . . Aischylos and Sophokles now and then have cacophonous trimeters, only in part as intentional dissonances.

Here are several interesting statements. As regards the central one, that a trimeter bisected by the caesura in the middle sounded *hässlich* to a Greek, Wilamowitz merely puts the current doctrine in his "hightened and telling way." But the reader of Euripides, however warm his admiration for the poet, may well rub his eyes and wonder if he has read correctly the words, *wie er es nie getan hat*,—*hat keinen solchen fehler*. In Wilamowitz's own text of the *Herakles* occur the following lines:

- 8 Κρέων Μειοικίως παῖς, ἀναξ τῆσδε χθονός.
 470 ἐς δεξιάν τε σὴν ἀλεξήγηριον
 ξύλον καθίει δαίδαλον,
 593 ὤφθης ἐσελθὼν πάλιν· ἐπεὶ δ' ὤφθης, δρα
 978 τόρνευμα δεινὸν ποδός, ἐναντίον σταθεῖς
 ὥς ἀμυλληθῶ λόγοις
 1256 πρὸς νουθετήσεις σὰς ἀναπτύξω τέ σοι
 1295 φωνὴν γὰρ ἦσει χθῶν ἀπεννέπουσά με
 1301 τί δῆτά με ζῆν δαί; τί κέρδος ἔχομεν.

On none of these has Wilamowitz any metrical note. Putting aside other lines about which difference of opinion is possible, it

is not easy to see how these seven, in four of which he punctuates in the precise middle, could all escape his ear throughout all his work on his justly admired edition of the play. Is it possible that the coryphaei of the "new metric" do not habitually read Greek poetry as verse? Do they content themselves with marking schemes of it, without hearing in imagination the actual sounds of it, which alone constitute in each case the concrete rhythm? In some of their melic formulae I confess myself quite unable, for one, to render or to imagine the rhythmical sounds which their schemes appear to represent; are they also unable to render or to imagine them? But every scholar reads the trimeter; it is not clear to me how anyone who is accustomed to reading Greek tragic dialogue as verse can fail to receive the distinct impression that this particular type of rhythm is by no means rare. It occurs repeatedly in every extant tragedy, the smallest number to a play being seven; the *Agamemnon*, *Oedipus T.*, and *Herakles* have each twenty or more.¹

Before presenting the evidence for this, some preliminaries should be cleared up.

First, while the heroic hexameter consists of two kola, the iambic trimeter is a single kolon. The poets whose verses have come down to us were unconscious of any relation, if any such

¹The doctoral dissertation of Albert Schmidt, *De caesura media in Graecorum trimetro iambico* (Bonn, 1866), is often cited as authoritative. The author does indeed cover the ground with considerable thoroughness, and includes the early and late iambographers, as well as Aristophanes and the tragic and comic fragments. Unfortunately his work is vitiated by a fundamental error of method, in that he starts from a *petitio principii*. "Statim patet," he says (p. 6), "quantopere sensus noster, quem in multis rebus non tam exultum et subtilem quam Graecorum esse constat, offendatur, si trimetrum iambicum ita recitare cogimur, ut in duas compares et eodem modo pronunciatas partes discindatur." The reason, he thinks, is that this violates the first and essential principle of all art, expressed in Horace's line,

denique sit quidvis simplex dumtaxat et unum.

How the unity of the line is destroyed by that caesura more than by others is not evident; nor does he suspect that possibly his confessed inferiority to the Greeks in keenness of esthetic sense may have led him to a judgment at variance with that of the ancients. But obviously the question at issue is, what the Greek poets thought of such lines. To answer this we must first see how they used them. Having assumed that the Greeks disliked them, he proceeds to classify the examples for the purpose of explaining away all he can and finding excuses for as many as possible of the remainder. Farther, his notion of what the caesura is leads him to include in his discussion many examples which do not belong here, so that my number is smaller than his.

ever existed, between the caesura and any original shorter kola, by the combination of which the longer verse had been at first constructed. The caesura has no historical significance, only an artistic one. For the iambic trimeter, then, I use the term "caesura" in the sense of verse-pause only. As in our English heroic verse, of Shakspeare, Milton, and Tennyson, a more or less marked pause in sense within the line is one of several ways of modulating the rhythm, so that one simple rhythmic type furnishes an endless variety of cadence, and is capable of charming the ear throughout the greater part of a play, a tetralogy, three festal days. By far the commonest place of this pause is that after the third arsis; this divides the single verse most pleasingly, when considered apart from verses preceding and following. The next commonest place is after the fourth arsis. These two so preponderated that Hephaestion allows no others: δύο μόνοι εἰς τομαὶ τοῦ ἰάμβου, λέγω δὴ πενθημιμέρες δύο ἡμῖν ποδῶν καὶ ἐφθημιμέρες τριῶν ἡμῖν.¹ But even the early iambic poets in their short poems needed and used greater freedom than this, placing the pause occasionally after the second arsis, after the second thesis, after the first thesis; also many lines have no clear pause—another way of varying the movement. Thus in our best-known poem of Simonides of Amorgos occur the lines:

- 15 λᾶλῃκεν, ἦν καὶ μῆδέν' ἀνθρώπων ὄρε.
 50 τῇν δ' ἐκ γὰλῃς, δύστηνον αἰζυρὸν γένος.
 42 ὀργήν· φυὴν ὡς πόντος αἰόλην ἔχει.
 86 φίλῃ δὲ σὺν φιλεῖντι γηράσκει πόσει,
 87 τεκοῦσα καλὸν κοῖνομάκλυτον γένος·
 88 κἄριπρέπῃς μὲν ἐν γυναιξὶ γίγνεται.

Farther, a single line may contain two distinct pauses, usually one more prominent than the other, sometimes both about equal. In many cases, too, one may doubt; Greek recitation may have differed from ours in this respect, as it certainly did in others. I should say that lines 86–88 above have no pause, yet one familiar with the movement of such lines half makes or imagines one; we don't know just what the Greeks did. All this applies to early iambics, in shorter poems. When now the meter was

¹ P. 148 W.

employed in long poems, as tragedy, still greater variety was needed. It was not carelessness, but sound artistic sense, which led Aischylos and his successors to treat the trimeter with greater freedom, increasing the frequency of irrational feet and of resolved theses, and enlarging the range of the pause. Hence even in the earlier plays we find the pause occurring everywhere, least often after the first and before the last syllable of the line. The following will illustrate the cases not covered in those above:

- Prom.* 43 ἄκος γὰρ οὐδὲν τόνδε θρηνηῖσθαι· σὺ δὲ
 62 μάθῃ σοφιστῆς ὡν Διὸς νωθέστερος.
 508 σαντοῦ δ' ἀκήδει δυστυχούντος· ὡς ἐγὼ
 910 θρόνων τ' ἄιστον ἐκβαλεῖ· πατὴρ δ' ἄρ' αὖ
Pers. 410 ναῦς, κάποθραύει πάντα Φοινίσσης νείως
 486 καὶ Δῶρ' ἄλ' αὖ, Μηλιά τε κάλπον, οὐ

Likewise, precisely as in our blank verse, and for the same reason, the treatment at the end of the line varies; usually a pause occurs there, more or less distinct, but often the sense is carried on without a break; a pause near the end or beginning of a line stands in evident relation to such overlapping. To sum up: Judicious modulation of pauses with "the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another" is an elementary artistic law for any simple recitative meter employed in a long poem.

Secondly, how does elision affect the question of the caesura? Granted that none of us has heard an ancient Greek recite, so that vernacular knowledge of what occurred in elision is impossible, yet some things are clear. It is no contradiction to say that in the commonest elisions, as of *δέ, τε, τά*, and the most frequently elided prepositions, the vowel may have completely disappeared, precisely as in compounds, while in the less common elisions a fragment of the "bruised" vowel was heard and felt. Both cases are common in Italian. But no scholar, so far as I am aware, has maintained that the fragment of vowel sound remaining in elision was considered metrically as a full syllable. Elision was made before such a break in sense as we mark by a strong punctuation, even a period, and even before a change of speaker. Precisely how this sounded we do not know; but there is no reason to suppose that even in such cases the elided vowel

was considered metrically a full syllable. There was a sufficient pause, and yet the vowel fragment and the following vowel, separated by the pause, were rhythmically but one syllable. It is to be remembered that very minute pauses, and delicate variations in the duration of pauses, are made, and their significance felt, with no conscious effort; also that no one desires, after early childhood, a too exact and monotonous observance of the mathematical relations of a rhythmic type. The combination of pause with *rhythmic* blending (not continuous pronunciation) of the two syllables separated by the pause is also common in Italian. Accordingly there is no difference of opinion, on our present point, in regard to such familiar Homeric lines as

- Α 27 ἡ νῦν δηθίνοντ' ἡ ὕστερον αὖθις ἰόντα,
 Α 87 κλυθί μεν, ἀργυρότοξ', ὅς Χρύσησ ἀμφιβέβηκας
 Α 166 χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπονσ', ἀτὰρ ἦν ποτε δασμὸς ἴκηται,
 Ε 304 οἳοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσ'· ὁ δέ μιν βία πάλλει καὶ ὀλος.

No one doubts that the caesura, a pause, was felt after the third thesis in each of these verses. How is it possible to say that the words ἀργυρότοξ', ὅς, or εἰσ'· ὁ "almost grow together into one"? Or in the following from the *Prometheus*:

- 228 ὁ δ' οὖν ἐρωτᾷτ', αἰτίαν καθ' ἥντινα
 234 οὐκ ἴσχευ οὐδέν', ἀλλ' ἀιστώσας γένος
 237 ἐγὼ δ' ἐτάλμησ'· ἐξελευσάμην βροτοῦς.

If these lines contain any caesura at all, it is the penthemimeral; I am not aware that anyone has maintained that elision in such lines obliterated the break in sense marked by our punctuation. If now such cases are accepted, why should one object to placing the caesura after the third thesis in such lines as

- Prom.* 472 πέπονθας αἰκὲς πῆμ'· ἀποσφαλεῖς φρενῶν
Ai. 121 ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδέν' οἶδ'· ἐποικτίρῳ δέ νιν
Ant. 74 ὅσια πανουρήσας· ἐπεὶ πλείων χρόνος
Her. 76 ζητοῦσι τὸν τεκόντ'· ἐγὼ δὲ διαφέρω
Her. 754 ὦ πᾶσα Κάδμου γαῖ', ἀπάλλυμαι δόλω.

That the fragment of vowel remaining in elision made these lines appear slightly different from those in which the same pause occurred without elision is probable. If there were any evidence

that such lines without elision were offensive, we might readily grant that those with elision would be slightly less offensive, because of that fragment of a vowel, though this did not seem to them a real syllable. But on what ground can we say that such lines with elision contain no pause? When successive words really belong closely together in sense and syntax, as article and noun, noun and adjective, subject and predicate, elision at the close of the first may bring them still closer together and make them almost run together into one, as in a compound. But if they don't belong together in meaning or syntax, how can they so run together? So far as I can see, the only ground for denying a caesura here is the supposed rule that a caesura at this point is rare and objectionable. If that premise is overthrown by numerous examples of that caesura, not a few of them in passages of dignity, pathos, poetic power, careful workmanship, then clear cases of what, on grounds of sense and syntax, would be accepted as such verse-pauses in the absence of elision, must be accepted as verse-pauses in spite of elision. Such examples are sufficiently numerous in all three tragedians.

But, thirdly, it is well to explain what sorts of lines I do not include in this category, and why. (a) The mere coincidence of word-ending with the middle of the line, in the absence of a distinct pause, does not meet my understanding of what a caesura in the trimeter is. As remarked before, here is room for difference of opinion as to the presence or absence of pause, and some might exclude lines which I include. But I exclude on this ground, e. g.

- Ag.* 20 νῦν δ' εὐτυχὴς γίνουτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων
E. Supp. 699 καὶ συμπατάξαντες μέσον πάντα στρατὸν
Pers. 251 ὡς ἐν μιᾷ πληγῇ κατέφθαρται πολλὸς
Prom. 640 οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ὑμῖν ἀπιστήσαι με χρή,

which are accepted by Gleditsch, Rossbach, Masqueray, and Wecklein, respectively (see above). So in similar cases. There are several like *Soph. El.* 378 and 892

ἀλλ' ἔξερώ σοι πᾶν ὅσον κάτοιδ' ἐγώ.
καὶ δὴ λέγω σοι πᾶν ὅσον κατευδόμην.

These I excluded; yet I include (perhaps wrongly) *Prom.* 625

μήτοι με κρίψης τοῦθ' ὅπερ μέλλω παθεῖν

because the context appears to make a pause after τοῦθ' more probable than in the other lines. In every doubtful case one must of course endeavor not to be influenced by translation, but to look at the sentence from the Greek side purely; what we are after is the Greek feeling about it. (b) Lines containing two or more pauses are not counted, unless the one in the middle is clearly the stronger. Thus in

Prom. 62 μάθη σοφιστῆς ὦν Διὸς νοθέστερος

Ag. 1394 χαίρουτ' ἂν, εἰ χαίρουτ', ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεύχομαι

the two pauses appear to be nearly equal; that in the middle seems to me slightly the stronger, but not enough to place it in my lists. Yet in a few cases, where the first pause of the line is in the middle, the line appears to me to be so clearly divided in half thereby that these are included. (c) Finally, comedy and the fragments have been left out of view, because they complicate the problem and offer no real assistance toward the settlement of our main question, as to the frequency and the *ethos* of this caesura in serious verse. Nor have lyric trimeters been included; a considerable fraction of these are sharply divided in the middle. No one doubts that when sung, at least, such trimeters were entirely conformable to the Greek sense of unity and of beauty.

Here follow, that they may more readily be examined together, all my examples from Aischylos and Sophokles. From each play are given first those without elision at the pause, then those with elision. One or two slight differences are thus made to stand out more clearly. The text and numbering are those of Sidgwick (Oxford text ed.) and Jebb.

AISCHYLOS

Supp. 401 ἐπὶ λυδᾶς τιμῶν ἀπώλεσας πόλιν.

770 ὥδινα τί κτεν νῦξ κυβερνήτη σοφῷ.

905 ἔλκεν ἔοιχ' ὑμᾶς ἀποσπᾶσας κόμης,

940 ταύτας δ' ἀκούσας μὲν κατ' εἰνοῖαν φρενῶν ζ x

234 ποδαπὸν ὁμῶς τόνδ' ἀνέλληϊν ὀστᾶλλον

711 ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ τρέσσητ' ἀκούσασθαι πατρὸς

929 ἀβουκιδλήτων τοῦτ' ἐμῷ φρονήματι.

997 ὦραν ἔχουσας τήνδ' ἐπίστρεπτον βροτοῖς.

- Pers.* 319 σκληρὰς μέτοικος γῆς, ἐκεῖ κατέφθιτο.
 465 Ξέρξης δ' ἀνέμωξεν κακῶν ὁρῶν βάθος·
 489 καὶ Θεσσαλῶν πόλεις ὑπεσπανισμένους
 503 ἀκτῖνας ὠρμήθη, σεσωσμένος κυρεῖ.
 509 Θρήκην περάσαντες μόγις πολλῇ πόνῃ,
 766 ἄλλος δ' ἐκείνου παῖς τόδ' ἔργον ἤνυσεν·
 333 ἀτὰρ φράσον μοι τοῦτ' ἀναστρέφας πάλιν·
 403 ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
 493 χώραν ἀφικόμεσθ', ἐπ' Ἀξίου πόρον,
 607 τοιγὰρ κέλευθον τήνδ' ἀνευ τ' ὀχημάτων
 784 εὖ γὰρ σαφῶς τόδ' ἴστ', ἐμοὶ ξυνήλικες,
 821 ὕβρις γὰρ ἐξανθοῦσ' ἐκάρπωσεν στάχυν
 831 λῆξαι θεοβλαβοῦνθ' ὑπερκόμπῃ θράσει.
- Sept.* 283 ἐγὼ δέ γ' ἄνδρας ξέ ἐμοὶ σὺν ἐβδόμῃ
 520 σωτήρ γένοιτ' ἂν Ζεὺς ἐπ' ἀσπίδος τυχών.
 1051 ἄλλ' ὃν πόλις στυγεῖ, σὺ τιμήσεις τάφῃ;
 426 πύργοις δ' ἀπειλεῖ δειν', ἃ μὴ κραῖνοι τύχῃ·
 549 πύργοις ἀπειλεῖ τοῖσδ' ἃ μὴ κραῖνοι θεός.
 714 μὴ 'λθῃς ὁδοὺς σὺ τάσδ' ἐφ' ἐβδόμοις πύλαις.
 799 καλῶς ἔχει τὰ πλείστ' ἐν ξέ πωλώμασι·
 821 [πέπωκεν αἷμα γαῖ' ὑπ' ἀλλήλων φόνῃ.]
 1012 Ἑτεοκλέα μὲν τόνδ' ἐπ' εὔνοιά χθονὸς
 1058 ἄλλ' αὐτόβουλος ἴσθ', ἀπεννέπω δ' ἐγώ.
- Prom.* 976 ὅσοι παθόντες εὖ κακοῦσί μ' ἐκδίκως.
 980 προτρέψεται με Ζεὺς γεγωνῆσαι τάδε,
 472 πέπονθας αἰκὲς πῆμ' · ἀποσφαλεῖς φρενῶν
 500 τοιαῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' · ἔνερθε δὲ χρόνος
 625 μήτοι με κρύψῃς τοῦθ' ὅπερ μέλλω παθεῖν.
 710 πεδάρσιοι ναῖουσ' ἐπ' εὐκύκλοις ὄχοις,
 810 τούτου παρ' ὄχθας ἔρφ', ἕως ἂν ἐξίκη
- Ag.* 339 τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἰδρύματα,
 353 θεοὺς προσειπεῖν εὖ παρασκευάζομαι.
 509 ὑπατός τε χώρας Ζεὺς, ὁ Πύθιός τ' ἀναξ,
 567 τί ταῦτα πενθεῖν δεῖ; παροίχεται πόνος·
 640 πόλει μὲν ἔλκος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τυχεῖν,
 1256 παπαῖ, ὅλον τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι.
 1353 ψηφίζομαί τι δρᾶν· τὸ μὴ μέλλειν δ' ἀκμή.
 1396 τῷδ' ἂν δικαίως ἦν, ὑπερδίκως μὲν σὺν.

- Ag.* 833 φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἄνευ φθόνου σέβειν.
 921 μήδ' εἴμασι στρώσας' ἐπίφθονον πόρον
 944 ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦτ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας
 1068 οὐ μὴν πλέω βίψας' ἀτιμασθήσομαι.
 1221 σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν', ἐποίκτιστον γέμος,
 1270 χρηστηρίαν ἐσθῆτ', ἐποπτεύσας δέ με
 1302 ἀλλ' ἴσθι τλήμων οὖσ' ἀπ' εὐτόλμου φρενός.
 1360 κἀγὼ τοιοῦτος εἴμ', ἐπεὶ δυσμηχανῶ
 1379 ἔστηκα δ' ἐνθ' ἔπαισ' ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις.
 1420 μασμάτων ἄποιν'; ἐπήκοος δ' ἐμῶν
 1446 κείται φιλήτωρ τῷδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν
- Cho.* 253 ἰδεῖν πάρεστί σοι, πατροστερῇ γόνον,
 699 ἱατρὸς ἐλπίς ἦν, προδοῦσαν ἐγγραφε.
 909 πατροκτονοῦσα γὰρ συνοικήσεις ἐμοί;
 9 οὐδ' ἐξέτεινα χεῖρ' ἐπ' ἐκφορᾷ νεκροῦ.
 130 λέγω καλοῦσα πατέρ', ἐποίκτειρόν τ' ἐμὲ
 243 πιστὸς δ' ἀδελφὸς ἦσθ', ἐμοὶ σέβας φέρων.
 501 ἰδὼν νεοσσοὺς τοῦσδ' ἐφημένους τάφῳ.
 545 καὶ μαστὸν ἀμφέχασκ' ἐμὸν θρεπτήριον,
 561 ἤξω σὺν ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἐφ' ἐρκείους πύλας
 752 καὶ πολλὰ καὶ μοχθήρ' ἀνωφέλῃτ' ἐμοὶ
 919 μὴ 'λεγχῇ τὸν ποιοῦντ' ἔσω καθημένῃ.
- Eum.* 87 σθένος δὲ ποιεῖν εὖ φερέγγυον τὸ σόν.
 116 ὄναρ γὰρ ὑμᾶς νῦν Κλυταιμῆστρα καλῶ.
 282 ποταίνιον γὰρ ὅν πρὸς ἐστίῃ θεοῦ
 618 ὃ μὴ κελεύσαι Ζεὺς 'Ολυμπίων πατήρ.
 829 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ δεῖ· σὺ δ' εὐπιθῆς ἐμοὶ
 848 ὄργας ξυνοίσω σοι· γεραιτέρα γὰρ εἰ.
 591 εἰπεῖν γε μέντοι δεῖ σ' ὅπως κατέκτανες.
 643 ὑμᾶς δ' ἀκούειν ταῦτ' ἐγὼ μαρτύρομαι.
 685 πάγον δ' Ἄρειον τόνδ' Ἀμαζόνων ἔδραν
 901 τοιγὰρ κατὰ χθόν' οὖσ' ἐπικτήσει φίλους.
 906 εὐηλίως πνέοντ' ἐπιστείχειν χθόνα·

If some of the above appear doubtful, it may be noted that, in addition to those mentioned earlier (pp. 156, 157), the following have been rejected as falling under class (a) or (b) (p. 156): *Supp.* 300, *Sept.* 385, *Prom.* 787, *Ag.* 258, 955, 1435, *Cho.* 489, 522,

Eum. 619. I merely wish to make it clear that no desire to swell the lists has consciously influenced me. There was no need of that.

SOPHOKLES

- Ai.* 86 γένοιτο μάντων πᾶν θεοῦ τεχνωμένον.
 95 ἔβαψας ἔγχος εὖ πρὸς Ἀργείων στρατῷ;
 (343) λεηλατήσῃ χρόνον; ἐγὼ δ' ἀπάλλυμαι.
 437 ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κείνου παῖς, τὸν αὐτὸν ἐς τόπον
 651 βαφῇ σίδηρος ὥς, ἐθελύνθην στόμα
 1125 ξὺν τῷ δικάῳ γὰρ μέγ' ἔξεστιν φρονεῖν.
 1129 μὴ νῦν ἀτίμα θεοὺς, θεοῖς σεσσωσμένος.
 1252 ἀλλ' οἱ φρονούντες εὖ κρατοῦσι πανταχοῦ.
 1253 μέγας δὲ πλευρὰ βούς ὑπὸ σμικρᾶς ὁμῶς
 1377 ὅσον τότε' ἐχθρὸς ἦ, τοσόνδ' εἶναι φίλος.
 121 ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδὲν οἶδ'· ἐπουκτίρω δέ νιν
 281 ὥς ὧδ' ἐχόντων τῶνδ' ἐπίστασθαί σε χρή.
 292 ὁ δ' εἶπε πρὸς με βαί', αἰεὶ δ' ὑμνούμενα·
 294 κἀγὼ μαθοῦσ' ἔλγξ', ὁ δ' ἐσσύθη μόνος.
 513 κείνῳ τε κἄμοι τοῦθ', ὅταν θάνης, νεμείς.
 768 κράτος κατακτῆσαιτ'· ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ δίχα
 780 τοιαῦθ' ὁ μάντις εἶφ'· ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἐξ ἔδρας
 785 ὄρα μολοῦσα τόνδ' ὅποι' ἔπη θροεῖ.
 810 ἀλλ' εἴμι κἀγὼ κείσ' ὅποιπερ ἂν σθένω.
 919 πληγῆς μελανθὲν αἷμ' ἀπ' οἰκείας σφαγῆς.

Lines 574 and 1385 are omitted; also 690, because, in spite of verbal similarity to 810, it seems likely an actor would delay a trifle after εἴμ' and little or none after ἐκείσ'.

- Ant.* 55 τρίτον δ' ἀδελφῶν δύο μίαν καθ' ἡμέραν
 518 πορθῶν δὲ τήνδε γῆν· ὁ δ' ἀντιστὰς ὕπερ.
 555 σὺ μὲν γὰρ εἴλου ζῆν, ἐγὼ δὲ κατθανεῖν.
 723 καὶ τῶν λεγόντων εὖ καλὸν τὸ μανθάνειν.
 44 ἦ γὰρ νοεῖς θάπτειν σφ', ἀπόρρητον πάλει;
 57 κοινὸν κατειργάσαντ' ἐπαλλήλων χεροῖν.
 74 ὅσια πανουργήσας· ἐπεὶ πλείων χρόνος
 77 τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐντιμ' ἀτιμάσας ἔχε.
 80 σὺ μὲν τάδ' ἂν προὔχοι'· ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ τάφον
 399 καὶ κρῖνε κἀξέλεγχ'· ἐγὼ δ' ἐλεύθερος
 407 τοιοῦτον ἦν τὸ πρᾶγμ'· ὅπως γὰρ ἤκομεν
 764 τοῦμὸν προσόψει κρᾶτ' ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄρων,

- El. 67 ἀλλ', ὦ πατρώα γῆ, θεοί τ' ἐγχώριοι,
 1036 ἀτιμίας μὲν οὖ, προμηθείας δὲ σοῦ.
 1038 ὅταν γὰρ εὖ φρονῆς, τόθ' ἡγήσει σὺ νῶν.
 1205 μέθες τόδ' ἄγγος νῦν, ὅπως τὸ πᾶν μάθης.
 44 λόγῳ δὲ χρῶ τοιῶδ' ὅτι ξένος μὲν εἰ
 59 τί γάρ με λυπεῖ τοῦθ', ὅταν λόγῳ θανόν
 360 μᾶλλον τις αἴσεν δῶρ', ἐφ' οἷσι νῦν χλιδᾶς,
 678 σὺ μὲν τὰ σαντῆς πρᾶσσο', ἐμοὶ δὲ σύ, ξένε,
 696 καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τοιαῦθ'· ὅταν δέ τις θεῶν
 923 πῶς δ' οἴκ ἐγὼ κατοῖδ' ἃ γ' εἶδον ἐμφανῶς;
 938 οὕτως ἔχει σοι ταῦτ'· ἐὰν δέ μοι πίθῃ,
 1044 ἀλλ' εἰ ποιήσεις ταῦτ', ἐπαινέσεις ἐμέ.
 1056 φρονεῖν, φρονεῖ τοιαῦθ'· ὅταν γὰρ ἐν κακοῖς
 1124 ἐν δυσμανείῃ γ' οὖσ' ἐπαιτεῖται τάδε,
 1302 καὶ τοῦμὸν ἔσται τῇδ'· ἐπεὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς
 1338 ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἔστ', ἀπηλλάχθαι δ' ἀκμή.
 1480 ὅδ' οἴκ 'Ορέστης ἔσθ' ὁ προσφωνῶν ἐμέ.
- O. T. 12 ἐμοῦ προσαρκεῖν πᾶν· δυσάλλητος γὰρ ἂν
 110 ἐν τῇδ' ἔφασκε γῆ. τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον
 130 ἢ ποικιλωδὸς Σφίγξ τὸ πρὸς ποσὶ σκοπεῖν
 141 κείνῳ προσαρκῶν οἷον ἐμαυτὸν ὠφελῶ.
 968 κεύθει κάτω δὴ γῆς· ἐγὼ δ' ὅδ' ἐνθάδε
 979 εἰκῇ κράτιστον ζῆν, ὅπως δύναιτό τις.
 1066 καὶ μὴν φρονούσά γ' εὖ τὰ λῶστά σοι λέγω.
 1155 δύστηνος, ἀντὶ τοῦ; τί προσχρήζων μαθεῖν;
 46 ἴθ', ὦ βροτῶν ἀριστ', ἀνόρθωσον πόλιν·
 250 ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς γένοιτ' ἐμοῦ συνειδότης,
 328 πάντες γὰρ σὺ φρονεῖτ'· ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μὴ ποτε
 364 εἶπω τι δῆτα καλλ', ἵν' ὀργίξῃ πλόον;
 419 βλέποντα νῦν μὲν ὄρθ', ἔπειτα δὲ σκότον.
 548 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ μὴ μοι φράζ', ὅπως οἴκ εἰ κακός.
 779 ἀνὴρ γὰρ ἐν δείπνοις μ' ὑπερπλησθεὶς μέθῃ
 786 ἐκνίξέ μ' αἰ τοῦθ'· ὑφείρπε γὰρ παλὺ.
 1058 οἴκ ἂν γένοιτο τοῦθ', ὅπως ἐγὼ λαβὼν
 1061 κήδει, ματεύσῃς τοῦθ'· ἄλις νοσοῦσ' ἐγώ.
 1156 τὸν παῖδ' ἔδωκας τῷδ', ὃν οὗτος ἱστορεῖ;
 1163 ἐμὸν μὲν οἴκ ἐγωγ', ἐδεξάμην δέ του.
 1442 οὕτως ἐλέχθη ταῦθ'· ὅμως δ', ἵν' ἔσταμεν
 1458 ἀλλ' ἢ μὲν ἡμῖν μοῖρ', ὅποιπερ εἶσ', ἴτω.

- Tr. 168 μοῖραν πατρῴας γῆς διαίρετον νέμοι,
 566 χῶ Ζηνὸς εὐθὺς παῖς ἐπιστράφας χεροῖν
 761 λείας ἀπαρχὴν βοῦς· ἀτὰρ τὰ πάνθ' ὁμοῦ
 45 μῆνας πρὸς ἄλλοις πέντ' ἀκήρικτος μένει.
 178 εὐφημίαν νῦν ἴσχ'· ἐπεὶ καταστεφῇ
 472 ἄλλ', ὃ φίλη δέσποιν', ἐπεὶ σε μανθάνω
 614 καὶ τῶνδ' ἀποίσεις σῆμ', ὃ κείνος εὐμαθὲς
 667 κακὸν μέγ' ἐκπράξας' ἀπ' ἐλπίδος καλῆς.
 737 τῶν νῦν παρουσῶν τῶνδ' ἀμείψασθαι ποθεν.
 917 ὅπως δ' ἐτέλεσε τοῦτ', ἐπειθοροῦσ' ἄνω
 927 κἀγὼ δρομαία βᾶσ', ὅσον περ ἔσθενον,
 1098 Ἄϊδου τρίκρανον σκύλακ', ἀπρόσμαχον τέρας
 1100 δράκοντα μῆλων φύλακ' ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις τόποις.
- Phil. 6 15 ἄλλ' ἔργον ἤδη σὸν τὰ λοιπὰ ὑπηρετεῖν,
 57 λέγειν, Ἀχιλλέως παῖς· τὸδ' οὐχὶ κλεπτέον·
 6 121 ἢ μνημονεύεις σὺν ᾧ σοι παρήνεσα;
 5 263 ὁ τοῦ Ποίαντος παῖς Φιλοκτήτης, ὃν οἱ
 5 297 ἔφην' ἄφαντον φῶς, ὃ καὶ σφῆμι μ' αἰεί.
 5 366 ἄλλος κρατύνει νῦν, ὃ Λαέρτου γόνος.
 389 λόγος λέλεκται πᾶς· ὃ δ' Ἀτρεΐδης στρυγῶν
 420 θάλλοιτές εἰσι νῦν ἐν Ἀργείων στρατῷ
 435 χαῖτος τεθηγκὼς ἦν· λόγῳ δέ σ' ἐν βραχεὶ
 6 589 ἔμ. ὅρα τί ποιεῖς, παῖ. Νε. σκοπῶ κἀγὼ πάλαι.
 907 οἴκουν ἐν οἷς γε δρᾶς· ἐν οἷς δ' αὐδᾶς, ὀκνῶ.
 1009 ἀνάξιον μὲν σοῦ, κατάξιον δ' ἐμοῦ,
 1021 σὺ μὲν γέγηθας ζῶν, ἐγὼ δ' ἀλγύνομαι
 6 1040 ἄλλ', ὃ πατρώα γῆ' θεοὶ τ' ἐπάψιοι,
 1049 οὐ γὰρ τοιούτων δεῖ, τοιούτος εἰμ' ἐγώ.
 1064 ὅπλοισι κοσμηθεὶς ἐν Ἀργείοις φανεί;
 1237 τί φῆς, Ἀχιλλέως παῖ; τί ν' εἶρηκας λόγον;
 1261 σὺ δ', ὃ Ποίαντος παῖ, Φιλοκτήτην λέγω,
 1274 πότῃ δέδοκται σοὶ μένοντι καρτερεῖν,
 1298 εἴαν τ' Ἀχιλλέως παῖς, εἴαν τε μὴ θέλῃ.
 1306 ζῆν, ὥσπερ ἤδη ζῆς, ἄνευ σωτηρίας.
 226 δέισαντες ἐκπλάγῃτ' ἀπηγριωμένον
 238 γέγωνέ μοι πᾶν τοῦθ', ὅπως εἰδῶ τίς εἰ.
 342 αὐθις πάλιν μοι πρᾶγμ', ὅτῃ σ' ἐνύβρισαν.
 346 ὥς οὐ θέμις γίγνοιτ', ἐπεὶ κατέφθιτο
 359 κείνος μὲν σὺν ἔκειτ'· ἐγὼ δ' ὁ δῶς μορος,
 477 σοὶ δ' ἐκλιπόντι τοῦτ', ὄνειδος οὐ καλόν,

- Phil.* 570 κείνός γ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἄνδρ' ὁ Τυδείης τε παῖς
 613 ἄγοντο νήσου τῆσδ' ἐφ' ἧς καίει τὰ νῦν.
10 C. 617 αἴοιτο μὲν μάλισθ' ἐκούσιον λαβίων,
10 C. 630 δεῖξαι νεὺς ἄγοντ' ἐν Ἀργείοις μέσοις;
10 641 αἰ καλὸς πλοῦς ἔσθ', ὅταν φεύγῃς κακά.
 666 ἐχθρῶν μ' ἐνερθεν ὄντ' ἀνέστησας πέρα.
 957 θανὼν παρέξω δαῖθ' ὑφ' ὧν ἐφερβόμην,
 990 Ζεὺς, ᾧ δέδοκται ταῦθ'· ὑπηρετῶ δ' ἐγώ.
 1017 ἄγεω ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τῆσδ', ἐν ᾗ με προὔβαλον
10 1037 ἔξοδα δ' ὡς μέλει γ'· ἐπεὶ οὔ ποτ' ἂν στόλον
 1056 τὰ γ' ὅπλ' ἔχοντες ταῦτ'· ἐπεὶ πάρεστι μὲν
 1437 οὔτος σὲ καὶ σὺ τόνδ'· ἐγὼ δ' Ἀσκληπιῶν
O. K. 480 ποῦ τόνδε πλήσας θῶ; δίδασκε καὶ τόδε.
 568 οὐδὲν πλέον μοι σοῦ μέτεστιν ἡμέρας.
 607 ὦ φίλτατ' Αἰγέως παῖ, μόνους οὐ γίγνεται
 610 φθίνει μὲν ἰσχύς γῆς, φθίνει δὲ σώματος,
 1038 χωρῶν ἀπείλει νῦν· σὺ δ' ἡμῖν, Οἰδίπους,
 1435 σφῶ δ' εὐδοοίη Ζεὺς, τάδ' εἰ θανόντι μοι
 1489 ἀνθ' ὧν ἔπασχον εὖ, τελεσφόρον χάριν
 52 τίς ἔσθ' ὁ χῶρος δῆτ' ἐν ᾧ βεβήκαμεν;
 266 σῶμ' οὐδὲ τάργα τᾶμ'· ἐπεὶ τὰ γ' ἔργα μου
 288 ὄνησιν ἀστοῖς τοῖσδ'· ὅταν δ' ὁ κύριος
 462 αὐτός τε παῖδες θ' αἰδ'· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆσδε γῆς
 575 τοῦτ' αὐτὸ νῦν δίδασχ', ὅπως ἂν ἐκμάθω.
 1125 αὐτῷ τε καὶ γῇ τῇδ'· ἐπεὶ τό γ' εὐσεβὲς
 1171 ἔξοιδ' ἀκούων τῶνδ' ὅς ἔσθ' ὁ προστάτης.
 1275 ὦ σπέρματ' ἀνδρὸς τοῦδ', ἔμαι δ' ὁμαίμονες,
 1407 μή τοί με πρὸς θεῶν σφῶ γ', ἐὰν αἱ τοῦδ' ἀραὶ
 1429 οὐδ' ἀγγελοῦμεν φλαῦρ'· ἐπεὶ στρατηλάτου
 1542 ὦ παῖδες, ὦδ' ἔπεσθ'· ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγεμὼν

For Euripides the continuity of practice with his predecessors, and his one marked peculiarity, will be sufficiently brought out by complete lists from four plays with complete references to the rest. The *Andromache*, *Medea*, *Bacchae*, and *Iphigenia at Aulis* will represent his earlier and his latest years. The numbering is that of Nauck (Teubner text) and of Prinz-Wecklein.

- Andr.* 47 ὅς δ' ἔστι παῖς μοι μόνος, ὑπεκπέμπω λάθρα
 247 μυστῶν γε πατρίδα σὴν Ἀχιλλέως φόνε

- Andr.* 656 Ἑκτορος ἀδελφὸς ἦν, δάμαρ δ' ἦδ' Ἑκτορος.
 698 οὐδὲν πλέον δρῶν ἐνὸς ἔχει πλείω λόγον.
 969 γυναῖκ' ἐμοί σε δοὺς ὑπέσχεθ' ὕστερον
 973 γάμους ἀφείναι σούς, ἐμὰς λέγων τύχας
 1090 Ἀγαμέμνονος δὲ παῖς διαστείχων πόλιν
 1117 χῶ μὲν κατ' ὄμμα στάς προσεύχεται θεῶ·
 1268 ἔλθω κομιστήν σου· τὸ γὰρ πεπρωμένον
 17 σύγχορτα ναῖω πέδι', ἵν' ἡ θαλασσία
 41 καὶ νῦν κατ' οἴκους ἔστ', ἀπὸ Σπάρτης μολὼν
 216 τύραννον ἔσχεσ' ἄνδρ', ἵν' ἐν μέρει λέχος
 231 φεύγειν τρόπους χρὴ τέκν', ἴδουσις ἐνεσσι τοῦς.
 309 ἦκω λαβὼν σὸν παῖδ', ὃν εἰς ἄλλους δόμους
 373 ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀμαρτάνουσ' ἀμαρτάνει βίου.
 390 ποῖον δ' ἔπρησα δῶμ'; ἐκοιμήθην βίᾳ
 402 κόμης ἐπισπασθείς· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφικόμην
 433 ἀλλ' ἔρπ' ἐς οἴκους τοῦσδ', ἵν' εἰς ἐλευθέρους
 441 ἦ καὶ νεοσσὸν τόνδ', ὑπὸ πτερῶν σπάσας;
 868 οὔτ' αὖ τὸ νῦν σου δεῖμ' ὃ δαιμαίνεις ἄγαν
 886 μαντεῖα Δωδωναῖ· ἐπεὶ δ' ἀφικόμην
 890 ναῖουσ' ἀφ' ἡμῶν πέδι' ὅμως ἐστὶν φίλη.
 966 πέμψων σ' ἀπ' οἴκων τῶνδ'. ἐμὴ γὰρ οὖσα πρὶν
 994 μνηδὲν φοβηθῆς παῖδ', ὅσ' εἰς ἔμ' ὕβρισεν.
 1145 πέτραισιν ἀντέκλαγξ'· ἐν εὐδία δέ πως
- Med.* 266 οἶκ' ἐστὶν ἄλλη φρὴν μαιφονωτέρα.
 701 δίδωσι δ' αὐτῷ τίς; πέρανέ μοι λόγον.
 729 ἐκ τῆσδε δ' αὐτῇ γῆς ἀπαλλάσσου πόδα.
 19 γήμας Κρέοντος παῖδ', ὃς αἰσυμνῇ χθονός.
 380 σιγῇ δόμους εἰσβᾶσ', ἵν' ἐστρωται λέχος
 470 φίλους κακῶς δράσαντ' ἐναντίον βλέπειν,
 (Wecklein's conjecture is quite needless.)
 551 ἐπεὶ μετέστην δεῦρ' Ἰωλκίας χθονός
 618 κακοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς δῶρ' ὄνησιν οἶκ' ἔχει.
 669 παῖδων ἐρευνῶν σπέρμ' ὅπως γένοιτό μοι.
 805 νύμφης τεκνώσει παῖδ', ἐπεὶ κακὴν κακῶς
 947 πέμψω γὰρ αὐτῇ δῶρ' ἃ καλλιστεύεται
 1014 καγὼ κακῶς φρονούσ' ἐμηχανησάμην
 1060 οὔτοι ποτ' ἔσται τοῦθ' ὅπως ἐχθροῖς ἐγὼ
 1141 κυνέει δ' ὁ μὲν τις χεῖρ', ὃ δὲ ξανθὸν κάρα
- Bacch.* 49 τάνθ' ἂνδε θέμενος εὖ, μεταστήσω πόδα,

- Bacch.* 265 Ἐχίονος δ' ὦν παῖς κατασχύνεις γένος;
 298 μάντις δ' ὁ δαίμων ὅδε· τὸ γὰρ βακχεύσιμον
 353 τὸν θηλύμορφον ξένον, ὃς εἰσφέρει νόσον
 682 μήτηρ Ἀγαυή σή, τρίτου δ' Ἰνὸ χοροῦ.
 841 ὁδοὺς ἐρήμους ἱμν· ἐγὼ δ' ἡγήσομαι.
 922 ἀλλ' ἦ ποτ' ἦσθα θήρ; τεταύρωσαι γὰρ οὖν.
 975 τόνδ' εἰς ἀγῶνα μέγαν, ὁ νικήσων δ' ἐγὼ
 251 νάρθηκι βακχεύοντ'· ἀναίνομαι, πάτερ,
 254 θύρσου μεθήσεις χεῖρ', ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάτερ;
 347 ἐλθὼν δὲ θάκουσ' τοῦδ', ἵν' οἴωνοσκοπεῖ
 448 κληῖδες τ' ἀνῆκαν θύρετρ' ἀνευ θνητῆς χερὸς.
 451 μέθεσθε χειρῶν τοῦδ'· ἐν ἄρκυσιν γὰρ ὦν
 696 νεβρίδας τ' ἀνεστείλανθ' ὄσαισιν ἀμμάτων
 704 θύρσον δέ τις λαβοῦσ' ἔπαισεν ἐς πέτραν,
 1261 ἐν τῷδ' αἰὲ μανείτ' ἐν ᾧ καθίστατε,
I. A. 468 γήμας ὁ Πριάμου Πάρις, ὃς εἰργασται τάδε.
 668 ἔτ' ἔστι καὶ σοὶ πλοῦς, ἵνα μνήσῃ πατρός.
 733 ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶς ὃ νυμφίους πρέπει.
 747 κοινῇ τὸ τῆς θεοῦ φίλον, ἐμοὶ δ' οἶκ' εὐτυχές.
 827 Λήδας μὲν εἰμι παῖς, Κλυταιμῆστρα δέ μοι
 1461 Κλ. πέπλων ἐχομένη σὼν Ἴφ. ἐμοί, μήτηρ, πιθοῦ,
 1593 προύθηκε βωμίαν, ἔλαφον ὀρείδρομον;
 309 ἄλλοις ἀμειλῶ ταῦτ'· ἄφες δὲ τήνδ' ἐμοί.
 930 ἀλλ' ἐνθάδ' ἐν Τροίᾳ τ' ἐλευθέραν φύσιν
 1130 οὐδὲν κελευσμοῦ δεῖ τμ'· ἐρωτᾶσθαι θέλω.
 1153f καὶ τὸ Διὸς τε παῖδ' ἐμῷ τε συγγόνῳ
 ἵπποισι μαρμαίροντ' ἐπεστρατευσάτην·
 1463 Ἀρτέμιδος εἰς λειμῶν', ὅπου σφαγήσομαι.
 1579 λαμόν τ' ἐπεσκοπεῖθ, ἵνα πλήξειεν ἄν·

Even if one insist on striking out a few lines from the above lists, enough will still remain to make it impossible for a candid observer to say that such lines are rare, or were really avoided by the Greek poets whom we most admire.

Examination of the examples brings out clearly three points, of which the second and third were noted by A. Schmidt.

First, those without elision at the pause are rather less numerous than those with elision; but not enough to lend any real support to the idea that the former were less agreeable. In

some plays (*Sept.*, *Prom.*, *Cho.*, *S. El.*, *Trach.*, *Med.*) the difference is really great. In others the numbers are equal or nearly so; in two (*Eum.*, *Phil.*) those without elision slightly preponderate. No one could maintain that those plays in which the ratio of lines without elision is smallest are in general better or more carefully written plays than the *Persians*, *Eumenides*, *Aias*, *Philoktetes*, *Bacchae*.

Secondly, one notes immediately that in many lines the word before the pause is a monosyllable, which brings a word-ending in the place of the most frequent pause. There is probably some significance in this; the poets liked the flow of the line better so. Plainly, also, this preference increased. Moreover, there is a distinct difference in this respect between those without and those with elision; the ratio of monosyllables constituting the third thesis is greater in the former. Just why elision after the third thesis should lessen the desire for word-ending before that thesis is not easy to see. It certainly looks at first as if some hint of either a penthemimeral or a hephthemimeral pause was desired in lines broken in the middle. The word-ending hinted at the former, the elided syllable hinted at the latter, though in neither case was the suggestion more than hint. Apparently, then, if the hephthemimeral pause was thus vaguely suggested, there was less need of hinting at the other. And it appears that Aischylos in his earliest extant plays cared little for these pseudo-caesuras, in his later ones much more. His later practice gave the note to his successors, Euripides following it the most strictly. But on farther examination there rises a vigorous doubt whether this liking for a monosyllable in the third thesis has much connection with the caesura media. For if one will watch carefully through a few hundred trimeters for the instances of a monosyllable in that place, one will be surprised at their number. They are many times more numerous than the lines broken in the middle. In the *Agamemnon*, for example, even omitting all cases where the monosyllable in question is a proclitic, or a preposition followed by its noun, or a form of the article, or a word followed by an enclitic (unless the enclitic, by elision, ceases to be metrically a syllable), we find that more than one trimeter in seven has a

monosyllable filling the third thesis. Only thirteen of these monosyllables, less than a tenth of the whole number, are followed by the main caesura. Clearly the relation between the bisecting verse-pause and the monosyllabic third thesis is not so simple and direct as has been supposed. These are among the subtleties of Greek verse-construction which our foreign ears have not yet mastered.

Another allied phenomenon is the disyllabic third thesis, a pyrrhic word just before the caesura. This appears first in *Pers.* 403, then in *Cho.* 130; these are all the Aeschylean cases included in my lists. Sophokles has it in *Ai.* 343, *Ant.* 55, *Tr.* 1098 and 1100—two lines apart and rime-words. Euripides made it one of his metrical mannerisms; the two older plays here represented contain three cases, the two late ones contain six. For the remaining the numbers are: *Alk.* *Hek.*, *H'kleid.*, *Rhes.*, none; *Hipp.*, 1; *Supp.*, 2; *Troad.*, 2; *I. T.*, 4; *Her.*, 5; *El.*, 6; *Ion.*, 6; *Or.*, 7; *Phoen.*, 7; *Hel.*, 9. That these figures have some relation to dates, though the relation is not to be pressed too hard, is evident; also that the phenomenon is a special form of the broader fact that the third thesis in general is oftener resolved than any other, even in Aeschylos.

That, however, the relative frequency of bisected trimeters bears no clear relation to date will be evident from the following table.¹ No weight should be laid on the precise figures, because

¹ That the reader may test the table if he cares to, the remaining references to Euripides are here given. Those before the dash do not have elision at the caesura, those after the dash do have elision; monosyllabic third thesis is indicated by *a*, disyllabic third thesis by *b*.

Alk. 287*a*, 789*a*, 939*a*,—1, 8*a*, 71*a*, 179, 289*a*, 379*a*, 522*a*, 625, 638*a*, 809*a*, 955*a*.

H'kleid. 238*a*, 424*a*, 837*a*,—62*a*, 66*a*, 161*a*, 511*a*, 516*a*, 551*a*, 650*a*, 663*a*, 725*a*, 824*a*, 1019*a*, 1047*a*.

Hipp. 10*a*, 888*a*, 902*a*, 965*a*, 1163*a*, 1319*a*, 1426*a*,—322*a*, 356*a*, 604*a*, 1042*a*, 1181*a*, 1190*a*, 1457*a*.

Hek. 15*a*, 37*a*, 232*a*, 253*a*, 265*a*, 321*a*, 879*a*, 979*a*, 1133*a*,—254*a*, 301*a*, 387, 537*a*, 964*a*, 1125*a*, 1169*a*.

Supp. 231*a*, 268*a*, 511*a*, 653*b*, 704*a*, 754*a*, 1060*b*, 1068*a*,—8, 195, 466*a*, 520*a*, 741, 843*a*, 858*a*, 1096*a*.

Her. (see above, p. 151),—2, 76, 153*a*, 174, 456, 537*a*, 631*a*, 754*a*, 981*a*, 984*a*, 1124*a*, 1152, 1221, 1402*a*.

Ion. 646*a*, 742*b*, 999*a*, 1019*a*, 1028*b*, 1030*b*, 1041*a*, 1342*b*, 1370*a*, 1527,—16*a*, 39*a*, 315*a*, 372*a*, 576*b*, 620*a*, 633*b*, 847*a*, 851*a*, 933, 1178, 1205, 1295*a*, 1333*a*, 1371.

(Footnote continued on next page.)

the inclusion or omission of a line or two in a play alters ratios materially; but if one endeavors in making the lists to be guided by the same principles throughout, the subjective element will not greatly disturb the comparison, if that is not pressed in details. Fractions are disregarded.

RATIO OF BISECTED TRIMETERS TO ALL TRIMETERS

AISCHYLOS		SOPHOKLES		EURIPIDES	
<i>Supp.</i>	1-60	<i>Aias</i>	1-50	<i>Alk.</i>	1-58
<i>Pers.</i>	1-33	<i>Apt.</i>	1-77	<i>Med.</i>	1-74
<i>Sept.</i>	1-55	<i>El.</i>	1-66	<i>H'kleid.</i>	1-59
<i>Prom.</i>	1-92	<i>O. T.</i>	1-52	<i>Hipp.</i>	1-71
<i>Agam.</i>	1-50	<i>Trach.</i>	1-74	<i>Andr.</i>	1-46
<i>Cho.</i>	1-56	<i>Phil.</i>	1-27	<i>Hek.</i>	1-59
<i>Eum.</i>	1-58	<i>O. K.</i>	1-70	<i>Supp.</i>	1-57
				<i>Her.</i>	1-38
				<i>Ion</i>	1-42
				<i>Tro.</i>	1-66
				<i>El.</i>	1-51
				<i>I. T.</i>	1-85
				<i>Hel.</i>	1-45
				<i>Phoen.</i>	1-48
				<i>Or.</i>	1-48
				<i>Bacch.</i>	1-58
				<i>I. A.</i>	1-57
				<i>Rhes.</i>	1-84

In the *Persians*, an early play, Aischylos made a larger proportion of such trimeters than appears in any other except the *Philoktetes*; and beside the latter in date stands the *Oedipus at Kolonos* with but one in seventy. The *Prometheus* has the smallest proportion; the difference between the Aischylean *Suppliants* and *Eumenides* is imperceptible, and with these go the *Bacchae* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*. Curiously, the *Herakles* turns out to be precisely the one play of Euripides in which he included the largest proportion of such lines. And what becomes of Euripides' *grössere Sorgfalt*? If the lines with elision were disregarded, these relations would not be essentially changed; all three tragedians employed the type with about equal frequency.

Finally, we return for a moment to the really central question of *ethos*. No single sharply defined significance can be attributed to this or any other formula of the language of rhythm, though it

Tro. 372a, 386a, 619a, 650b, 988a, 1177b, 1275a,—9, 658, 922, 1013, 1285.

El. 43b, 248a, 840a, 1042a, 1094b, 1273b, 1275a,—14b, 78a, 96a, 305, 332, 416a, 837b, 979a, 980b, 1012, 1087, 1262a.

I. T. 87a, 370b, 484b, 496b, 674a, 1014a, 1040b,—27, 547a, 664, 1002, 1086, 1061a.

Hel. 86, 290b, 412b, 449b, 503a, 575a, 585a, 606a, 987a, 1028b, 1236b, 1241b, 1396b, 1410a, 1449b, 1520b,—24, 49a, 102a, 116a, 938, 984a, 1219, 1237a, 1438a, 1546a, 1574, 1610.

Phoen. 46b, 449b, 521a, 574a, 738a, 760a, 761a, 836b, 846b, 928a, 1090a, 1091a, 1317a, 1349a, 1400b, 1649a,—19a, 64b, 74, 571a, 768a, 922, 1006a, 1223, 1608b.

Or. 35b, 63b, 401b, 549b, 624b, 1053a, 1076b, 1220a, 1585b,—12, 230a, 489a, 533a, 559a, 879a, 1032, 1040a, 1054a, 1079, 1169a, 1189a, 1239, 1328a, 1342a.

Rhe. 161a, 388a, 579a,—190a, 664a, 857a, 868a, 965a.

is true, as Headlam has shown, that special formulae in lyric were highly suggestive of particular themes. But, negatively first, it is obvious that a formula so freely used by all the tragedians can not be set aside as faulty or as *hässlich*. Is there not a touch of the comic in the spectacle of modern *Wissenschaft* lecturing a supreme artist like Sophokles on his proneness to bad meter? At the least this may be affirmed, in general form. In verse, in all languages, some things that would be bad if used to excess are not bad at all, but contribute to the beauty of the whole, and are therefore good and a mark of skilful workmanship, when employed in proper places and in due proportion. The bisecting pause in the trimeter is one of these things in Greek tragic dialogue. We may put with it two other things that are severely condemned by critics, which are nevertheless approved by the poets. I mean the division of the trimeter, by pauses, into its constituent dipodies, and the absence of word-ending within the foot throughout the line. Examples of these are:

S. <i>El.</i>	282	ἐγὼ δ' ὀρώσ' ἢ δίσμορος κατὰ στέγας
<i>Phil.</i>	807	ἀλλ', ὦ τέκνον, καὶ θάρσος ἴσχ'· ὡς ἦδε μοι
O. K.	1169	ὦ φίλτατε, σχέες οὐπερ εἰ. Θη. τί δ' ἔστι σοι;
Aisch. <i>Supp.</i>	401	ἐπήλυδας τιμῶν ἀπώλεσας πάλιν.
<i>Pers.</i>	469	πέζῳ παραγγείλας ἄφαρ στρατεύματι
<i>Prom.</i>	612	πυρὸς βροτοῖς δοτῆρ' ὀρεῖς Προμηθέα.
<i>Ag.</i>	955	ἄνθος, στρατοῦ δῶρῆμ', ἐμοὶ ξυνέσπετο.
S. <i>Ant.</i>	57	κοινὸν κατεργάσαντ' ἐπαλλήλων χερσίν.

See also in the above lists Aisch. *Supp.* 905, *Pers.* 465, 509, 831, *Ag.* 1420, *Eum.* 906, Eur. *Andr.* 373, 402, *Med.* 470, 1014.

As occasional means of varying the movement of a single rhythmic type continued through a long poem, these are all acceptable. Beyond this it is perhaps not easy to prove anything for the bisected trimeter.

Yet I think we can go farther. Such trimeters are employed in a great variety of circumstances and moods—serious, pathetic, prayerful, as well as argumentative or quarrelsome. Thus by this division parallels or strong contrasts are emphasized in Aisch. *Supp.* 401; *Prom.* 976; *Sept.* 1051; *Aias* 1129, 1252 and 1253 (two cases in successive lines), 1377; *Ant.* 55, 77, 80, 518, 555;

S. *El.* 1036; *O. T.* 141, 419, 968; *Phil.* 907, 1009, 1021, 1298; *O. K.* 610, 1489; and often in Euripides. In prayer or entreaty we find it in *Sept.* 426, 549, 714; *Prom.* 625; *Ag.* 509, 921; *Cho.* 130; *Eum.* 906; S. *El.* 67, 1205; *O. T.* 46; *Phil.* 1040; *O. K.* 1435; *Ion* 576, 1333; *I. T.* 547. We find such trimeters as closing lines of fine *ρήσεις*. Several passages of unusual elevation of tone contain one or more. The solemn opening speech of King Oedipus, royal in dignity and compassion, ends with the words:

ὥς θέλοντος ἄν
ἔμοῦ προσαρκεῖν πᾶν· δυσάλγητος γὰρ ἄν
εἴη τοιάνδε μὴ οὐ κατοκτίρων ἔδραν.

In the pathetic appeal of the priest which follows is the line

ἴθ', ὦ βροτῶν ἄριστ', ἀνθρώπων πόλιν.

Ismene's entreaty to her sister not to throw away her life in the vain endeavor to bury her brother contains two such verses; Antigone closes her answer to this entreaty with the lines:

ὄσθ' ἅπαν' οὐργήσας· ἐπεὶ πλείων χρόνος
ὄν δέ μ' ἄρεσκειν τοῖς κάτω τῶν ἐνθάδε.
ἐκεῖ γὰρ αἶψά κείσομαι· σοὶ δ' εἰ δοκεῖ,
τὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐντιμὴ ἀτιμάσας ἔχε.

Hipp. 1436 is part of the pathetic consolatory prophecy of Artemis. *Pers.* 403, with disyllabic third thesis, is part of the inspiring battle-cry of the Greeks at Salamis; *Eum.* 848 is the soft answer of Athena to soothe the anger of the furies. In these and like passages a great poet could use the equal balance of line to produce a peculiarly musical effect, enhancing thereby the dignity, pathos, and beauty of poetic expression.

The English schoolboy is properly taught to avoid this caesura in his iambics, as the least frequent of all. But the scholar who has gone through the English training in writing iambics approaches tragic dialogue with better understanding of the poet's point of view. He has acquired an ear for the Greek cadences; accordingly he does not hesitate to use this caesura too upon occasion. The admirable translations in the *Nova Anthologia Oxoniensis* contain several tasteful examples of it.

A GROUP OF GREEK PAPYRUS TEXTS

BY EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

The texts here presented are from papyrus originals of the Roman period now in the collection of the writer. All these, except the ninth, come from the Fayûm, and pretty certainly from Kôm Ushm, the ancient Karanis. The ninth is probably from Ashmunên, the ancient Hermopolis Magna. In the following introductions the numbers in parentheses immediately after each title represent the catalogue designation of the papyrus in the inventory of the writer's collection.

The various documents present some points of difficulty and importance, in dealing with which I have had the advantage of very helpful suggestions from Drs. Grenfell and Hunt. But they are by no means to be held responsible for all that is here advanced. In general, the texts are printed in the order of their probable dates.

I. *Iliad* B 1-20 (No. 124); 12.5×3 cm.—This little fragment, which it is unnecessary to print out in full, preserves the beginnings (the first two to four letters) of the first twenty lines of *Iliad* B, and doubtless formed the beginning of a roll containing that book. The very neat uncial in which they are written suggests a date in the second century, as do the dates on the hundred or more dated documents found with this fragment. The text is the Vulgate. The paragraphus stands after l. 7, marking the pause in the sense. This and the reading $\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\upsilon[\delta\iota\eta]$ in l. 12 (with H^b PQ^b C^b E^b E^c O^b XZ, b²; $\pi\alpha\sigma\sigma\upsilon\delta\iota\eta$ Ludwig) are the fragment's chief points of interest. No trace of vs. 2 is preserved, but the space shows that a verse stood here in the papyrus. The verso is occupied with fourteen lines of a business document, in a large and rather rude uncial hand of the same century.

II. Declaration (No. 100); 6×10.5 cm.—The document of which these eleven lines formed the conclusion was a declaration

of the type to which Berlin *Urkunden* No. 243 belongs, although in some points the formulae of that papyrus differ from those used here. There is no date, but the hand, a cramped and crowded cursive, resembling those of the *Politeia* of Aristotle, suggests a date early in the second century.

- κ]αὶ μ . . . [.] . . . [. . .]
 νων ἄλλ . [. . εἰ]ν τῇ προκειμένη κώμῃ Ἀφρο-
 δειτηπόλει κοινὸν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον πρὸς ἐμ[ε]
 τὸ λοιπὸν ἡμῖν μέρος τῶν προκειμένων τε[ι]-
 5 μῆς ἀργυρίου δραχμῶν τετρακοσίων μὴ διακε[ι]-
 μένων τὸ τὴν παράθεσιν γενέσθαι ἀκολουθῶς
 τῷ ἐπισταλέντι ἐπὶ σφραγισμῶν χρηματισμῷ. τ[ὴν]
 δὲ παράθεσιν ποιῶμαι μηδενὸς προκατεσχημένον
 δημοσίῃ ἢ [εἰ]διωτικῇ τινι λόγῳ διὰ τοῦ βιβλιοφυλ(ακείου). εἰ
 10 δὲ φανείῃ ἐτέρῳ προσήκον ἢ προκατεσχημένον
 μὴ ἔσεσθ[αι] ἐμπόδιον ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς παραθέσεως.

2 Ἀφροδευτηπόλει: cf. *Fayûm Towns*, p. 270, l. 16; p. 276, l. 6.

5, 6 μὴ διακε[ι]μένων seems to interrupt the sense; we should expect διὰ ἐπιδιδῶμι εἰς τὸ τὴν παράθεσιν, etc.; cf. Berlin *Urkunden*, No. 243, ll. 9, 10.

III. Termination of Partnership (No. 97); 19.8×11.2 cm.—Heron and Apollōs, joint cultivators of three pieces of land, near Karanis, terminate their partnership. Heron retires, leaving Apollōs in sole possession of the business. There is no indication of the consideration for which he does this, the sums named in ll. 17, 18 representing the fines that may be incurred by violation of the agreement.

While the papyrus is somewhat broken, the first parts of ll. 17, 21 are the only really doubtful parts of the document. The date is 143 A. D. The hand is a small cursive.

- Ἔτους ἐβδόμου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου
 Α[Ἰ]λίον Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ
 Εὐσεβοῦς] μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου[ν] Φαῶφι ιβ' ἐν Καρανίδι
 τῆς Ἡρακλ[είδου] μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσι(νοίτου) νομοῦ. Ὁμολογεί
 5 Ἡρων ἀπ' ἅτῳ μνητρὸς Ἰσιδώρας γεωργὸς κγ' κληρουχία[ς]

- ὡς (ἐτῶν)] εἴκοσι λεύκωμα ὀφθαλμῶ δεξιῶ τῷ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ
 κλή(ρω)] γεωργῶ Ἀπολλῶτι Λιμναίου τοῦ Ὀννώφρεως ὡς (ἐτῶν) λ
 οὔλ(ῃ)] ὀφρύ δεξιῶ ἐκκεχωρηκέναι αὐτῷ τὸν ὁμολογοῦ(ντα)
 Ἡρ]ωνα ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐφ' ὃν μέ[ν]ει αὐτῷ ἡ γεωργία χρόν[ο]ν
 10 τὸ ἐ]πιβάλλον αὐτῷ μέρος ἡμισυ ὧν γεωργεῖ ἰδαφῶν
 σὺν] τῷ προκειμένῳ Ἀπολλῶτι περὶ μὲν Ψεναρψενῆσιν
 Κα]μηλιανῆς οὐσίας ἀρουρῶν πέντε ἡμίους καὶ
 ὁμ]οίως Μαυκαί(τιανῆς) ἀρούρης ἡμίους τετάρτου καὶ Κερ-
 κεσ]οῦχων προσ[ό]δου ἀρούρας δύο ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ α[ἱ]
 15 τῶν] εἰς τὸ δημόσιον μετρομένῃ καὶ διαγραφομένων
 δ]ημοσίων π[α]ν[τ]ῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐξακολουθού-
 των] ταῖς ἀρούραις ἢ δώσι ἐπιτίμου ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς
 ἑκατ]θὲν καὶ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον τὰς ἴσας. ὑπογρα(φέν) Ἡρων.

Second hand:

- ἀ]πάτωρ μητρὸς Ἰσιδώρας ὁμολογῶ ἐκκεχωρη[κέναι
 20 τῷ Ἀπολλῶτι ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν ἐφ' ὃν μένει μοι ἡ γεωργία χρόνον.
 . . .] . Λο(ς) Ἐρι[ε]ως ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ εἰδότες γράμματα

Third hand:

δ]ναγέγραπ(αι) διὰ γρα(φείου) Καρανίδο(ς)

12 Κα]μηλιανῆς corr.

18 We should expect Ἡρων also to be in the second hand, as there is not room for a name before ἀπάτωρ it at the beginning of l. 19.

IV. Claim of Title (No. 98); 21×12 cm.—Statia Petronia, through her guardian Tiberius Claudius Secundus, addresses to Artemidorus Tourbon, royal scribe of the division of Polemon, a claim to certain lands about the villages of Nilopolis and Memphis, to which, she declares, a certain Aphrodisius, acting in the name of a woman named Thamounion, is laying claim. Apparently the lands in question had been mortgaged to Statia, who had foreclosed and become the owner. She appeals to the royal scribe to have the name of Thamounion stricken from the register of those who paid the ἀριθμητικόν. The royal scribe, in a memorandum appended to the petition, turns it over to the village-scribe of Memphis, with instructions to act upon it. The first hand is an irregular upright cursive; the second is also cursive, but sloping, and much more rapid and difficult. The date is 144 A. D.

- Ἄρ]τεμίδωρ τῷ καὶ Τούρβων βασιλ(ικῷ) γρα(μματεῖ) Ἄρσι(νοεῖτου)
 Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδος)
 πα]ρὰ Στατίας Πετρωνίας μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ δεδο-
 μ[έ]νου αὐτῇ κατὰ τὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔθνη Τιβερίου
 Κλαυδίου Σεκούνδου. ἐπεὶ τελῶ τὸ τέλειον ἀριθμη-
 5 τικὸν ἐπὶ κώμης Νείλου πάλεως τῆς Ἡρακλ(είδου)
 μερίδος ἔσχον δὲ ἀπὸ νομίμων ἐμβαδείας
 ἐνεχυρασίας τῷ διεληλυθότι ς (ἔτει) Ἀντωνίνου
 Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου ὑποχρέου μου ἅμα ἄλλοις
 ὑπάρχουσι καὶ περὶ κώμην Μίμφιν τῆς Παλέ-
 10 μωνος μερίδος κλήρου κατοικικοῦ (ἀρουρῶν) α (ἡμισυ) γ ιβ, ὁ δὲ
 [ὑ]πόχρεος Ἀφροδίσιος τελεῖ ἐπ' ὀνόμ(ατος) Θαμουνίου Σαμβ(ᾶ)
 ἡμιτέλειον ἀριθ(μητικὸν) ἐπὶ τῆς Μίμφεως καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ
 ὑπάρχει περὶ τὸν νομὸν κατοικικὸν ἔδαφος,
 ἐπιδίδωμι ὅπως περιαρεθῇ τὸ τῆς Θαμουνίου
 15 ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ ἀριθμητικοῦ γραφῆς.

Second hand:

- Ἄρτεμίδωρος ὁ καὶ Τούρβων βασιλ(ικὸς) γραμ(ματεὺς)
 Παλέμωνος μερίδος κωμογρα(μματεῖ) Μίμφεως.
 τοῦ ἐπιδοθέντος μοι βιβλιδίου ἀντίγρα(φον)
 πρόκ(ειται). τὸ ἀκόλουθον οὖν ἐπιτέλει ὡς καθήκ(ει)
 20 ὡς πρὸς σε τοῦ λόγου ἐσομένου εἴαν τι μὴ
 δεόντως γένηται. [σε]σημείωμαι.
 (Ἔτους) ζ Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ Κυρίου
 Μεχεῖρ λ

6 Cf. *Fayûm Towns* 124, l. 18: ἀπὸ νομίμων, illegally.

7 ἐνεχυρασίας O.P. 712.

V. Petition to the Strategus (No. 110); 24×12 cm.—The ἐπιτηρηταὶ γεννηματογραφουμένων of Karanis address to the strategus a complaint against two assistants of the ἐπισκεπταὶ ἐλαικῶν καρπῶν. These latter are charged with making an improper return as to the productiveness of certain lands, reporting as productive lands which through lack of water had ceased to be so, and as unproductive certain other lands actually fruitful. The ἐπιτηρηταὶ demand that the culprits be summoned before the assize of the nome to explain their action.

Theodorus appears as strategus of the division of Heraklides in a Berlin papyrus (*B. G. U.* 613, l. 26), assigned, though not

positively, to the time of Antoninus. M. Sempronius Liberalis was praefect of Egypt from 154 to 159 A. D.; cf. *B. G. U.* 26, 372, 446, 780, the second a decree of his, though not the one here referred to. The twentieth year (l. 9) thus refers to the reign of Antoninus Pius and corresponds to 156–57 A. D., in or soon after which year the papyrus must have been written. Hierax was strategus of the division of Heraklides in 159–60–61 A. D., and in the way in which the praefect and the imperial year are introduced there is nothing to suggest that a former praefectship or reign is meant; which considerations would exclude a date later than 159 A. D.

The document exhibits much correction and alteration, and was doubtless a preliminary draft of the complaint. The hand is a small, rapid, and irregular cursive.

- Θεοδώρου στρ(ατηγῶι) Ἀρσι(νοείτου) Ἡρακλείδου
μερίδος
- Παρά Πτολεμαίου Σωκράτους καὶ
Ἀρτάλου Ἀσκλᾶ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
- 5 ἐπιτηρητ(ῶν) γενη(ματογραφουμένων) ὑπαρχόντων διοικ(ήσεως)
κώμης Καρανίδος. ἐνεστώσης ἡμῖν
ἀμφισβητήσεως πρὸς Ἡρακλῆν
καὶ Ἡρώδην
βοηθο[ν] ὅς ἐπισκεπτῶν ἐλαικῶν καρ(πῶν)
κ (ἔτους) περὶ ὧν παρέγραψαν ὑπαρχόν-
παρὰ τὴν οὐσαν
- 10 των ἐν τῇ ἐπιτηρήσει [[ἀφορα ἐν]]
αὐτῶν διάδοσιν [[τὰ ἀφορα]]
[[φορίμοις ἀναγραφάμενοι ἐπαγγυρισ-]]
[[μῶι κ]] καὶ τὰ κελευσθέντα
ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἡγεμόνος Σεμπ(ρωνίου)
διὰ τὴν γενο(μένην) λιψυδρείαν
Λιβεράλις τὰ ἀφο(ρα) [[ἐν φορίμοις ἀναγρα-]]
- 15 [[ψάμενοι]] ἐκ τοῦ πλείστου ἀναξηράναντα ᾧ
ἐν φορίμοις ἀναγραφάμενοι καὶ περὶ ὧν
παρὰ ἐτέρων ἐπικρατούντων ἐνίωγ
ὑπαρχόντων τῆς α(ὐτῆς) ἐπιτηρήσεως
μᾶλλον φορίμων ὄντων ἀργυρι-
20 σάμενοι ἐν ἀφόροις διέστειλαν καὶ τῶν
κατ' αὐτοὺς δεομένων ὑπὸ τοῦ λαμπροτά-

- του ἡγεμόνος [[Σεμπ(ρωνίου) Λιβεράλις]] διὰ τοῦ(το)
 ἀξι[[ω]]οῦμεν <του>του τὸ ἴσον [[τῶν]] δι' ἐνὸς τῶν περὶ
 σε ὑπηρετῶν μεταδοθῆναι αὐτοῖς
- 25 ἔν' ἔχοντες ἔγγρα(πτον) [παραγ]γελείαν παρα-
 γένονται εἰς τὸ ἱερώ[τατον] αὐτοῦ
 βῆμα ὅπ[ου] ἐὰν τὸν τοῦ νομοῦ διαλο-
 γισμὸν ἢ δι[καιοδοσίαν] ποιήσῃται
 ἀρκουμένων ἡμῶν τῇδε τῇ διαστολ(ῃ).
- 30 ὁ

Similar formulae occur in *B. G. U.* 226 and in *P. Oxy.* 484 (Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* II, p. 171).

5 On ἐπιτηρηταὶ γενηματογραφουμένων ὑπαρχόντων διοικήσεως cf. *B. G. U.* 861, l. 5, 161-62 A. D.

25 The first ε of ἔχοντες corrected from α.

VI. Receipt for Seed (No. 67); 5.7×12 cm.—The first halves of these lines had already been published (*University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology* III (1900), p. 47) when the fragment containing the rest of them came to light in the midst of a miscellaneous mass of small pieces that had remained unsorted. While the year is still wanting, it is probable that this, like most of the other extant documents of this type, belongs in or near the twenty-second year of Antoninus, 158-59 A. D. These receipts were given by the γεωργοί to the sitologi in acknowledgment of advances of seed made to them for sowing their fields. In this one the farmer Satabous, son of Harmiysis, acknowledges the receipt of seed for sowing four and three-quarters arourae of land "of Seneca," i. e., of the Senecan estate or οὐσία, and four and twenty-nine thirty-seconds arourae "of Severus," i. e., of the οὐσία or estate that bore his name; cf. *Σενεκιανή*, *ibid.*, Nos. 5, 16, 18, 26, 35, 53, 65, 71, etc.; *Σεουηριανή*, Nos. 76, 77; *Σεουήρου*, Nos. 19, 47, 55, etc.

Σπερμάτων [.]. (ἔτους) Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρος
 τοῦ Κυρίου σῆ [κ]ληρουχ(ίας) Καρανίδος
 Σενεκά Σαταβοῦς Ἀρμυύσεως (ἀρουρῶν) δ L d
 Σεουήρ[ο]υ (ἀρουρῶν) δ L d η λo Ἀθύρ κ

VII. Tax Receipt (No. 109); 15.5×22 cm.—Receipt for four drachmæ in payment of a tax, probably *στεφανικόν*. The time is that of Commodus, 180–92 A. D. The receipt is on the recto; the verso is occupied with business memoranda in later hands.

Μάρ]κον Αὔρηλιον Κομμόδου
] ἰζ' διέγρα(αψεν) Σ
] . μελοῦτος Ὀννώφρεως
] . (δραχμᾶς) τέσσαρας / (δραχμᾶς) δ
 5]δ

VIII. Docket of a Village Scribe (No. 102); 9×12 cm.—This docket is written in a very clear, handsome cursive, and is complete, except for the broken fibers beneath the last word. A few letters, probably of the document which it accompanied, remain at the left margin of the papyrus. The date is the fourth year of Alexander Severus, 224 A. D.

(Ἔτους) δ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος
 Μάρκον Αὔρηλιον Σεουήρου
 Ἀλεξάνδρον Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυχ[οῦς
 Σεβαστοῦ Φαῶφι
 5 Αὐρήλιος Ἀφροδίσιος κωμογρ(αμματεὺς)
 δι' ἐμοῦ τοῦ α ου

4 There is no trace of a number after Φαῶφι, where we should expect the day of the month.

IX. Letter (No. 104); 12×8 cm.—This fragment preserves the opening salutations of a letter, written in a clear hand, probably of the late Roman period.

Ὁριγένης Δι[ο]γενᾷ τῷ
 ἀδελφῷ π[λ]εῖστα χαίρειν·
 πρὸ μὲν πά[ν]των εὐχομαί
 σε ὑγια[ίνειν] μετὰ τῶν σῶν
 5 πάν[των κα]ὶ τὸ προσκύ-
 νη]μά [σου π]οῶ παρὰ

Here the papyrus breaks off; the seventh line probably read: [τῷ κυρίῳ Σαραπίδι] as in *Fayûm Towns*, p. 284, or [τοῖς ἐνθάδε θεοῖς] as in *Fayûm Towns*, p. 286.

X. Report of Officials (No. 105); 6.5×9.5 cm.—The restorations in this document are made with the aid of Berlin *Urkunden* No. 620, a Fayûm papyrus from the same komarchs, which is assigned to the third century after Christ. On the other hand, this papyrus makes possible considerable restorations in the Berlin document, the lacunae in the two falling usually in different places. The papyrus belongs to the third century A. D.

[Αὐρηλίῳ Ἀχιλλεῖ τῷ καὶ Πολλαριώσι στρατηγῷ Ἀρσινοίτου]
παρὰ Αὐρη]λίῳ Περσῆτος Π[τολεμαίου
καὶ Ἀντωνίου Ἀντωνίου ἀμφ[οτέρων
κωμαρχῶν κ]ώμης Καρανίδο[ς τοῦ Ἀρσιν(οίτου)
5 κατὰ κέλευσ]ιν [τοῦ] διασημοτάτου ἐπ[ιτρόπου
Ἀννίου Διογένους ἡριθμήθη [
παρὰ τῶν τοῦ νομοῦ δημο[σίων χρημά-
των τραπέζιτων ἐξ ἐπιστ[άματός σου
ὑπὲρ τιμῆς ὧν παρεσχέκα]μεν στιχα-
10 ρίων εραὶ κλε[.] . [
.] [
.

6 Perhaps ἡριθμήθησαν ἡμῖν.

XI. Address to Village Officials (No. 106); 25×13.5 cm.—This address is written in well-formed cursive of good size, probably of the late Roman period. It is addressed to the eirenarch, the komarchs, and the accountants of receipts of some village in the Fayûm, and concerns sums due a person who had worked for the writers on some works in the neighborhood of Pelusium. This Fayûm village is known, from Papyrus 89, *Fayûm Towns*, p. 224, to have been in the division of Themistes. The writing is across the fibers. The date is probably about the end of the Roman period.

π(αρά) τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
εἰρηνάρχῃ καὶ κωμάρχαις καὶ κεφαλαιωταῖς πιτ'τακίων κώμης [
. . . . αἱ . τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐργασάμενον εἰς τὰ κατὰ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἔ[ργα
.]τε . ὡς[.]σαι πάνθ' ὅσα χρεωστεῖται αὐτῷ ἀπὸ λόγου

5]κ . τα[. . . .]τα πλίστα χρεωστούμενα αὐτῷ α . . νηρα[
]φ[.] καὶ Διδ[ύ]μου σέσημίω(μαι) Ἀθύρ κδ

2 The reading *εἰρηδάρχη* is certain; though *εἰρήναρχ(ε)s* appears in papyri Nos. 189 and 146 of *Amherst Papyri* (II, pp. 170, 178). No occurrence of *κεφαλαιωτῆς πιντακίων* in published papyri is known to me.

4, 5 *Χρεωστεῖν* occurs also in *Amherst Papyri* II, p. 185, l. 18.

XII. An Address to the Praefect (No. 107); 19.5 × 20 cm.—This document is addressed to a praefect, whose name is wanting, by the strategus of some division of the Arsinoite nome, and perhaps accompanied a list of persons suitable for office (*εὐποροὶ καὶ ἐπιτήδειοι*). The hand is a curious, sprawling semi-uncial, written with a fine pen. The loss of the praefect's name leaves the date uncertain, but the use of *διασημότατος* and *μεγαλείου*, together with the character of the hand, point to a date not much, if at all, earlier than 300 A. D. The name Gerontius, too, is not often met with before that date. The name on the verso is in another hand, and probably has nothing to do with the petition. An Aurelius Gerontius appears as strategus (of what nome is uncertain) in *Amherst Papyri* No. 138, 326 A. D., and the strategus Gerontius of this papyrus is probably the same individual. The date is thus about 326 A. D.

Recto:

τῷ διασημοτάτῳ . [.] ἡγεμόνι [
 ἐκλ]ογιστίαν καὶ Γερόντιος στρατηγὸς Ἀρσινό[ε]ιτου
]μένα ὑπὸ τοῦ σου μεγ[αλείου
]των θαλαττίω[ν
 5 π]ρὸς τὴν τάξιν[
]κλήρους των[
]των τὰ ὀνόμ[ατα
]αναφέροντες[
 ἔρρωσ[ο]

Verso: Two seal-impressions in ink and

10 Κλανδ[ί]φ
 ζ δ

1 While *διασημότατος* does occur in second-century documents with *ἡγεμών*—e. g., *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* II, p. 158—it is much more frequent later.

SIR RICHARD C. JEBB

Richard Jebb came up from Charter House to Trinity in the autumn of 1858. He was the famous freshman of the year. As an undergraduate he displayed the same versatile capacity that made him, at the time of his death, the most accomplished and influential classical scholar of his generation. The future editor of Sophocles and Bacchylides not only carried off the Porson and Craven scholarships, but also steered a First Trinity boat, held a commission in the Volunteers, and was an officer of the Union. Seven years after his graduation as Senior Classic in 1862, he was appointed public orator of his university; twenty years later he was elected Regius Professor of Greek; in 1891 he entered Parliament; in 1900 he was knighted, and shortly before his death he was nominated by the king to the Order of Merit.

His public activities did not diminish his authority as a scholar. The readers of this journal do not need to be reminded of his contributions to learning. But he was a humanist as well as a scholar, and his eloquent voice reached men in many walks of life. His South-African address last summer, in the course of which he traced the beneficent influence of good literature upon life, profoundly impressed the members of the British Association. He himself had perfect technical command of classical literature, but, furthermore, he had achieved its spirit. One evidence of this was the felicity with which he expressed himself; he was master of an unrivaled English style. On one of the shelves of the bookcase that stood by his work-table in his study in Cambridge are first editions of Tennyson, thin books whose leaves hang loosely in frayed covers. "We Greeks," he once said, "must know well at least one modern poet."

A certain natural diffidence of manner gave strangers the impression that he was shy or reserved. His friends knew that he was frank and genial. In talk he could be brilliant. His quick intelligence grasped a subject in all its aspects, and he stated himself with singular charm. The word was always apt, the humor Attic, the argument cogent. In the delicately blended force and refinement of his mind, and in his unflinching sense of proportion, he was thoroughly Greek.

This learned man and great humanist had a high conception of the privileges and duties of the scholar's life. His own life was rounded and complete, and it nobly exemplifies his lofty ideals.

“εὖ δὲ λαχὼν Χαρίτων
πολλοῖς τε θαυμασθεῖς βροτῶν
αἰῶν' ἔλυσεν.”

J. W. W.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

VERSE 1681 OF THE *AVES* OF ARISTOPHANES

The archetype of our present text of Aristophanes read *βαδίζειν* in this much-discussed verse. This is the reading in thirteen of the extant manuscripts that contain the *Aves*. Two others (Δ B) have *βαδίζοι γ'*.

Modern scholars have proposed many substitutes: *βαβάζει γ'* Bentley; *βαβακίζει γ'* Reiske; *τιτυβίζοι γ'* Brunck; *βατίζει γ'* Dindorf; *βαύζει γ'* Cobet; *βαβράζει γ'* Meineke; *βαταρίζοι γ'* Lenting; *σακίζει γ'* Müller-Strübing.

The Alexandrian scholars had before them a text which they could not interpret satisfactorily. The scholium on 1680 begins with a paraphrase of 1680 f.: 'μὰ τὸν Δία' φησὶν 'οὐ λέγει παραδοῦναι ἀλλὰ βαδίζειν καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν, οὕτω δὲ αὐτό φησι βαρβάρως καὶ δυσφράστως ὥσπερ αἱ χελιδόνες.' It is at least clear that in this commentator's text the uncertain word was a form that he thought must mean "go." Symmachus, who is quoted in the scholium on 1681, declared that he did not understand what the poet meant: οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ τοῦτου νοῦς φανερός· οὐδὲν τι δύναται ἴδιον τῶν χελιδόνων 'βάδισις,' αἷ γε μηδὲ πορεῖα χρῶνται ὡς τὰ ἄλλα τῶν ὀρνέων, καὶ μάλιστα τὰ μὴ πτηνικά. Didymus got a meaning for the verses by juggling with ὥσπερ: καταλλήλως εἶχεν εἰ ἔλεγεν 'ὡς τὰς χελιδόνας,' θέλει δὲ λέγειν 'εἰ μὴ βαδίζει πρὸς τὰς χελιδόνας'· διὸ καὶ ἐποίσει.

οὐκοῦν παραδοῦναι ταῖς χελιδόσιν λέγει.

ἐπεὶ καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς αὐτὰς βαδίζει εἰς Νεφελοκοκκυγίαν. The form of the uncertain word in the text of Didymus was certainly not the infinitive, but an indicative. I believe that this word was *βασίζει*. Aristophanes had written:

εἰ μὴ βασίζει γ' ὥσπερ αἱ χελιδόνες.

The Alexandrian scholars recognized that *βασίζει* was a new word which Aristophanes had coined, after his wont. The acute commentary on τὸν βάδον βαδίζομεν in *Aves* 42 and similar notes show that they were familiar with these inventions of the poet, but they failed to apprehend the jest in *βασίζει*. They saw that the word was derived from *βάσις*, but assumed that *βάσις* carried the idea of *βαίνω*, and consequently naturally interpreted *βασίζει* by *βαδίζει*, ἀναχωρεῖ.

Aristophanes, however, meant "rhythmizes," "uses rhythm." He himself has *βάσις* in the sense of "measured movement" in *Theesm.* 966 ff.:

ἀλλὰ χρῆν

πρῶτον εὐκύκλου χορείας εὐφυνᾷ στήσαι βάσιν.

Cf. Plato *Rep.* 399e: ἐπόμενον γὰρ δὴ ταῖς ἀρμονίαις ἂν ἡμῖν εἴη τὸ περὶ ῥυθμούς, μὴ ποικίλους αὐτοὺς διώκειν μηδὲ παντοδαπὰς βάσεις, ἀλλὰ βίου ῥυθμοὺς ἰδεῖν κοσμίον τε καὶ ἀνδρείου τίνες εἰσίν. Cf. 400a and b.

It is a noteworthy fact that the rhythm of the Greek trimeters of Pseudartabas in the *Acharnians* (100, 104) and of the peeler in the *Thesmophoriazuses* (1001 ff.) is unimpeachable, notwithstanding their amusing lapses in forms and spelling. Similarly Triballus in the *Aves* (1628 f., 1678) makes no mistakes in rhythm, with a single exception. In verse 1678 his affirmation involves the designation of the Princess *Βασίλεια* (vv-v). Whether he is endeavoring to pronounce this word, or Aristophanes is humorously letting him have a try at *βασίλιννα*, he apparently lapses in an unparalleled manner; he ends the trimeter with a word that is metrically impossible. Aristophanes probably instructed his actor to mark the false values and recite *Βασίλινναῦ* with emphasis. The audience at once became alert.

What Triballus says in 1678 f. is sufficiently clear, as Heracles promptly declares. Poseidon is hard-pressed; his only resource is a mock appeal, made apparent by the word-play (*βασί-ζει, βασί-λινναῦ*), to the excellence of the Greek of Triballus. The comic argument, therefore, in 1680 f., is: "Tells us to give her up? Not he! Unless he manages Greek rhythm as do the swallows." Poseidon humorously insists that Triballus cannot mean the Princess (*Βασίλεια*) since he says *βασίλινναῦ*. He is referring to some other lady!

This reading was suggested to me by a note of the scholiast on 1680. After the paraphrase, at the beginning of the scholium, which I have quoted above, he adds: τὸ δὲ 'βασίλινναῦ' εἰς (*quod attinet ad*) τὸ 'βάσιν' (*the part βασι-*) μετέβαλεν ὁ Ποσειδῶν παρόσον (*quatenus*) τὴν δευτέραν λέξεσσι, i. e., Poseidon insists that the word must be *βασίλινναῦ*. This is an acute observation. The scholiast misinterprets *βασί-ζει*, as the paraphrase shows, and thus fails to catch the poet's jest; nevertheless he apprehends that in some way the point of Poseidon's objection is the false quantity of the second syllable in *βασίλινναῦ*. The scholiast's sense of humor did not carry him quite far enough.

It is scarcely credible that he had any other word in his text than *βασί-ζει*. In course of time this was supplanted by *βαδί-ζει*, which the commentators had used in explaining it. This involved the change of a single letter. At some time not now determinable, *βασί-ζει γ'* or *βαδί-ζει γ'* became *βαδί-ζειν*, and was adopted by the compilers of the variorum archetype.

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

THE SUBJUNCTIVE IN INDIRECT QUOTATION

The review by Blase (*Wochenschr. f. klass. Phil.*, Oct. 18, 1905) of my article on "The Moods of Indirect Quotation" (*Am. Jour. of Phil.* XXVI, 1905, pp. 60 ff.) and the remarks by Frank in the last number of this journal seem to call for a few words of explanation and correction.

The illustrative passages were not, as Blase thinks, chosen in an arbitrary manner, but included all examples in Plautus of the indicative and subjunctive exclamation reflecting a previous utterance (command, suggestion, or statement) by another person, allowance being made, of course, for a few that may have escaped my search. Upon a study of these passages the article was mainly based. The German illustrations were added merely to give force to the Latin ones by their similarity. Too great stress need not be laid, and is not laid in the article, upon the German dialect specimen of an independent clause of indirect quotation. At the same time, this construction not only exists in the dialect referred to, but it has exactly the meaning which was given in the article, Blase's confident dictum notwithstanding. This form of quotation may be of secondary origin, as Frank suggests, though this is not proved by the past subjunctive used in it, for the dialect in question does not have the present subjunctive. Indeed, the distinction between *sei* and *wäre* does not, even in the German of literature, depend upon the tense of the verb of saying.

Blase further asserts that there is no difference between the indignant exclamation with the indicative and that with the subjunctive (or with *sollen*), and he appeals to any educated German to prove it. I can not agree with him as to the possible success of the appeal. The distinction is, to be sure, not one that can be measured with the yard-stick, nor one that need worry the primary grades. But when a language has two moods, each used extensively and associated with its own set of constructions throughout the language, they will necessarily, to a certain extent, carry these diverse associations with them to the mind of the hearer and will impress him in different ways. At any rate, the burden of proof rests upon him who undertakes to contradict such a fundamental psychological fact.

On the other hand, it is equally true that the speaker does not always feel it worth his while to make certain distinctions in his speech, even when the means for making them are at hand. The speaker is tired at times, or dull, or he is for some reason indifferent to a particular distinction in the matter which he is talking about. So in indirect quotation, for example, he may simply echo the statement made by another without changing the mood at all. A somewhat similar thing may happen in the case of an indignant exclamation, if the speaker is so thoroughly wrought up that the mere expression of displeasure is the essential thing, and is

not attended by any clear realization of the specific cause or of his precise relation to it. All this is only another way of saying that the boundary between the provinces of two constructions is not a fine straight line, but a wide tract of common ground, over which each may roam more or less at its will. If we wish to understand two such constructions, however, it is clear that we must lay stress upon the characteristic, distinctive uses of each, and not upon those which are purely accidental or a matter of indifference or habit.

What has just been said applies equally to Frank's claim that the Latin and the German subjunctives of indirect quotation are not to be explained in the same way. It is true that the subjunctive in Latin covers a wider field than it does in German. The difference is no doubt due to the fact that the exclusive use of the infinitive for the main clause in Latin makes it much more difficult for the indicative and the subjunctive in statements generally to influence the indirect statement and maintain a like distinction there. Even as it is, the German subjunctive of indirect quotation does not by any means uniformly express a failure to "vouch for" the truth of the statement quoted, as for example in *Ich sagte ihm, dass sein Bruder fort sei*.

The difference between the two languages is in the relative space which the two moods have come to occupy in the neutral ground between the spheres which belong to each exclusively, the subjunctive in Latin having a far larger share of it than in German. In the essential, distinctive meanings of the moods, however, the two languages agree, for the idea which the speaker positively refuses to accept is in the subjunctive, and that which he expressly represents as true is in the indicative in both. It is this distinction that needs to be explained, and when it is made clear how the subjunctive could come to be used in this sense, its use in the more or less neutral field will be easy to understand.

That this use of the subjunctive is not the one generally called the "potential" seems to me clear enough. The potential expresses an affirmation of an idea to the extent of the speaker's knowledge of supporting facts when his knowledge or the facts themselves are too limited for a full indicative assertion. The distinctive use of the subjunctive of indirect discourse, on the other hand, is expressly to withhold any such affirmation altogether. While we may be unable to trace clearly the history of the construction from its beginning, it is surely not impossible to determine the place which it occupies among the other uses of the mood; and this was the main purpose of my article.

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SCHLICHER'S "MOODS OF INDIRECT QUOTATION"

Schlicher's view (see reference above) is hard to state because it appears to be not wholly consistent with itself as concerns the exact force of the Subjunctive idiom. But the attempt may be made as follows:

Light is to be had upon the origin of the Optative or Subjunctive constructions of indirect discourse by comparison of the usages in Latin, Greek, and Germanic. The problem is to discover the original independent construction from which the dependent one arose. This is lacking in Greek, but may be made out in German and Latin. It is the Subjunctive that *rejects* a command or statement, as in Plaut. *Bacch.* 627a: *Non taces, insipiens?* (answered by) *Taceam?* A rival idea exists in the mind of the speaker B, who is replying to a former speaker A; and this idea serves as an obstacle to the acceptance of A's idea by B. The Indicative, on the other hand, in the cases of direct discourse next related, shows (p. 78) that "B's attitude toward A's idea is *receptive*, and that his mind is on the road to acceptance, so far as it has gone," as in Plaut. *Bacch.* 680: *MN. Quia patri omne cum ramento reddidi. CH. Reddidisti? MN. Reddidi.* "The two constructions therefore clearly stand in the same relation to each other as that which exists between the Subjunctive in indirect discourse, by which the speaker gives the idea as that of another, without accepting it or assuming any responsibility for it, and the Indicative in indirect discourse, by which the speaker expresses one of his own ideas, or the idea of another which he is himself willing to accept and treat as his own" (pp. 78, 79).

My criticism at this point is that the statement "stand in the same relation to each other" does not conform to the facts. The independent Subjunctive *rejects*, the construction of the O. O. which Schlicher seeks to connect with it does not, even by his own exposition, reject.

Schlicher might have made his doctrine apparently (not ultimately) more attractive by saying that in the Subjunctive idiom of O. O. we have a feeling which began with rejection, but ended in the mere feeling of foreignness. He does not do this. On the contrary he says in his final summary on p. 88 that "the presentation, for acceptance, of an idea that meets obstacles in his" (B's) "mind when he hears it, is, from his point of view, as much a demand upon his mental activities, as an order to climb a tree is a demand upon the muscles of his arms and legs." This means that B regards himself, where he uses the Subjunctive, as having an idea presented to him which comes into collision with an existing prior idea in his mind, and that it requires a very vigorous exertion of the will to accept it. Thus in the passage *B. G. i. 22: Considius . . . dicit montem quem a Labieno occupari voluerit ab hostibus teneri*, Caesar the narrator, even after the considerable lapse of time before publication, finds that it requires an effort of his will, as real as the muscular

effort of tree-climbing, to accept Considius's statement that Caesar the general did really want the hill occupied. And what can the prior idea, existing as an obstacle in the mind of Caesar the narrator, have been, when, in the previous chapter, he expressly tells us that Caesar the general ordered this precise thing to be done (*Labienum . . . summum iugum montis ascendere iubet*)?

But the difference between the two conceivable forms of the doctrine is immaterial. At the *origin* of the Subjunctive construction of the O. O., in any event, the situation, on Schlicher's theory, must have been as he last states it; and this does not appear easily thinkable. It would mean, as Schlicher actually allows himself to say on p. 70, that the difference of the two moods was one of "discriminating between ideas as to their truthfulness," and would imply B's conviction (and B is anybody) that the psalmist was nearly right in saying, in his haste, that all men are liars. It would mean, even upon the most cheerful view, that the Subjunctive usage grew up at a time when a Roman's first instinct was to disbelieve everything his neighbor told him, down to the last subordinate clause. The doctrine, in short, seems to me excessively sublimated, and to have been constructed upon a dangerous method.

My second objection is on comparative grounds. I am glad, in view of the common disregard of such grounds, to see that Schlicher makes use of them; but I do not find that he does so with sufficient circumspection. The Latin repudiating question or exclamation is clearly of volitive origin, as Schlicher himself believes (see arrangement for Germanic on p. 84). Now the corresponding construction is *not* lacking in Greek, as he says, but exists, except that it does not go so far, i. e., does not go beyond the repudiation of a command, as in Aristoph. *Lys.* 530: ΑΥ. σιώπα. ΠΡ. σοί γ', ὦ καράπαρ, σιωπῶ 'γω;—a very close parallel to the Latin example quoted above. The mood is the Subjunctive. But the mood of the O. O. in Greek is the *Optative*. Hence the explanation which Schlicher gives for Latin will not fit the facts in Greek, and his main presupposition is destroyed, and his problem unsolved.

It is interesting to see how syntax repeats itself. Wüllner *Die Bedeutung der sprachlichen Casus und Modi* (1827) makes the Subjunctive of O. O. (p. 136) an expression of a former judgment now regarded as willed, and insisted upon ("etwas gesolltes"). This is identical with Schlicher's theory. Closely allied (and identical as regards the starting-point) is that of Dittmar *Studien zur lat. Moduslehre* (1897), pp. 204-8, though Schlicher probably was unaware of the fact in working out his doctrine. I regret Schlicher's apparent tendency, since I believe Dittmar's theory that the "polemical" Subjunctive is the source of all other Latin Subjunctives to be wholly erroneous.

W. G. HALE

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of Rome during the Later Republic and Early Principate. Vol. I. By A. H. J. GREENIDGE. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1904. Pp. xiv + 506. \$3.50 net.

This book constitutes the first instalment of a work which is to comprise six volumes and to cover the history of Rome from the beginning of the Gracchan period to the accession of Vespasian. The present volume brings the narrative down to the second consulship of Marius. The second and third volumes, as planned by the author, will carry us to the death of Caesar, and the last three will be devoted to the early Empire. The comparative neglect into which the serious study of ancient history has fallen among English-speaking peoples has been hard to explain. While German, French, Italian, and Austrian scholars have given it the attention which was its due, in England, and notably in America, scientific monographs and comprehensive treatises at first hand in this field of historical research have been lamentably few. But now, thanks to the work of men like Greenidge, Pelham, Dill, and Bury in England, and of Sanders and Ferguson in this country, there has been a marked renaissance of interest in the study of Greek and Roman public and private life. Greenidge's excellent treatise on *Roman Public Life* and his study of the *Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time* lead us to open his new book with lively expectations of pleasure and satisfaction; and our expectations are not doomed to disappointment, for the work is admirably done.

A résumé of the sources for the period under consideration was put out not long ago by the author in collaboration with Miss Clay, and can be conveniently used as a companion volume to the present work. This plan of publishing the sources separately allows the writer to restrict his footnotes to the passages from ancient authors which the reader of the source-book can not readily locate.

It is a noticeable thing that many of the extended investigations in the field of Roman history which have been written in English within the last few years, like the book before us and like the writings of Dill and Glover, have dealt with some period or with some particular phase of public or private life. The subject chosen for a work of the sort mentioned must have a unity which the reader will at once recognize, and of which the writer never loses sight. If a detached period is covered, it should be a crisis in human affairs, a period in which the old order of

things gives way to the new, and above all, if it is to arouse our liveliest interest, the social or political factors which are at work in it should be personified in *dramatis personae* few in number and clearly outlined. Does the period chosen by Greenidge satisfy these requirements? Undoubtedly it does both in the case of the entire projected work and of the volume before us. There are two separate dramas in the years 133–104 B. C. In the first the protagonist is Tiberius Gracchus, who retired from the stage to be succeeded in the principal rôle by his brother Gaius. The leading part in the second drama is taken by Marius. Civil strife at home forms the subject of the first portion of the narrative; foreign politics and a war abroad that of the second part.

To the narrative proper Greenidge has prefixed an introductory chapter, covering one hundred pages, in which he sets forth the social and economic conditions which prevailed in Rome and Italy toward the close of the second century before our era. No account is taken of political questions, although on p. 105, and elsewhere, the author recognizes the dual aspect—political as well as social—of the Gracchan movement. The omission is, to be sure, intentional, as we learn from the preface, and probably the author is right in assuming a reasonable knowledge of the political conditions of the time on the part of the average reader. A brief résumé of them, however, would seem to be desirable in so extended a work as this one is to be. This part of the book contains an admirable account—e. g., pp. 44 ff.—of the growth of industrial corporations, and of their struggles with the state, and is remarkably suggestive of modern conditions. In fact, many of the acute observations made by the author on the state of affairs two thousand years ago might, if taken out of their setting, seem to apply to twentieth-century questions. Such, for instance, is n. 3 on p. 54, and the author's comment on the same page, where, in speaking of the trader and the banker, he says that "a government which does not control the operations of capital is likely to become their instrument." In this connection we can not quite agree with the author in believing (cf. p. 34) that down to the middle of the first century B. C. the principle prevailed that "considerations of foreign policy should not be directly controlled or hampered by questions of trade," unless "directly" is used in a very restricted sense. The statement on p. 37 that the honest handling of public funds prevailed long after the most dishonest and extortionate treatment of the provincials was a common practice is undoubtedly true, and probably could be paralleled in modern times. On pp. 71, 72 an interesting explanation is given of the greater productivity of the provinces, notably Africa, as compared with Italy. Greenidge believes that the soil of Africa was not exhausted, and that a more scientific system of agriculture was employed there than was the case in Italy. These reasons, added to the greater ease with which grain could be shipped to Rome from Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia than brought

from the inland sections of Italy, account satisfactorily for the otherwise puzzlingly low price of that article in Rome and the consequent decline of Italian agriculture. One naturally wonders why greater attention was not given to market gardening, and the cultivation of the vine and oil. There were many great centers of population in Italy in need of these articles. Their cultivation ought, therefore, to have been profitable: it would have given a new lease of life to Italian agriculture, and a suitable occupation for the peasant proprietor and the free laborer, in whose interest so much of the Gracchan legislation was passed. On p. 78 the author notes a point in this connection which is often overlooked. The entire peninsula did not suffer in equal measure from the importation of foreign grain. The eastern part, being more remote from convenient harbors, was better off. That the Italian yeoman still held his ground here seems to be shown by the story of the Social War. Of the knights who played so important a part politically and economically in this period the author does not give us (e. g., p. 41) a clear enough conception.

The story of the Gracchan movement runs from p. 101 to p. 276. It contains an estimate of the personality and motives of the Gracchi, and an analysis and discussion of their legislative projects and of the significance of their political reforms. Greenidge's treatment of all these matters, save the last one, is excellent. His estimate now and then of the significance for the future of some of the political innovations of Tiberius or Gaius seems less satisfactory to the reviewer. We may note a few points under the heads mentioned above. The characterization of Tiberius which is given on p. 106, and of Gaius on p. 261, is very judicious. Three methods of dealing with the destitute are mentioned on p. 204. "They may be forced to work, encouraged to emigrate, or partially supported by the state." Emigration and state support were both tried by Gaius, as we know. Of the three methods mentioned the first seems to be the most promising one, and it seems strange that Gaius secured work from the state for the unemployed in only a desultory way (cf. p. 271). It is interesting to bear the fact in mind that to sell imported grain below the current market price was to introduce a system the reverse of our modern protective system. It amounted in effect to putting a tax on a home industry. On p. 222 the author notes that the indirect result of Gaius' law governing the assignment of consular provinces was to take the choice of provincial governors from the senate and put it in the hands of the people. This, the important result of the bill, is often overlooked. A very probable argument which Gaius may have urged in support of his measure to have Asian tax contracts let in Rome is suggested on p. 220 in the increased efficiency which would result. We can see no reason, however, for surmising with Greenidge (cf. p. 221) that Gaius' bill introduced "certain principles of remission." When the knights had made a bad bargain, they would undoubtedly

urge the senate for better terms. When a contract was favorable, there were no interested parties to clamor for a revision of the contracts. As such things went in those days, and as they go today, therefore, only contracts unfavorable to the tax-farmer would be subject to change. It is stated by most writers that any citizen condemned on a capital charge had the right to appeal to the people. Greenidge puts the necessary limitation on this too sweeping statement by noting (cf. p. 199) that appeal could not be taken from the judgment of the standing courts. This restriction was quite logical, since they, unlike the special senatorial judicial commissions, had been sanctioned by the people. The author's estimate of the position of the senate, on p. 144, is sound, but his statement on the preceding page that "the senate had no defences at all" may be easily misunderstood. It had no direct "military support," it is true, but the body of tradition behind it, its prestige, its *esprit de corps*, its influence over the magistrates, and its control of the appropriations entrenched it in a position which it would be hard to take. How effectively it could hamper the action of the popular assembly by refusing an appropriation needed to put a measure into execution is observed by the author himself on p. 128, and comes out clearly in the careers of the Scipios. On pp. 126, 127 the real significance of Tiberius' action in deposing his colleague is missed. The danger lay not merely in the possibility that "a few hundred desperate members of the proletariat" might override the wishes of "the vast outlying population of Rome," but to adopt the policy of removing a recalcitrant tribune would take away the check which held in restraint even a representative assembly carried away by a temporary outburst of passion or enthusiasm. The tireless activity of Gaius, his concentration of purpose, his versatility, his genius for administration, and his unselfish interest in the welfare of Italy and the provinces, all of which are happily set forth on p. 231, as well as the position which he held in Rome (cf. p. 232), remind one in a striking way of Julius Caesar; and if the author had not intentionally avoided anticipating the future, a brief comparison between the two men would have been very suggestive. It is strange that, with all the schemes for the social and political betterment of Italy and the provinces which these two men tried, they did not have recourse to the representative system. The favorable estimate which is made on pp. 156, 157 of the Asiatics and Greeks reminds one of the evidence which Dill has brought forward in his *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, to show that the rejuvenation of Rome and Italy under the Empire was due largely to the freedmen. The way in which Drusus outbid Gaius for popular support (cf. pp. 239, 240) recalls a similar political maneuver on the part of the Conservative party in England not many years ago. The author's characterization of one point in the oratorical style of Gaius contains an acute bit of literary criticism and deserves quotation.

"Gracchus," he says, "could tell a tale, like that of the cruel wrongs inflicted on the allies, which could arouse a thrill of horror without also awakening the reflection that the speaker was a man of great sensibility and had a wonderful command of commiserative terminology." We have dealt with the early, and to our mind, the more important, part of the book so fully that we cannot discuss in detail the author's treatment of the early career of Marius. Contrary to tradition, he assumes (cf. p. 301) that Marius was not a man of low origin.

By way of conclusion, a few points may be noted in connection with the style and language of the book. The narrative portions are particularly well done. The stories of the struggle between Tiberius and Octavius (pp. 119-25) and of the death of Gaius (pp. 139-43) are very effectively told. At many points, however, the book is not an easy one to read. Sentences frequently require a second perusal before their exact meaning is grasped. Of minor matters we should prefer "vocations" to "avocations" on p. 41; the phrase "relationship of clientship" (p. 303) is kakophonous; "revealed" on p. 72 seems to be a typographical error for "rivaled," and Marius can hardly have been said to "identify" himself with a cause (p. 306). There are some admirable political maxims in the book, one or two of which we cannot refrain from quoting: "The truth that a suzerain can not treat her subjects as badly as she treats her citizens may be morally, but is not legally, a paradox" (p. 154); "Of all political temperaments that of the moderate is the least forgiving, just because it is the most timorous;" "intellect which unconsciously used emotion as its mask." To the bibliography on pp. 487-89 may now be added the important article by Kornemann, *Zur Geschichte d. Gracchenzeit*, in the first *Beiheft* of *Beitr. zur alt. Gesch.* and Warde Fowler's *Notes on C. Gracchus* in the current and forthcoming numbers of the *English Historical Review*. Taken all in all, the book is the most interesting, as well as the most scholarly and judicious, history which we have of the closing years of the second century, and will make the reader eager for the volumes which are to follow.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT

The Speeches of Isaeus. With Critical and Explanatory Notes.

By WILLIAM WYSE. Cambridge: University Press. 1905.

Pp. lxiv + 735. 18s. net.

The Introduction contains a full, readable, and precise account of the manuscripts and editions of Isaeus, and a list of *subsidia*. The text, handsomely printed, with critical notes, occupies pp. 1-174. The closely printed commentary occupies pp. 175-723. Three indexes cover eleven pages. The text seems a trifle less conservative than that of Thalheim (published by Teubner), which was passing through the printer's hands

at the same time. Attic forms are restored, on the basis of inscriptions—not only *υός* for *υιός*, *ἡμφεσβήτουν* for *ἡμφισβήτουν*, and the like, but also *ἀποδειξάντων* for *ἀποδειξάτωνσαν*. The commentary is a thesaurus of material for the illustration of the speeches. New light is brought from the papyrus documents of Egypt. Most difficult points are discussed with much learning. The illustrative matter is so abundant that the commentary is entertaining as well as instructive reading. In so extensive a work a scholar who is familiar with Isaeus may expect to light upon details in which he does not agree with the editor. E. g., on v. 17, where the litigants agree to a mixing (*συγχέαι*) of the votes before the announcement of the result was made. "It is plain (our editor says) that, when, as at this trial, 500 *ψηφαί* lay unsorted on the *abacus*, it was hard to tell at a glance whether the prosecutor had triumphed, unless perforated *ψηφαί* were in an immense majority The words *συγχέαι τὰς ψήφους* are intelligible, if the compromise was not reached until the work of arranging and ordering the votes was completed." But if the work was completed, then the time was past for a compromise. We may suppose the *abacus* to have had twenty-five rows of holes, with twenty in each row. Naturally the perforated *ψηφαί* were set in rows at one side and the unperforated at the other side, in such a manner that a glance of the eye could determine whether a *ψήφος* had been set in the wrong column, and also which of the two battalions was the more numerous. Before one hundred *ψηφαί* had been set in place, unless the judges were very evenly divided in opinion, anyone who saw the *abacus* could tell what the general result was likely to be, and long before "the work of arranging and ordering the votes was completed," the litigant who saw that he was defeated would be ready for a compromise, and well might seek to avoid a formal decision. The time was not then past for a friendly settlement. This was the situation in v. 17.

The most serious criticism of this edition of Isaeus, however, does not rest on details, but on the plan. Often, when a critic desires more than is given, a reply is ready at hand: "This would have been provided but for limitations of space." But where an editor finds room for an incidental note of four pages on horses in Attica, and for half a dozen pages on "The Descendants of A" (the Codex Crippsianus), manuscripts which can have no critical value, the critic is justified in observing the lack of what is necessary for the fullest understanding of our author. The editor's Introduction is devoted exclusively to manuscripts and editions. He gives no general statement with regard to Isaeus as an orator, and his relations to Lysias and Demosthenes, although Isaeus' chief interest on the rhetorical side lies in his being the leader of the one and the follower of the other, nor does the editor speak with regard to the relation between the *λογογράφος* and his client. Much excellent information is given about court procedure, but no systematic presentation of

the matter is made. Very likely space might actually have been saved by putting together facts and principles. Certainly space would have been saved if the editor had stated clearly and once for all his criticisms on the tricks and fallacies of Isaeus. The reader wearies of the repetition of sentences like the following: "In vituperation Greek pleaders are absolutely reckless, and Isaeus is a man who would stick at nothing." The editor, indeed, is so constant in his endeavors to show that the orator is dealing falsely, and assumes so confidently that the orator in every case must be on the side of injustice, that the reader involuntarily takes the side of the orator, with some irritation. The editor might fairly have called attention to the statement in the γένος Ἰσαιοῦ, which he prints, that *Ἀνσίας μὲν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀδίκων ἐπιθεὶς λέγων, Ἰσαῖος δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀγαθῶν λέγων ὑποκτος ἦν*. But he might have reminded his reader, on the other hand, that Athenian laws in general were brief and vague, and that large liberty of interpretation was left to the courts; that the 400 or 500 judges felt themselves to be a sort of executive committee of the Ecclesia—they had made the laws and they might interpret or even change them; that justice was regarded less than equity, so that no litigant was satisfied with showing that the letter of the law was on his side, and not infrequently a litigant would urge his cause, although the letter of the law was clearly against him; that no previous decision of a court was to be cited as determining the meaning or the scope of a law, and that no officer, corresponding to our judge, was present at the trial with authority to rebuke the speaker if he misstated or misinterpreted the law, or to charge the jury as to the relation of the law to the evidence; that the writer of the speech did not appear before the court in any way; and that a speaker could not be held accountable legally for any misstatement of facts in his speech, although the witnesses were responsible for any damage caused by their false testimony. The order of intestate succession to an inheritance, and the limitations of time set for speeches, are further matters which call for systematic exposition in such a book. Would such statements and discussions be too elementary for our editor? His commentary contains much matter that is equally elementary and not so fundamental. Some of these subjects, but not all, are set forth in the editor's chapter on Law in Whibley's *Companion to Greek Studies*.

The editor's treatment of elision and hiatus seems a trifle indolent. Since for most of the orations we have only a single manuscript, it is simple to follow this in this matter. But why should not the editor of Isaeus be as exact as the editor of Homer in indicating elision, that the reader may know what is regarded as hiatus? Why should anyone care to follow the manuscript in printing ὥστ' οὐδὲ ἀκροασόμενοι i. 1? If ὥστε suffers elision, why should he not print οὐδ'? On p. 178 the editor follows Benseler in admitting but four instances of hiatus in the first

oration; yet, in addition to many cases like that just cited, he prints *τοῦτο ἐς, καὶ ἐς* (i. 32), and the like, without any comment.

The omission of the fragments of lost orations from so elaborate an edition is at least unexpected. These contribute little, it is true, to our knowledge of Athenian law, but several are important for our judgment of his style—being quoted indeed by ancient critics for this very purpose—and they occupy in all but fifteen small pages of Thalheim's edition, and so would add little to the bulk of this book.

The reviewer hopes, however, that his expressions of disappointment that the editor has not given more than he has, will not veil his judgment that this edition is a "monumental work"—more elaborate and detailed than Schömann's, its great predecessor of over seventy years ago, and not likely to be wholly superseded for as many years to come, though inscriptions or papyri may be found which will render unnecessary some of its discussions, and will show some of its conclusions to be faulty.

T. D. SEYMOUR

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Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. XVI, 1905. Cambridge: Harvard University. Pp. 166. \$1.50.

The volume contains four articles, to wit: "A Preliminary Study of Certain Manuscripts of Suetonius' Lives of the Caesars," Second Paper, by Clement Lawrence Smith; "The Dramatic Art of Aeschylus," by Chandler R. Post; "An Examination of the Theories regarding the Nature and Origin of Indo-European Inflection," by Hanns Oertel and Edward P. Morris; "The Use of the High-Soled Shoe or Buskin in Greek Tragedy of the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B. C.," by K. K. Smith.

Professor Smith continues the fruitful study of fifteenth century MSS of Suetonius, on which he and his colleague, Professor Howard, have reported in previous volumes of the *Studies*. He has shown conclusively that these late MSS may not safely be ignored.

Professors Oertel and Morris, of Yale University, present an examination of the theories regarding Indo-European inflection that is extremely valuable. Such an inquiry was much needed, the more because, in an age of empirical investigation such as ours, assumptions are often unconsciously made that will not bear scrutiny.

The other two articles deal with Greek tragedy and possess, apart from their intrinsic value, the interest that attaches to the work of undergraduates. The excellence of these studies offers encouraging evidence of the sanity and fruitfulness of the best classical instruction in America today. Mr. Post presents an analysis of the tragedies of Aeschylus from the point of view of the playwright, abounding in keen observations evidently made at first hand. One regrets, however, that he

has not indicated the relation of his results to those of such critics as Richter in his essay *Zur Dramaturgie des Aeschylus*. In what he says of the closing scene of the *Septem* (pp. 42 ff.) he displays no knowledge of the acute study of Wilamowitz in *Drei Schlussszenen griechischer Dramen* (*Sitzungsber. d. kön. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1903, pp. 436 ff.). The inquiry of Mr. K. K. Smith into the use of the buskin is such as to compel assent to his conclusions, which may be stated in his own words:

We have found that this boot is first represented in art at the close of the second century B. C. and then appears as a symbol of tragedy, that it is first mentioned in literature of the Imperial period, and that its use in this period is certain. We can not be so positive with regard to the Hellenistic period, but the literature that we have knows no name for such a boot. For the fifth and fourth centuries we have more than a plausible argument against the use of such a boot. The literature of the period has no name for any special tragic boot; the drama is full of lively action which the six-inch and higher sole we are asked to believe in almost precludes; the art of the period never pictures it either as a symbol of tragedy with the mask or as the foot-wear of actors, and the most positive piece of evidence on either side of the question, the Piraeus Relief, represents actors with natural, ordinary boots.

W. A. HEIDEL

Brygos—His Characteristics. By OLIVER SAMUEL TONKS. *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, Vol. XIII, No. 2. Cambridge, 1904. Pp. 119 and two Plates.

This essay is in the main an attempt to determine the characteristics by which the vases of Brygos may be distinguished from those of other vase-painters. It is largely based, as any such study must be, upon the chapter devoted to Brygos in Hartwig's *Meisterschalen*, but it endeavors to correct and supplement Hartwig's discussion and to substitute for his somewhat immethodical procedure a rigorously methodical one.

Unfortunately Dr. Tonks has blundered egregiously in reporting Hartwig. He professes to extract from Hartwig's running comments on various vases a list of thirty-eight characteristics assigned by that authority to Brygos. The first is this: "*The meander is the double, interlocking variety.*" The truth is that Hartwig merely mentions (*Meisterschalen*, p. 309) that a meander of this form occurs on a cylix which he attributes to Brygos; that again and again he calls attention to other forms of meander on other cylices attributed to the same hand; and that in a final summary (p. 371) he emphasizes the manifold variety of Brygos' meander patterns. Again, the statement is fathered upon Hartwig that in Brygos' work "*figures reclining on couches are covered to the waist with the himation*" (p. 74; cf. p. 65). What Hartwig really speaks of is "*die Enthüllung der Figuren bis unter den Schooss,*" i. e., the

deliberate exposure of the *aiðoia* (*Meisterschalen*, pp. 327, 350). Nor do these cases stand alone. A somewhat close scrutiny of Dr. Tonks's citations, not only from Hartwig, but from Furtwängler, Hauser, and Kretschmer, has revealed similar inaccuracies sown broadcast.

In studying actual vases—which is, of course, the main thing—Dr. Tonks has been more painstaking. I feel bound, however, to record my conviction that his method, in spite of its appearance of scientific rigor, is not only inadequate, but false. His fundamental assumption is that, if we can find on the signed vases of Brygos any trait, whether object, attitude, or mode of drawing, which does not occur on the work [this evidently ought to mean the *signed* work] of any other vase-painter, then such a trait is an infallible mark by which to identify the unsigned vases of Brygos. But when we reflect upon the small proportion of signed vases to unsigned ones, and also upon the ease with which some of these supposedly exclusive traits could have been imitated, we see that this assumption is anything but self-evident. Nor can I believe that this method of attacking the problem would lead to any satisfactory apportionment of vases among various hands.

If the characteristics assigned by Dr. Tonks exclusively to Brygos were really infallible tests of his handiwork, they would be valuable, no matter how far they might fall short of doing justice to that artist's merits. That they are not quite infallible may be seen in the case of the "long and narrow eyes of boys and girls." This test breaks down in reference to a cylix, No. 58 of Dr. Tonks's list, which Hauser has shown reason to deny to Brygos. But the chief comment to make is that Dr. Tonks's mechanical treatment omits what to an appreciative eye is most interesting and distinctive in the work of Brygos—an impetuous, dramatic quality which can not be adequately defined in words.

F. B. TARBELL

Cours d'épigraphie latine. Par RENÉ CAGNAT. *Supplément* à la troisième édition. Pp. 473–505. Paris, 1904.

This small brochure presents Addenda et Corrigenda to the author's third edition of his *Cours d'épigraphie latine*, published in 1898. The notes are nearly all short and are comparatively few in number. The longest one, occupying two pages, summarizes an article of Mommsen's on nicknames (*signa*). About 127 additions are made to the list of abbreviations, and a new *Table analytique* is prepared, which includes references also to the matter in the *Supplément*. In the bibliography the author has neglected to mention the important collection of Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, Vol. II, Pars I, and the *Thesaurus linguae Latinae epigraphicae: A Dictionary of the Latin Inscriptions*, in course of preparation by George N. Olcott.

WALTER DENNISON

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Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes, auctoritate et impensis Academiae Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum collectae et editae. Paris: Leroux. Each fasc. ca. Fr. 2.

Of this important publication, which will be complete in six volumes, seven fasciculi of about 100 pages each have already appeared: of Tom. I three fasc. (Britannia, Germania, Gallia, Hispania, Italia, Sicilia, Sardinia et Melita, Pannonia, Dacia, Dalmatia, Moesia, Thracia), in 1901, 1903, 1904; of Tom. III four (Bithynia et Pontus, Cappadocia, Armenia, Galatia, Lycia et Pamphylia, Cilicia, Syria, Palaestina, Arabia), in 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905. It is edited under the direction of the distinguished Latin epigraphist, M. R. Cagnat, assisted in Tom. I by M. J. Toutain and in Tom. III by M. G. Lafaye, both well known for their work in Greek epigraphy and in allied fields. In organizing and publishing at a remarkably low price this collection of inscriptions, most of them scattered in journals and monographs inaccessible to most students, and the rest embraced in the expensive volumes of the Berlin *Corpus*, the Academy of Inscriptions has rendered a unique service to scholarship. Every student of Greek and Latin epigraphy, history, institutions, religion, and private life may now have in his library some fifteen thousand inscriptions at a price hitherto unknown in publications of this sort.

The documents are printed in minuscules. No uniform plan of indicating orthographical, scribal, and mason's errors is followed. A method by which the reader is never left in doubt as he reads the text should be adopted and rigidly adhered to. A goodly number of improved readings and restorations have been introduced into the text; but much remains to be done in this direction. In I. 590 *Νεκαεὺς δόμο, τέκτων*, with the preposterous explanation "domo Nicaea," should give way to *δομοτέκτων*; cf. *Ath. Mitth.* XXIV, p. 123. Reference is made to the *Corpus* if an inscription has appeared there, and often also to a journal, apparently to the latest publication or discussion of the document, but not always with good judgment; e. g., the reference on III. 551 to *Am. Jour. Arch.* is only to a report of the find! The value of the publication would be greatly enhanced if the literature were cited fully, as in Dittenberger and Michel. A full table of concordance at the end of the publication will partly remedy this defect, and will, in fact, be indispensable. The notes are very brief, but to the point and helpful, if occasionally too elementary. *σχαρία* in I. 659 is explained in *Ditt. Syl.*¹ I, p. 366, n. 29. Dates furnished by the text are adequately explained. Epigraphical evidence of date, however, is never furnished, even when we may assume that at least the general period of a document is indicated by the lettering. As to the completeness of the collection within the limits indicated by the title it is difficult to form a judgment, and the editors do not tell us their conception of its proper range and limitations. It is to be hoped

that they will interpret "ad res Romanas pertinentes" as broadly as possible. To the inscriptions from Sinope (III, p. 38) may now be added several from Robinson's collection *Am. Jour. Arch.* IX (1905), pp. 294 ff.

The following words which are not found in Liddell and Scott nor in Van Herwerden's *Lex. Graec. Supplet.* (and *Appendix*) have been noted. Many known words in new meanings and words of which the lexicons cite only one occurrence are found, but they can not be given here.

ἀβιτώριον (*latrina*) I. 599; ἀγραρία I. 92; ἀκηήστος III. 578; ἀκομηνταρίσιος (*a commentarius*) III. 1284; ἀκρελοφάντιος III. 800; ἀνελείπτως I. 19; ἀνθροφρίζειν I. 841; ἀργαστής III. 1043; ἀρχιταβλάριος III. 1108; ἀρχιφυλακία III. 489; ἀρχοστάτης III. 473. 44; ἀτταβακάς III. 325. βίγλων (*vigilum*) I. 142; cf. βιγούλων I. 178; βιφιλατίων (*vex-*) III. 481; βουκοιστήριον III. 484. γέφυλος I. 143. δεκαπρωτία III. 802. 10; δεκουρία I. 143; δεκουρέσιον I. 490; δεποτάτος III. 38; δεχαστή I. 263; δημιουργίς III. 800; δημοσώστης III. 67; διούνην I. 668; δουσιδικία III. 563. εφεκάτος III. 1009; ἐκ[φο]ρια[σ]τής III. 576; ἐλεοθεσία (*ἐλαι-*) III. 484; ἐλάνη III. 730. xix. 17; ἐρέριον (*acer*) I. 402; εὐπεύραστος I. 674. 14. ἡμέριτος I. 532. ἰλασία III. 1297; ἰνπέριον III. 481; ἰσ[ελα]στικός (?) III. 370. καρδιδῶτος I. 134; κλυντήρ I. 730; κονιατικός I. 743; κουρούλης III. 238; κτιστρία III. 802. 7; κυνδεκάμονιρος (-οῦριον) III. 618. λαγ(νέριος) III. 837; λουῖδος I. 182; λουσώριον III. 481. μαγιστράτη I. 599; μαρίνα III. 12; ματ(οντίνας) I. 182; μυρμύλλων I. 773; μυρτείτης (= μυρρινίτης) I. 515. νούμερος III. 2; νῦναι I. 144. ξενοκρίτης III. 681. 8. ἡρβάνος I. 779; οὐαλλήριος III. 551. 12; οὐάρνα (*vestra*) III. 126; cf. οὐάρνας III. 240; οὐγέλλήριος (*cf. βιζ- abono*) III. 227; οὐγέλλήριος III. 1033. 10; οὐνέκιμος I. 481; οὐρβατικαῖος III. 28; ὀφέκιον (*off-*) I. 629. παραφυλακεῖν III. 516. 17; παρόχιον III. 639; πετέιτος III. 1202; πραιτωριανός I. 186; πρεϊβάτης I. 402; πρεμωπειλάριος I. 627; πρικικπῶλις III. 394; προκοπιάζειν III. 730. vi. 92; προκυνγία III. 631; προκυνγίον III. 681; προσισοδιασμός III. 730. i. 62. σίστιμος I. 142; σθεκακίριον I. 142; σιδηροκόντρα III. 390; σινγλῆρις (-*gul-*) III. 394; [συν]μαρούτης (*synkma rudis*) III. 215; στατίων III. 883; στατίωνα III. 748; στολάτος III. 116; συγκαλλήριος III. 541; συντεχνία III. 898. ταβούλη I. 325; τάφεμα (-*είμα* odd.) III. 1381; τρίμιτος III. 228; τριουμφῶλις III. 991. υπερλιμνιανός III. 70; ὑποίπαρχεῖν III. 680; ὑποταγή (*exemplar*) III. 705. 3; ὑπάρκων I. 804; ὑποφυλακία III. 489. 16. φειβλατώρια (*Abul-*) III. 228; φουνδέ(τωρ) III. 837. ὠρενίριος I. 137.

EDWARD CAPPS.

Attraction of Mood in Early Latin. By TENNEY FRANK. Chicago dissertation. Lancaster, Pa.: Printed privately, 1904. Pp. 59.

This paper discusses the origin of the so-called subjunctive by attraction, the development of the construction, and the limits of its use in early Latin. In the general field of mood attraction little has been previously done, though the author in commenting on this fact curiously overlooks the most notable contribution of all, Thulin *De conjunctivo Latino*, Lund, 1899. Mr. Frank, however, has grappled earnestly and capably with his subject and succeeds in developing sundry new points not touched by Thulin. The most valuable part of the treatise is that dealing with the scope and limits of attraction for early Latin. Here we have a complete list of instances for the early period, followed by a full and convincing discussion, showing that the attracted clause is preferably in the same time-sphere as the clause on which it depends; that its favorite position is between the introductory conjunction (when such exists) and the verb of the governing clause; that its verb rarely expresses

precise temporal and modal force; that the clause as a whole is rather generalizing than determinative, and more frequently temporal than relative.

In undertaking to explain the origin of attraction Mr. Frank is less convincing. Attraction, he holds, is not merely a formal assimilation, but its beginnings are to be sought in sentences like *mittat quem velit*, in which, following Hale, the author regards *velit* as being as much a jussive as *mittat*—"let him choose his man and send him." But even if we admit the justice of this particular interpretation, one can hardly regard as parallels examples like *Bacch.* 656, *furetur quod queat*; *Hec.* 191, *di vortant bene quod agas*; *Bacch.* 674, *occasio fuit ut quantum velles tantum sumeres*, cited as illustrating the origin of the construction.

CHARLES E. BENNETT

A Primer of Classical and English Philology. By WALTER W. SKEAT. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905. Pp. viii+101. 2s.

Philology is used here in its purely linguistic application, and in this case might have been replaced by Phonology, for all the topics chosen for exposition have to do with the relations of Greek, Latin, and English sounds. About half the space is devoted to the matter of vowel-gradation, and it is for its clear treatment of this subject—one that is of prime importance in Greek grammar and yet inadequately presented in our school-grammars, and one in which, more than any other, a comparison of English is helpful—that this little book may be warmly recommended to classical students.

CARL D. BUCK

Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae. Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum. Edidit WILHELMUS DITTENBERGER. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. Vol. I, pp. vii+658, 1903. M. 18; Vol. II, pp. vii+750, 1905. M. 22.

In these two handsome volumes are published 773 inscriptions, a few of them for the first time, and many from out-of-the-way places in an ill-organized literature. We are thus presented with the historically important Greek inscriptions having to do with Alexander's empire, the kingdoms which arose from its fragments, and the provinces into which these were organized after the Roman conquest. The upper limit is Alexander, the lower Justinian. Vol. II is reserved for the Roman era. Dialectal inscriptions are admitted, but not *qua* dialectal. The work does not compete with Cauer's *Delectus* or Collitz's *Sammlung*. Metrical inscriptions are excluded, Kaibel having pre-empted this field. Total wrecks of weighty documents are rejected.

These are the principles enunciated by the author for the making of the collection. For them the reviewer has nothing but praise. None of them explains the absence of the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, but for this there were, of course, good and sufficient reasons. The Latin original was here the indispensable thing—besides, there existed Mommsen's monumental edition of this, "the queen of Latin inscriptions." The lower limit, Justinian, is rather rhetorical, few, perhaps only two, inscriptions (II. 605, 420 A. D., and 610, 510 A. D.) being later than the year 400 A. D. The inscriptions are ordinarily arranged chronologically. Why this sensible plan has been disregarded in the case of those from the Roman province of Syria is not apparent.

The text, as in all of Professor Dittenberger's work, is unusually free from errors. Naturally the reviewer has been unable to verify more than a few of the many documents concerned. This test, however, was decisive. It showed how much cleaner Professor Dittenberger's text is than are the best of those in the archaeological journals. It is not often that blemishes like *εισεβ(ε)ίας* II. 521. 6; *α[ρ]χσω[μ]ατοφιλακος* I. iii. 8; 'Απολλώνιος for 'Απολλώνιον I. 100. 1; 'Αρτεμισίου ιθ' for ιθ' I. 224. 11 remain; and these are fair samples of the paltry things which escape the editor's eye.

Much care was required to select judiciously the most suitable inscriptions, and more to prepare so faultless a text; but when this was done the work had only begun. It remained to fill out the gaps in the stones, and to write the commentary.

In the first volume alone Professor Dittenberger has himself made upward of 500 restorations and emendations. His wide knowledge of epigraphical language and formulae, his keenness of insight and sobriety of judgment—the general sagacity, in fact, of his whole procedure—are so well known that it is hardly necessary to remark that they are displayed in these volumes also—displayed not only in what he has himself supplied, but also in the generous yet critical treatment he has accorded to the efforts of others. The training in epigraphical method to be derived from following Dittenberger through his many textual disquisitions can not be other than highly beneficial. Numbers 212, 233, 305, 326, 332, 335, 352, 441, 484, 629 show his handiwork to advantage.

The commentary has still to be considered. But why a commentary at all? The only collection of Greek inscriptions with which Dittenberger's *Sylloge*, and this, the supplement to it, can be compared is Michel's well-known *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*. Michel has given us no commentary. The practical expediency of this self-sacrifice is obvious. In one large, but not unwieldy, volume he gives us, for about one-fourth of the price, five-sixths of the 1,713 inscriptions which Dittenberger prints in his five volumes. The difference, it should be remarked, is not all due to the commentary. Dittenberger provides his work with

a magnificent index, presented for the *Sylloge* in a distinct book (Vol. III), for the *Supplement* in about 200 pages of the second volume. But the commentary takes even more space. Dittenberger's explanations are as concise and pointed as anyone could desire. But economy of room might, we venture to think, have been achieved by the use of a few genealogical tables—such as the one Strack has given us in his *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*—a few lists of kings, a few calendars of months. The correspondences of Macedonian, Attic, Egyptian, Roman, and other months need not then have been given in individual instances, and a similar saving might have resulted in the identification and dating of royal personages. Indeed, it would have been wise, we think, to have inserted such aids, if no other omission were made than to leave out a few badly damaged fragments like I. 168. But in any event the reduction would have been slight. An adequate interpretation of 773 inscriptions must bulk considerably.

The commentary is not perfect. It contains typographical errors—more of them, in fact, than does the text. The remarks on one inscription sometimes convey information about others which none but the continuous reader can find (cf. 71, n. 5). Once, at least, Dittenberger has repeated without change a defective section from the first edition of his *Sylloge*, namely in the case of I. 302-4. Eumenes I was assaulted in 172, not 171 B. C. Mommsen, who seems to be cited on this point, gives no intimation that all three inscriptions were inscribed at the same time, or in 172 B. C. Finally, after pointing out that *ἱερί* is used to connect a dedication with a living person alone (I. 365, n. 3; p. 648), and that *θεοῖ* in an Attalid inscription invariably presupposes the death of the ruler to whose name it is attached (I. 291, n. 2; 332, n. 12), Dittenberger should have noted the collocation of both *ἱερί* and *θεοῖ* in No. 302. I. 36 also seems to us poorly handled. For Merriam's identification of Sotion should be substituted that communicated by Wilhelm in the *Classical Review* XIII, p. 78, n. 2. Sotion announced the Soteria in Alexandria in the ninth year of some Ptolemy; Dittenberger, following Merriam, concludes that Philadelphus is meant, and that Sotion's mission was in 277/6 B. C. But Dittenberger himself has shown (*Sylloge* I². 205, n. 1; cf. also *Cornell Studies* X, pp. 23 ff.) that the Soteria were celebrated for the first time in the fall of 274 B. C. Some reconciliation is here necessary. What I. 56, n. 36, means is not *ohne weiteres* apparent. I. 90, n. 44 (also II. 654, n. 4) should be corrected by a reference to *Tebtunis Papyri*, § 103; cf. Wachsmuth *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* III, pp. 277 ff. For *land* *ἐν* *ἀφίει*, *ibid.*, n. 45, see *Tebtunis Papyri*, p. 34. Had some sort of a map accompanied I. 199, the explanations might have been reduced by one-half without loss to the reader. Sotion (I. 342, n. 1) and Dionysius (*ibid.*, n. 4) were priests of Serapis and epimeletes of Delos respectively in 110/9 B. C. (see *Cornell Studies* VII, p. 47; X, § 76). I. 395, n. 7, and

I. 222, n. 10 do not agree. II. 629, ll. 41-47 need a word of explanation. A reference from II. 771, l. 36 to I. 266, ll. 17 ff. would have relieved Dürnbach of the difficulty he raised in *B. C. H.* XXIX, pp. 189 f. And other criticisms of the same sort might be made without implying that the commentary is other than what it is—a most learned, versatile and judicial interpretation of the texts.

The first volume pulses with the stirring life of an imperial people. The second betrays an almost aggressive acquiescence in the rule of Rome. The whole is animated by an intense human interest. Men great in many walks of life speak to us in the first person. The world of politics is illustrated in all its phases. We have the plausible elaboration of the greatest of Alexander's generals (I. 5), the quiet dignity of Sulla's letters (II. 441), the pathetic vanity of the Nubian prince who scorns the briefer title βασιλεύς and proudly styles himself βασιλίσκος (I. 201). Whoever finds the public life of old Greece dull because it lacks the sentiment and intrigue which follow the participation of women in it can have no quarrel with the politics revealed by these documents. Here appears a girl-bride tenderly remembering—if paternal policy did not dictate the action—one bent upon the same adventurous errand as herself (I. 14). Here a queen-mother's loving care finds grateful recognition from worthy sons (I. 307). Here passes that amazing series of Cleopatras, first she from Syria, Antiochus the Great's daughter, who turned the old Egyptian court topsy-turvy and surrounded her young husband—the only son of an incestuous marriage who really sat upon the throne of the Ptolemies—with no less than six new orders of nobility; then those three daughters of adelphic unions who for fifty years disturbed the peace of two kingdoms and prove that physical and intellectual degeneracy are not always the result of such parentage as theirs; finally the last great queen whose fame is wider simply through the larger stage on which her life was played.

The subjects, too, have their place. Their acts are not so spectacular as his who placed an altar and wreath of ancestral statues upon a far-seen mountain top, and called upon his gods in broken Greek to remember his piety (I. 383 ff.), but they are none the less significant. Many adorations at petty shrines and imposing temples, many joys and anxieties because of divine epiphanies, many offerings from little congregations, are attested in these two volumes. The world becomes more and more filled with miracles till finally it contains almost nothing else. The devout are here, but so too are the publicans and the sinners. Tax-gatherers meet us in every quarter—on the caravan routes which lead in and out of Palmyra (II. 629), on the trails which connect the Red Sea littoral with the Nile (II. 674), the former sorting camel- and ass-loads of myrrh and oil, the latter collecting tolls from pilots, soldiers' wives, and lowly oriental women. We come to know the fiscal systems of great

nations, and the petty tolls gathered at ferries (II. 572) and brothels (II. 629, ll. 73 ff.); the organization of Roman corporations (I. 135; II. 525) and the illicit practices of Greek money-changers (II. 515); the cargoes which passed through the Hellespont (II. 521), and the pilfering of serfs by traveling soldiers (II. 519).

Finally, no two things stand out more prominently in the whole work than the power and prestige left to the Roman nobles and business men under the principate, and the extraordinary richness of the Greek East in statues and artistic monuments of all kinds.

Hellenism on its long road to Byzantium has at no point the homogeneity of Athenian culture. Bizarre and useful institutions stand side by side. Great actions modestly recited follow at the heels of vain-glorious self-commendation. The same priests who recommend the introduction into Egypt of the so-called Julian calendar authorize the deification of a still-born child. For curious contrasts this collection of inscription has perhaps nowhere its equal. There is material here for students of language and institutions, of religion and politics; in short, of human experience in general, which in this case is, we believe, none the less interesting to the historian because it issues, in the first place, from an extremely modern, and in the second place, from a decaying, civilization. We heartily commend these volumes to the attention of all who read Greek.

WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

On the Syntax of Some Prepositions in the Greek Dialects. By
IVY KELLERMAN. Chicago dissertation. Lancaster, Pa.:
Privately printed, 1904. Pp. 79.

This dissertation discusses the syntax of certain prepositions of allied meaning as found in the Greek dialects. Chap. 1 deals with *ἀντί* and *πρό*; chap. 2 with *ὑπέρ*, *ἀμφί*, and *περί*; chap. 3 with *ὅν*, *μετά*, *ἐν*; and chap. 4 notes peculiarities of various other prepositions in certain dialects. The writer's aim in chaps. 1-3 is to bring together through a complete collection of examples the various peculiarities, and to arrange them according to dialects and their chronological relation; to note instances of divergent usage, and those of agreement between the dialects and literary Greek; to discover cases of independent development and those to be regarded as an inheritance from early Greek; and by a comparison with the cognate words of other languages to establish if possible a relation with Indo-European. Though the scope of this restricted investigation is thus comprehensive and its method sound, the gain to syntax is not so great as might be expected, owing generally to a scarcity of

material, which either impairs the value of the conclusions or prohibits conclusions altogether. The dissertation would be more serviceable if the material used were completely registered in an appendix.

DRURY COLLEGE

LESTER DORMAN BROWN

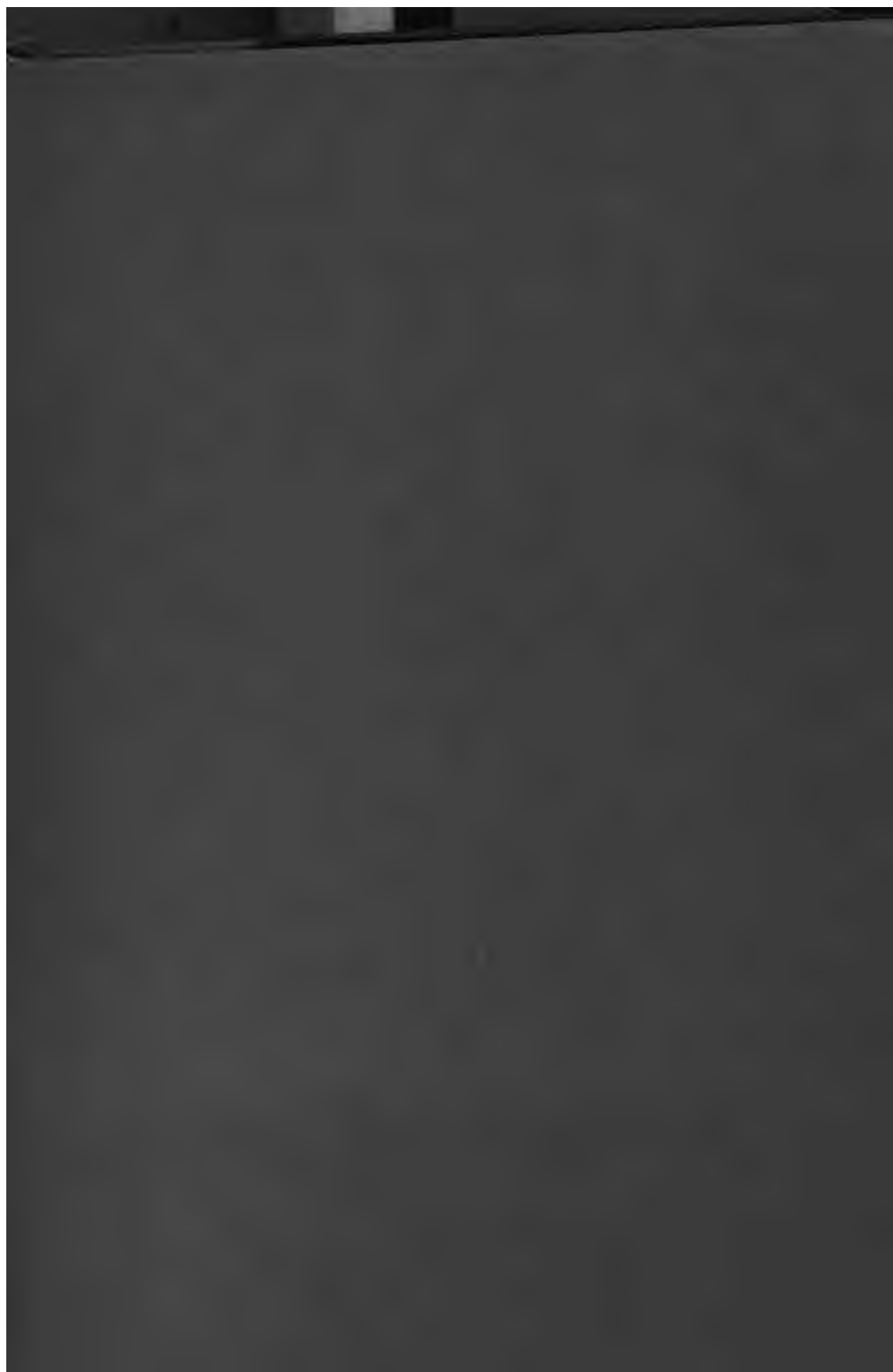
De sermone Ennodiano, Hieronymi sermone in comparationem adhibito, auctore JACOBO J. TRAHEY, C. S. C. Nostrae Dominae, Ind.: Typis Universitatis, 1904. Pp. 199. \$0.50.

In this dissertation, which was presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. in the Catholic University of America, the main thesis is as follows: While the style of Ennodius is on the whole less elegant than that of Hieronymus, the former, who was a diligent reader of Cicero, Sallust, Vergil, Horace, and Ovid, as well as of the best of the later writers, approached the classical standard more nearly than did Hieronymus in his diction. This he did by avoiding unusual words, by making little use of foreign terms, and by modeling on classical prototypes such innovations in vocabulary as he allowed himself. He also made a conscious effort to avoid the use, characteristic of the colloquial language, of meaningless diminutives and frequentative verbs.

The main argument is preceded by an account of the life and works of Hieronymus, in which Dr. Trahey maintains that Ennodius was not married as would be inferred from the reading of some of the MSS of the *Eucharisticum de vita sua*. There follows an examination of the prose vocabulary of Ennodius, grouped under two heads: (a) words in Ennodius which are not in accordance with the best usage; (b) words which occur first in Ennodius and Hieronymus respectively. The material for Hieronymus is drawn from H. Gölzer's *Latinité de Saint Jérôme* (Paris, 1884). This investigation occupies chaps. 1-4. In chaps. 5 and 6 the use of Greek and of hybrid words is examined. Here the arrangement is somewhat confusing, as there are no divisions b, to correspond with those marked a, but the comparison with Hieronymus is limited to a single quotation from Gölzer. In chap. 7 it is shown that, while Hieronymus frequently deviates from the best usage in the sense in which he uses certain words, technical and otherwise, Ennodius is generally in harmony with it.

The writer has given a summary of the results of his investigation in popular form in Vol. XI of the *Catholic University Bulletin* (July, 1905). His own Latin, doubtless with premeditation, is not always in harmony with classical standards in the narrower sense of the term; for example, *omnes conveniunt*; *Ennodium matrimonio usum esse annuitur*; *doctus* (and *peritus*) *qui scriberet*.

JOHN C. ROLFE





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TABLE OF CONTENTS

The Roman Fragments of Athenian Comic Didascaliae	By Edward Capps	201
The Helen Episode in Vergil's <i>Aeneid</i> ii. 559-623	By H. R. Fairclough	221
The Premature Deification of Eumenes II	By William Scott Ferguson	231
The Omen in Herodotus vi. 107	By Campbell Bonner	235
On Correption in Hiatus	By Edward Bull Clapp	239
On a Fragment of Sappho	By F. Blass	253
The Manuscripts of Aristophanes. II	By John Williams White	255
The ΔΙΝΗ in Anaximenes and Anaximander	By William Arthur Heidel	279
The Form of the Chlamys	By F. B. Tarbell	283
Notes and Discussions		290
WALTER DENNISON: <i>An Emendation of Caesar Bellum Gallicum</i> vi. 30. 4.		
EVAN T. SAGE: <i>The Quotations of Athenagoras and the Text of Euripides</i> .		
PAUL SHOREY: <i>Horace Ars poetica</i> 95 and <i>Proclus on the Plain Style</i> .		
J. J. SCHLICHER: <i>The Moods of Indirect Quotation</i> .		
Book Reviews		295
GOMPERZ, <i>Greek Thinkers</i> , Vols. II, III (Shorey).—MARQUART, <i>Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Iran</i> (Buck).— <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> , Vols. I, II (Platner).—BROWN, <i>A Study of the Case Construction of Words of Time</i> (Frank).—EDWARDS, <i>The Poetic Element in the Satires and Epistles of Horace</i> (Hendrickson).—BERG, <i>Metaphor and Comparison in the Dialogues of Plato</i> (Heidel).—FLICKINGER, <i>Plutarch as a Source of Information on the Greek Theater</i> (Pickard).—BLASS, <i>Interpolationen in der Odyssee</i> (Σ).— <i>University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series</i> , Vol. I: <i>Roman Historical Sources and Institutions</i> (Peaks).—THIELE, <i>Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar</i> (Bechtel).		

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Classical Philology

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THE ROMAN FRAGMENTS OF ATHENIAN COMIC DIDASCALIAE

BY EDWARD CAPP8

The problem of interpreting and restoring the three small fragments of the Greek didascalie inscription found in Rome (in 1777, 1765, and 1888) and last edited by Kaibel in *IG. XIV* (= *IGSI.*) 1097, 1098, 1098 *a* (Addenda, p. 697) is singularly fascinating to the student of Attic comedy. The great importance of the document to which they belonged is at once apparent, while the difficulties involved in the problem are baffling in the highest degree, on account both of the mutilated condition of the fragments and of the unusual nature of their contents. It is not surprising that no two of the scholars¹ who have discussed them, have until recently agreed in their interpretations. Doubtless many who have not committed their ideas to print have had the same experience as the present writer, who confesses to having spent many an odd hour over these 43 broken lines, convinced that the published interpretations were often wholly wrong, never wholly right, only to lay aside for further reflection his own incomplete restorations with numerous queries still unanswered.

But the problem has recently been brought appreciably nearer a solution by Alfred Körte in *Rhein. Mus.* LX (1905), pp. 425 ff.

¹ Böckh, Meineke, Usener, Bergk, Madvig, Petersen, Kaibel, and Wilamowitz. For the references see Körte or Kaibel. Wilamowitz' interpretation of 1098 is found only in the *Corpus*, communicated to the editor by letter.

In the first part of his study he builds largely upon the foundations laid by Petersen in *Wien. Stud.* VII (1885), pp. 181 ff. Even here, however, he makes several valuable contributions of his own, both by his restorations and especially by showing that the testimony of this inscription concerning the number of competing poets does not, as has been thought, contradict that furnished by the didascalical notices prefixed to the plays of Aristophanes. But the most valuable gain is in his positive identification of the poets of 1098*a* and the consequent proof that this fragment was a part of the document to which, as Petersen had shown, the other two fragments belonged. Körte's discovery supplies the most conclusive confirmation of the general results of Petersen.

While recognizing thus cordially the distinct value of Körte's article, both for our understanding of the document as a whole and for many details, I must express my dissent and attempt here to show that it is justified regarding one important point—the length of line. It may be that we shall never be able to reach agreement as to this vital factor in the restoration, although I personally think it can be determined; but it is quite as important that we shall not deceive ourselves into thinking that we have determined it when we have not. All restorations of this inscription from which new individual facts for the history of Attic comedy may be derived are absolutely dependent upon the accuracy with which the original line-length can be ascertained. We now know for a certainty that the item which still circulates in our handbooks, ἐπὶ Ἀντιοχίδου (434) Λύσιππος ἐνίκα, is wrong; but one who reads Körte's forceful article, with its claim of mathematical precision in the determination of the line-length, is likely to be led into an error which is still greater (for, though it rests upon a far better understanding of the inscription than Böckh possessed, it just happens to be farther from the truth), if he accepts as documentary the restoration of the record of this poet's first victory now proposed by Körte: Λύσιππος ἐνίκα μὲν Ἀθήναι ἐπὶ Γλαυκίππου (409) Καταχίηναις. And this is especially true if, as might be inferred from Körte's words, Wilhelm is in agreement with him and intends to adopt in his forthcoming book

the same hypothesis. It has therefore seemed the more necessary to bring out without further delay the results of my own study of these fragments, formulated some years ago but withheld from publication by the momentary expectation of Wilhelm's book.¹ In view of the importance of Körte's article, and the fact that on the subject of the line-length he takes direct issue with the conclusions to which I have been led, a portion of this paper takes the form of an argument directed against him, in answer to his friendly but confident challenge (p. 431, and n. 1). But this incident to the presentation shall not lead me to forget his courtesy in communicating to me the results of his study two years ago nor the manifold instruction which I have derived from him.

Before we enter upon the discussion of the main question at issue it will be necessary to have before us the facts, on which doubtless all scholars now agree, concerning the purpose of the compiler of this document, the materials he employed, and his manner of arranging the items which enter into its construction.

The compiler of this document had set before himself the task of giving in full the agonistic history of each comic poet great and small who had competed in the two annual contests at Athens, doubtless from the first contest under state control, *ca.* 486. All the facts needed for such a record, except the occasional notes supplied by the catalogue of the Alexandrian library, were found ready to hand in the two sections of the comic didascaliae which Aristotle compiled and the state afterward brought down to date and published on stone.² These didascaliae gave in two lists, one for each festival, in chronological order by archons, the important facts in the history of the contests, chief among them being the archon-date and the title of the play of each competing poet in the order of the judge's award. Each rank except the first was introduced by the cardinal number abbreviated—*δευ. τρι. τε. πεμ.* From these didascaliae our compiler had first to collect the items pertaining to each poet separately. To do this he had

¹ Before 1903; see p. 25, n. 69 (on Aristomenes) of my *Introduction of Comedy into the City Dionysia*. My restoration has changed little since then, except for the addition of Körte's discoveries in 1098 *a* and that, convinced by his arguments, I have gone back to Anaxandrides as the principal poet in 1098.

² *Lenaea*: *IG.* II. 972, col. I; *Dionysia*: *IG.* II. 975.

merely to run through the Dionysian catalogue, jotting down the archon under whom the poet's name first appeared, the rank, and the play, and so on down until this poet's name ceased to recur; then through the Lenaeon didascaliae in the same way.

With the material for each poet assembled thus in two chronological series, the compiler's next task was to combine the Lenaeon with the Dionysian records in some orderly and perspicuous arrangement. The simplest would have been to adopt the plan of a single chronological group for each poet, simply adding the Dionysian items to the Lenaeon under the appropriate archons. Such an arrangement, however, would have had one obvious disadvantage from the point of view of the ancient student of the dramatic poets, who was especially interested to know the number of plays, the titles, the number of prizes won at the two festivals together and at the City Dionysia separately, the date of the first City victories, and possibly also of the first appearances. The compiler therefore chose the arrangement which would show such facts most clearly, grouping the firsts together, each festival apart, then the seconds, etc. Each rank-group was preceded by the appropriate caption (*ἐνίκᾳ, δεύτερος, τρίτος*, etc., later *β', γ'* etc.), and each festival-group likewise (*ἐν ᾧσται, Ἀθήναια*). The entries under each festival-group were arranged chronologically, and under each rank-group that festival-group was given first in which the poet had first been assigned to that rank. The festival-groups do not, therefore, succeed each other in a fixed order (as, e. g., *Ἀθήναια—ἐν ᾧσται, Ἀθήναια—ἐν ᾧσται*, etc.), but the first festival in a given rank-group may be the same as the last in the preceding rank-group. And here a fact is to be noted that is of great importance for the reconstruction of the document: Instead of repeating the festival-name in such cases, the compiler, to save space, gives simply the rank-caption without the festival.¹ When, therefore, we find the numeral without the festival, we must assume that the last preceding festival-group

¹ Körte often disregards this factor (e. g., 1097, ll. 11, 12, 13, and elsewhere), probably because he does not believe in it. But the *ε* in 1097, l. 6, can be interpreted in no other way and it would be, in my opinion, unsafe to reject the clue thus given. But it is difficult to apply the principle if we take so short a line as Körte does. The principle is fully recognized by Petersen, p. 185.

was of the same festival, and conversely, when the festival is given with the numeral, the other festival preceded.

From this arrangement, which might result in ten festival-groups in each poet's record, we deduce two observations: The first item in one, and generally not the first, of the rank-groups gave the date of the poet's first appearance; and the first item in the second festival-group under each rank-group would always be later than the first item in the preceding festival-group. But there can naturally be no chronological relation whatever between the first items of the main rank-groups. It is logically quite conceivable, though not likely to occur, that the first item in a particular rank-group would fall at a later date than the last item in the preceding rank-group. Consistently with the greatest possible order and system in the method of arrangement we might have, on any fragment, a set of items that seem wholly irregular, and at the same time, on another, the appearance of a chronological order when the items really belong to different chronological groups; see below, p. 208. And such deceptions would naturally be more likely to occur if the line were long than if it were short.

The compiler was obliged to decide, further, whether the poets should be arranged alphabetically or chronologically. The first plan was far simpler to follow. But the advantage of having contemporary poets in the same neighborhood on the stone, and the distortion of literary history which would have resulted if, for example, Cratinus was followed by Crito and Antiphanes by Apollodorus, led to the adoption of the chronological order. But how was the chronology of each poet to be determined? The order of first victories, conveniently furnished by the victors' lists *IG. II. 977*, would leave out the poets who had won no victories. The only practicable method was to allow the position of the poet to be fixed by the earliest mention of him in the didascaliae, i. e., by the date of his first appearance.¹ This was certainly the method followed.

Recognizing, therefore, the factors which determined the

¹ Cf. the comment on the tragic poet Aphareus, *Vit. X. Orat. 839 d.*: ἀρχαίμενος δ' ἀπὸ Ἀντιστράτου διδάσκειν, ἄχρι Σωσιγέροντος, ἐν ἔσσειν εὐκαιοκτώ, etc. This principle also was recognized by Petersen.

position of a poet in this document and the disposition of the agonistic items in the record of each, it is obviously of the greatest importance to bring to bear upon the interpretation of the scanty remains all available sources of information which furnish us with definite chronological data concerning the contests of all the comic poets whose activities fall within the period touched by these fragments. Foremost in importance among such sources must be reckoned the two victors' lists, *IG.* 977 *i, k* (City) and *d, e, f, g, h* (Lenaean). The order of names in these lists would naturally be different at many points from that of our document, for it is determined by the dates of first victories; nor would these lists include all the names in our document. Again the order of names in the Lenaean list differs materially from that in the Dionysian. But in spite of these drawbacks, with the few definite data which we possess it is possible to fix approximately the date at which a poet who occupies a given position in these lists won his first victory. If our document, therefore, furnishes us with an outline of the career of a poet whose name is lost, the victors' lists may help, with the extant titles, to identify the poet. And if the document gives a poet's name with the fact that he was victorious, the victors' lists may give us light on the festival; or, more important, by furnishing us with the approximate date of his first victory, may prevent our adopting a false reconstruction of the inscription, even if it does not actually identify his name.

If the document covered the whole period of Attic comedy, a period of *ca.* 300 years, it must have been of imposing proportions. Except for twenty years or so during the Peloponnesian War there were ten entries for each year. Obviously it was incumbent upon the compiler to save space where possible. We observe efforts in this direction: After about the twenty-fifth poet he abandons the ordinal spelled out in favor of the numeral sign; he omits the festival name where confusion would not arise from so doing; and he is sparing of blank spaces before the leading categories. But the effort is most noticeable in his failure to adopt the most perspicuous disposition of his material on the stone, *viz.*, to give to each entry and heading a separate line (as in *IG.* II. 971) or at least to begin every new main category at the

beginning of a line. When he decided to run poets, captions, and entries into solid lines with sparing use of spaces he at once sacrificed perspicuity to considerations of economy. Having sacrificed so much, and with so great a mass of material to dispose of, is it likely that he would have rendered his work still less usable with no corresponding gain in space by adopting a narrow column of about one entry to a line? In such a column almost every entry would be broken between lines and the proportion of broken words would be very large. On general principles, therefore, one would expect to find a line considerably longer than that proposed by Körte.

Körte, with Petersen, decides upon 28-32 as the normal number of letters to a line, but he claims for this hypothesis a degree of certainty which Petersen carefully refrained from doing.¹ Körte's criteria are as follows: (1) In two successive lines (5, 6) of 1098 occur two archons of successive years, Charisandrus 375, Hippodamas 374. The inference is drawn that the latter was the next entry after the former in the original record. (2) Accepting this inference as a working basis, the lacunae can be filled out with hypothetical entries which satisfy the space conditions, in such a way as to connect the broken ends of lines with the next broken beginnings. In other words, a complete record can be made on the assumption of *ca.* 30 letters, the least possible number. In reply it may be said that the same might be done with lines averaging longer by one entry, as Petersen showed. But if, by evidence derived from outside the inscription, it can be shown that the reconstruction with the short line runs counter to known facts, it will be clear that the inference based upon the two archons is erroneous.

After setting up these positive criteria, Körte makes an appeal on the basis of certain coincidences which will be interfered with if a longer line is assumed. In five successive lines of 1098 (see below, p. 220) we chance to have the archons of 382, 375, 374, 365, and 349, while in the line above the first date is the festival heading *ἐν ᾧστε* and after the latest date *Ἀθήναια*. Now if a longer line were taken, *Ἀθήναια* would have to be inserted between

¹ *Wien. Stud.* XII (1885), p. 189.

375 and 374, and *ἐν ᾄσσει* would accordingly be required between 365 and 349, so that, instead of a single series, we should have three, viz. (supplying the missing dates hypothetically): *γ' ἐν ᾄσσει* **385, 382, 378, 375**; *γ' Ἀθήναια* **377, 374, 371, 368, 365**; *δ' ἐν ᾄσσει* **370, 349**. Apropos of such a reconstruction Körte (p. 431) vehemently protests, exclaiming that thus (1) 'precisely the second Lenaeon exhibition of the third class would be one year behind the last Dionysian.' I see no earthly reason why it should not have been. (2) 'The beginning of the list of City fourths would fall in the lacuna.' But when at least half of the width is lost one may reasonably expect to find at least half of the data missing. Körte himself is obliged to supply the festival twice in two successive lines in 1087. (3) 'The extant titles of the fourth class would follow chronologically upon the last Lenaeon exhibition of the third class, so that, in the fragment, the remains of the City thirds, Lenaeon thirds, and City fourths create the illusory appearance of a continuous chronological series.' The answer to the last objection is given above (p. 205). The easiest and most natural thing in the world would be to accept without further consideration these particular five lines as giving the original order of items. But when we observe that in this same fragment the four lines 10-13 also seem to give a compact group of dates (367, 364, 356, 352), but that the sequence is broken by the *ἐν ᾄσσει* on the stone itself and that Körte is obliged to break it a second time, we are warned to proceed cautiously. In fact, if we chanced to have the other half of the five lines to which Körte appeals, the original line having been about twice as long, it would contain six dates (the bold-face type above) of which the first five, though belonging to different chronological groups, would happen to be in sequence!

In short, this dictum may be laid down: Whatever hypothesis may be advanced regarding the original length of line on the basis of coincidences or other apparent indications offered by the fragments themselves, it can not be accepted forthwith as certain, but requires confirmation by means of pertinent evidence derived from outside sources before it can be regarded as the true basis of restoration.

It is possible to apply the test of external evidence to Körte's hypothesis in 1097, where the joining of l. 7 to l. 8 gives the statement that Lysippus was victorious in 410 (or 409) at the Lenaea, or possibly *ἐν ᾄσσει*. Now the name of Lysippus is not preserved on either of the victors' lists; it must therefore have been in one of the present lacunae of one or both. We have but to prove that it can be supplied in neither in such a position as would be consistent with a first victory won in 410. Körte himself admits (p. 436) that it is not easy to introduce it into either list, but inclines to restore it in about the last line, i. e., l. 17, of col. I of the Lenaeon list. The last extant name is Eupolis in l. 11. Let us assume, to make the case as favorable as possible to Körte's view, that the name of Aristophanes once stood immediately after that of Eupolis; his first Lenaeon victory was won in 425. There would be left but four lines for the poets who won first victories in the 14 years between. This would give the high average of three and a half years to each poet for this period, as opposed to two and a half from the beginning down to Aristophanes. To bring l. 17 as late as 410 we should have to assume ten second and subsequent victories on the part of poets prior to Lysippus, or, allowing for the two of Eupolis and the (possibly) two of Aristophanes,¹ six other victories for the older poets. This is, of course, possible; but serious difficulties arise when we consider col. II, of which the first twelve names are preserved. If the first victory of Πό- in l. 1 were won after 410, that of the twelfth poet in col. II could not be earlier than 399, allowing for no second victories by the earlier poets in these years; or, taking the average assumed by Körte for the years 425-10, this date would fall *ca.* 380. At the same rate the first Lenaeon victory of Anaxandrides in col. III, which was probably a few years earlier than his first City victory in 378, would fall *ca.* 363. But these are rough calculations. A more certain result is reached if we start with a concrete fact, the Lenaeon victory of Cephisodotus in 402.² Assuming that it was his first

¹ With the *Knights* and possibly the *Wasps*; but the list distinctly favors Philonides as victor in 422.

² *Lys.* xxi. 4, and *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI (1900), pp. 50 ff.

victory and that his name was in l. 13 (both assumptions being the most favorable to Körte), in the interval of *seven* years between the earliest possible date for *Πο*- and Cephisodotus (409-402) there are *eleven* names on the stone. In other words, 415 is the latest possible date for the first victory of the poet in col. I, l. 17! Therefore, if Lysippus won a Lenaeon victory at all, it must have been before 416.

Could he then have been victorious *ἐν ᾄσει* in 410? Frag. *i* was in col. I of the original list, and the last name, to be restored Callias, was the fifteenth or sixteenth line.¹ The date of his first victory is known from *IG. II. 971* to have been 446. The first three names in column III are given in *k*: Nicophon, Theopompus, Cephisodotus,² whose dates are here a little later than in the Lenaeon list. Now among the unpublished fragments of this list³ is one which contains portions of twelve names which belong to col. II, i. e., between *i* and *k*. Neither upper nor lower margin is preserved; hence, since the column contained 17 lines, there are lacunae, at the top and bottom of this column, of from one to four lines in extent, to the former of which the one or two lines after Callias should be added. Since Callias' first victory was in 446, the latest possible date for a victory of Lysippus in the lacuna of at most six lines following the former's name would be *ca.* 425.

Our test of Körte's hypothesis, therefore, narrows down to this one question: Could Lysippus have occupied a position in the lacuna of four or less lines at the bottom of col. II on the strength of a victory won in 410 (409)? I am convinced that he could not; but I am obliged to content myself with a single calculation by averages.⁴ Fortunately this happens to be fairly con-

¹The reasons for these assertions are given in my *Introd. of Com. into the City Dion.*, pp. 24 ff.

²For the classification see *Am. Jour. Phil.* XX (1899). The upper margin of *k* is preserved.

³Wilhelm announced his discovery of these new fragments in *Jahrb. d. öster. arch. Inst.* I (1898), Beibl., p. 46.

⁴The demonstration could be made conclusive beyond all reasonable doubt if I were permitted to employ freely the data furnished by the fragment. I trust that I have not ventured too far, nor trenched too much upon the prerogatives of Wilhelm, by using the bare facts. The many scholars who have seen the fragment or copies of it (including, it is to be hoped, the editor of the *Comic Fragments*) will be able to supply from their own knowledge the proofs which I am barred from presenting here.

clusive. The average number of years represented by each poet before Callias is a little over three. If one should apply the same average to the not less than fifteen lines intervening between Callias and the first line in this lacuna, we should reach the year 400 as about the date of the poet whose name stood there. Since most of the six City victories of Cratinus, the four of Eupolis,¹ and the unknown but doubtless large number of Aristophanes and Plato, were won in this period, this average is probably not too high.² At any rate, between the earliest date which can be given to the first line in this lacuna and the year 410 (409) there is a margin which, in my opinion, effectually excludes Lysippus as a victor in 410.

We are accordingly forced to the conclusion that the first victory of Lysippus, if Lenaeon, was won before 416, if Dionysian, between 445 and 425, say about midway between these two dates. In either case that which was won under Theopompus or Glaucippus was not the first, but the second or later. At least one full entry must therefore be inserted in 1.7 before the archon's name. Furthermore, we learn that the second victory was won at the same festival as the one preceding it, since, as we have shown, it can not have been a first victory. Now the fact that he won at least two victories renders it almost certain that they were not Lenaeon.³ I have therefore, without misgivings, assigned them to the Dionysia.

To Körte's 28-32 letters must now be added some 22 more for the additional archon-date and title. Can we determine whether a still greater width is possible? Only by general considerations, but they chance to be satisfactory. If we add another entry to each line the number of plays produced by the poets in these fragments becomes too large to be probable and their distribution among the rank-classes becomes disproportionate. One example will suffice: Anaxandrides, the poet of 1098,

¹Suidas gives a total of 7, the Lenaeon list 3—all won before 410.

²The average for the first 7 of these 15 lines is actually larger; it would have to drop suddenly from 3.5 to 1.7 in the remaining lines to bring the first line of the lacuna to 409.

³I will spare the reader the calculations, which I have given in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI (1900), p. 53.

is reported to have brought out 65 plays. Körte's restoration would give him, in addition to his firsts and seconds, nine thirds, one fourth, and four fifths. Since he won ten victories this would leave 41 seconds—a result that dismays Körte and leads him to suspect the tradition that gives 65.¹ By adding two full entries to the line we should have 38 in the last three classes, leaving 10 firsts to only 17 seconds. But by the line which I propose he exhibited 26 plays which were awarded third, fourth, and fifth, leaving 29 seconds and 10 firsts—a reasonable proportion for an eminent poet. There is a second and more important consideration: The addition of two entries would increase the victories of Lysippus to three—too large a number for a poet who, on this hypothesis, produced only six plays. Again, the victor in l. 15 of 1098 would have won three Lenaeon victories; but no poet in the Lenaeon list col. IV is credited with this number except Anaxandrides, whose record precedes, and Nausiocrates, whose first victory was some twelve years later. The assumption of just one entry to the line more than Körte proposes solves all difficulties; the addition of still another would introduce difficulties even greater than are produced by Körte's proposal. I have accordingly adopted the former alternative with confidence.

There can be no doubt that 1098 *a* preceded 1097 with a short interval between. From the victors' lists we gain the names of almost all the poets who won victories in the period between Telecleides and Xenophilus on the one hand and Lysippus on the other. Is it possible to identify the poet whose record preceded that of Lysippus in 1097?

This poet was fairly productive. In these six lines were recorded fifteen exhibitions as follows: γ' City 1 or more, Lenaea 2 (or, Lenaea 3 at least, City unknown), δ' City 8, Lenaea 2; ε' Lenaea 2. The chances are that such a poet won a victory. The dates preserved range from 440–431—a range too narrow for a poet of such productivity. But the competition in 440 was third of that rank, and the date of his first exhibition

¹ This number is by no means incredibly large for a poet whose career extended over something like forty years.

must be advanced several years. We may safely assume for his first appearance *ca.* 445. Now since the position of Telecleides in the Lenaeon list points to a first victory not far from 449, a first appearance somewhat earlier, we see that the interval between the record of Xenophilus and this unknown poet was not considerable. His name may possibly be found in the victors' lists in a position not much later than Telecleides and Xenophilus. A composite list in which the Lenaeon and the City lists are combined, on the basis of such definite dates as are available, would be something like this: Euphronius (C. 458), Ecphantides, Cratinus (C. 452), Diopeithes (C. 451), Crates (C. 450), Xenophilus (L. *ca.* 449), Telecleides (L. *ca.* 447), Callias (C. 446), Aristomenes (L. *ca.* 445), Anonymous, Lysippus (C. *ca.* 435). The order by first appearances would considerably disarrange this list; but since it includes probably all of the new poets who won victories in these twenty years, we may hope to identify the unknown poet as one of these ten.

Do the titles of plays in this poet's record agree with any that are known to us as belonging to any of the poets victorious in this period? In using titles for identification especial stress must be laid upon peculiar or unusual titles. *Plutus* or *Adelphi* would give us the choice of several, but *Pytine* or *Heautontimorumenus* would be practically decisive if the period of their authors were right. So when Körte acutely recognized the titles *Στεππὸς* and *Ἡσίοδοι*, of a period fixed by the name Xenophilus, his identification of their author as Telecleides was absolutely convincing.

Of the titles remaining in ll. 1-6 the unusual *Τρεπὰ σιδηρὰ* is not known from other sources, while *Σάτυροι* was used by at least three poets of the Old Comedy, Ecphantides, Cratinus, and Phrynichus, all of whom are excluded by their periods. A fourth poet of the period must therefore have written a *Satyri*, as Körte also remarks (p. 435). *-οις* in l. 6 signifies nothing. There remains only *Κυ-* in the first line. No known fifth-century title fits this except *Cyclopes*, attributed to Callias in Suidas, Bekker's *Anec.*, Athenaeus, and Pollux. No other *Cyclopes* is recorded, though Athenaeus in four places assigns

this play to "Callias or Diocles." This can not by any possibility be interpreted to mean that Callias did *not* write a *Cyclopes*—the only matter in which we are immediately concerned—but that Diocles, a poet of unknown date, also wrote one, and that the authorship of the extant play could no longer be determined, though Callias was preferred. Now Callias is one of the three poets between Xenophilus and Lysippus in our composite victors' list, and his first victory in 446 would suit exactly the position in this Roman document occupied by our unknown poet, whose first appearance, as we have seen, must be dated not later than *ca.* 445 but could easily have been several years earlier. As we shall see later, Aristomenes, the next poet after Callias on our composite list, made his first appearance later than Lysippus—a fact that tends to increase the probability that the unknown poet is Callias and not one of the possibly two poets whose names are lost in the lacuna in the City list. Perhaps it can not be claimed that this identification is of mathematical precision, but when we consider that the titles of no other poet of the period offer a single coincidence with any one of the three preserved on the stone, the arguments adduced seem to make the identification extremely probable. We may note about Callias that his name is coupled with that of Cratinus by Athen. i. 22 c and with that of Lysippus in Athen. viii. 344 e. Pericles, Lampon, Socrates, Malanthias, and Sacas were ridiculed in his most famous play, the *Πεδηταιί*, probably produced *ca.* 432.¹

We now revert to the question whether the record of Lysippus extended from l. 7 to the end of 1097, as Körte (p. 437) contended on the ground that l. 12 afforded no room for a new poet's name—an objection now removed. Körte would assign to Lysippus this remarkable career, which would be made only a little less strange by the additional entry in each line: α' Lenaea 410, 404; β' Lenaea 394; γ' City 435; δ' City 439, 432—seven exhibitions in 49 years, a curious distribution of plays (City: 439, 435, 432, 390; Lenaea: 410, 404, 394), and the first victory 29 or 30 years after the first competition!

¹ Bergk's conjecture of Καλλίου for Καλλιίδου in Athen. xiii. 577 b is impossible on account of the date, the archonship of Eucleides.

All this is possible, but exceedingly improbable as an hypothesis—and we must remember that it is nothing more than an hypothesis, to be proved or refuted. But it becomes still less attractive when we realize what an interval must have separated his first exhibition and his last. Lysippus' first appearance must have preceded that of Aristomenes, whose position in the Lenaeon list points to *ca.* 445 for his first victory and to some years before for his first appearance. This would give him an active career of *ca.* 57 years. Are we justified in assuming this? Not unless (1) there is some external evidence in favor of it, or (2) the two titles in ll. 10, 14 are those of known plays by him, or (3) no other poet is known to whom either a career extending from *ca.* 449 to 390 or these titles can better be assigned. In this last case we might prefer to leave in doubt the identity of the poet. As to (1), we have no such reason, for our knowledge of the chronology of Lysippus is limited to what this inscription tells us,¹ except that he ridiculed Lampon, and this fact can take us no later than *ca.* 410.² As to (2), only two titles of Lysippus are known to us from other sources, the *Bacchae* and *Thyrsochomos*. As to (3), we do happen to know of a poet whose career extended from *ca.* 447 to 398—Aristomenes, who brought out the *Admetus* against the second *Plutus* of Aristophanes. Here is a career, independently vouched for, of *ca.* 59 years³ and covering the whole of the period claimed for Lysippus without the slightest outside evidence. We have observed that the record of Aristomenes can hardly have preceded that of Lysippus on this stone; but it must have followed after no long interval if the victors' lists teach us anything. These considerations alone raise a presumption in favor of Aristomenes for that part of the record which includes the lowest dates, 394 and 390, i. e., ll. 10 ff. Let us now test this hypothesis by the titles.

¹ So Petersen, who would begin a new poet's list in l. 13.

² If the *Nemesis* is to be attributed to the younger Cratinus, as I believe; see *Harv. Stud.* XV (1904), p. 74.

³ The long career of Aristomenes has long excited comment, even before its beginning could be dated so early. See *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI (1900), p. 54, where I made the hasty proposal to substitute Aristonymus for Aristomenes in the *Hyp. Plut.* Others have resorted to the theory that there were two comic poets of the name.

The first title is Διονύ-. Aristomenes wrote a play which Athenaeus called simply *Dionysus*, but Pollux by the fuller title Διώνυσος ἄσκητής. But *Dionysus* and its variations could prove little. The second title, however, is unique and therefore of the greatest value for identification, Κολοφόροις in l. 14. Now under the archon Stratocles (424) Aristomenes was third at the Lenaea, Aristophanes first with the *Knights*, and Cratinus second with the *Satyr*s. The play which Aristomenes produced is reported in the didascalic notice variously, as Ἐλοφόροις in V and as Ὀλοφύροις in Γ, Θ, Ald.¹ The reading of V has in late years been accepted as correct. But when we find on this stone, in a didascalic record corresponding in period covered to Aristomenes, in a category certainly Lenaeae and almost as certainly devoted to exhibitions which won third prize, and finally in the year of an archon whose date may quite well be 424² and the genitive of whose name ends in -ους, the unusual title Κολοφόροις, palaeographically³ so near the readings which the MSS give for the play with which Aristomenes in the year of Stratocles was third at the Lenaea, the conclusion, as it seems to me, is irresistible that these are not chance coincidences but identical records, and that the poet of this part of the inscription was indeed Aristomenes.⁴

If we approach the study of this inscription with a mind free from preconceptions as to the original length of line, and, fully cognizant of the chances that a series of dates accidentally preserved on a fragment may falsely appear to be a compact original group, refuse to be guided by such coincidences unless supported by external evidence, we shall feel that the indications in favor of Aristomenes are even more convincing than those which have led us to insert in l. 7 a victory of Lysippus prior to that of 410. For some may regard it as remotely possible that the name of Lysippus once stood in the victors' lists for a first victory won in

¹ The earlier editors Ὀλοφυρμῶϊς.

² It is the second entry after Morychides, 439.

³ The first source of the error was doubtless due to the initial κ being written like υ.

⁴ The second *Plutus*, we now learn, was produced at the Lenaea; see note on 1097, l. 14.

410. The argument might therefore be made to run, in summary, as follows: Lines 10 ff. must be assigned to Aristomenes, and his name must be inserted in l. 9. The line must therefore have been longer than Körte has assumed by one or more complete entries, and the conditions are better satisfied by the assumption of but one. One victory of Lysippus must accordingly be inserted in l. 7 before that of 410—a result which at once relieves us of the difficulties presented by the victors' lists against the shorter line. This is the course of reasoning, in fact, which first led the writer to abandon the hypothesis of a narrow column, which appeared to him, as to others, to offer the simplest solution (though one not free from grave difficulties) so long as there seemed to be no external evidence which could be brought to bear upon the problem.

For the further details of the writer's conclusions regarding 1097 and the other two fragments reference is made to the reconstruction and accompanying notes. One other matter, however, should be mentioned. I once thought that the poet of the main portion of 1098 was probably Anaxilas, mainly because of the titles 'Ιώ and *Λυποῖ* *παιδς*, Epicrates being introduced into l. 12 as the author of the 'Αντρώς. But Körte's arguments against this have seemed convincing, especially since *Anteros* as a play by Epicrates rests wholly upon a conjecture of Bergk.

In the restoration a line of *ca.* 56 letters has been taken as a fair approximation after a calculation of the average length of the titles and archons in this inscription. With 56 letters, archons and titles of almost exactly the average length can readily be supplied, there being about two letters more to spare in 1098 than in the two others. For the convenience of the reader figures have been inserted in the longer lacunae to indicate the number of letters available for the lost items. It must be borne in mind, however, that the indicated distribution of the space in any line is wholly arbitrary, only the total number of lost letters being even approximately right. But it is believed that at least for the major portion of 1097 and 1098 the general order of the entries and the position of the rank and festival captions may safely be accepted as documentary.

1098a Τηλεκλειδης ἐνίκᾳ Λήναια ἐπὶ ca. 449. Five Lenaeon victories.
ἐν ᾧσται ἐπὶ ca. 440. ---- δεύτερος (ἐν ᾧσται) ---- Λήναια ----

- 1 τριτος] ἐν ᾧσται ἐπὶ 15 , ἐπὶ 15 , ἐπὶ ΤΡΑΝ
- 2] Εὐμένησιον, ἐπὶ 18 , ἐπὶ 18 , ἐ
- 3 πι' Α](ψ)εὐδ' ους . . . 9 . . . , ἐπὶ 18 , ἐπὶ 9 κωμω 432
- 4 ἰδ]αι Λήναια [ἐπὶ 22 σῶμαι, ἐπὶ 12
- 5 Στ[ερροὺς ἀν[εδίδαξε, ἐπὶ 16 , ἐπὶ 17
- 6 . τέταρτος [ἐν ᾧσται ἐπὶ 23 , ἐπὶ 11
- 7 'Ησ]ύδοις σῶμα[ι, ἐπὶ 19 , πέμπτος ἐπὶ 11
- 8 . .] ἰώταις. ὁ δεῖνα Β ἐν ᾧσται (?) ἐπὶ 16 ἐπὶ τὴν νίκ-
- 9 η]ν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τρι[τα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέταρτα οὐκ ἦλθεν. Ε ἐπὶ 14
- 10 Ξενοφίλος [ἐνίκᾳ Λήναια ἐπὶ ca. 450 . . 12 . . ἐπὶ τὰ δεύτερα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ
- 11 τ]ρίτα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ [τέταρτα οὐκ ἦλθεν. Ε etc.

Telecleides, identified by Körte by the titles *Sterroi* and *Hesiodoi*, won first at the Lenaea just after Xenophilus, i. e., ca. 449, as indicated by his position in *IG. II. 977 d.* If he won a City victory it was within a few years after Callias' first in 446.

The Alexandrian pinax Kaib. *C.G.F. I*, p. 10, records 6 plays of Telecleides as extant; 5 are quoted: *Amphiktyones*, *Apocudeis*, *Hesiodoi*, *Prytaneis*, *Sterroi*. The lost plays whose titles were unknown to the compiler, i. e., most of the plays, were entered simply *κωμωιδίαι* (cf. 1097), and after at least the above five the note σῶμαι was added.

1. EIIA copy. Körte also suspects ἐν ᾧσται. As regards the rank-class the possibilities are: a) That the City victories began here. In that case the β' (ἐν ᾧσται) class would begin in, say, l. 2, Λήναια in l. 4 being the second section of the β' class. b) That the second section of β' began here, δεύτερος Λήναια preceding. c) The solution preferred here, which has the advantage over the other two of giving a better proportion of exhibitions to victories, viz.: *thirds* City 8, Lenaea 4; *fourths* and *fifths* together 4; *seconds* unknown; *firsts* 5 plus.

2. EYMI copy. Can not be archon. Körte also suggests this restoration.

3. ΠΙΕΥΔ copy. Körte suggests Εὐδήμων, an error for Εὐθνήμων, archon 430. I suspect that the copyist misread the remains of a ψ ('i') and that we have the archon of 432. 'Ἀψεύδων would also be possible, but there would hardly be space for σῶμαι and the position is better for the archon than for the title.

4. σῶμαι is introduced on account of the large amount of space. Of the plays which survived, e. g. Ἀμφικτύονων, with an archon, e. g. Ἀπολλοδώρου, would exactly fill the line.

5. Körte Στ[ερροὺς ἀν[εδίδαξε. I prefer ἀνεδίδαξε on account of 1097, l. 12. The compiler followed the practice of the official records (cf. *IG. II. 971 c*, l. 9: *παρεδίδαξαν*, i. e. *παλαιὸν δράμα*). The first production occurred elsewhere in this record as Στ[ερροὺς σῶμαι.

6. Might be Lenaeon, the festival name omitted. But the space favors the name.

7. Restoration Körte's. The play was produced ca. 431 (Wilamowitz). If Telecleides reached fifth place πέμπτος is to be introduced; otherwise the festival name. The amount of space indicates some such addition.

8. Στρατιώταις Körte; Νησιώταις?—The generous vacant space after this title indicates a principal division, probably a new poet's record. Further, the comment in the next line could hardly refer to Telecleides. The compiler soon (cf. 1097) began to save space by substituting the signs Β for δεύτερος, Γ for τρίτος, etc.

9. Kaibel surmised the sense to be *nec tertias nec quartas ille unquam tulit*, doubtless correctly. I accordingly suggest the above, which assumes that the poet's record began with a second prize. That of Xenophilus below certainly began with a victory, which suits well the remains of the comment after his name. One would expect ἔλαβεν with τὴν νίκην, but not with the lower ranks; and the presence of ἐπὶ in both comments is a certain indication of a verb of motion. Körte, who suggests ὦν καὶ ἐπιτατικά without seeing any sense in it, questions the Greek of Kaibel's and my proposal, and perhaps rightly, for I know of no exact parallel. But Thucydides uses ἐπὶ μείζον χωρεῖν (iv. 117) and Sophocles (*Phil.* 259) ἐπὶ μείζον ἔρχεσθαι, which imply also ἐν' ἱλασσον ἔρχεσθαι. The compiler sought a concise expression which would apply to the low positions as well as to the highest.

10. The approximate date of Xenophilus' single Lenaeon victory is given by his position in *IG. II. 977 d*, ca. 450. He probably did not win at all ἐν ᾧσται. There is no room for a City victory before the comment.

1097 Καλλίας ἐνίκα ἐν ᾧσει ἐπὶ Τιμαρχίδου (446). Two City victories, probably no Lenaeae. $\bar{B}$ (ἐν ᾧσει) — — — — — Ἀθήναια — — — — — $\bar{\Gamma}$ ἐν ᾧσει — — — — — THEAE

1	εἰς] ἐπὶ Ἀντιοχίδου Κῆκλωφσιν, Ἀθήναια ἐπὶ ante 434 . . . 16 . . . , ἐπὶ . . . 6 . . .	434
2	..] κωμωδίαι, Δ ἐν δ[ᾷσει ἐπὶ ante 441 20 , ἐπὶ ante . . . 10 . .	
3	κω[μωδίαι, ἐπὶ Τιμοκλ[έους 10 , ἐπὶ 21 ,	440
4	εἰς] ἐπὶ Θεοδώρου Σατύροις, [ἐπὶ 19 , ἐπὶ 10 'Τρ-	437
5	έροις σιδηροῖς, ἐπὶ Πυ[θοδώρου 8 , Ἀθήναια ἐπὶ 9 , Βατρά-	431
6	χ[οις, $\bar{E}$ ἐπὶ Ἀντιοχίδου [. 11 , ἐπὶ 24	434
7	. Λ]όσιππος ἐνίκα μὲν [ἐν ᾧσει ἐπὶ ca. 335 22 , ἐπὶ Γλαυκ-	409
8	ίππου Καταχρήναις, [B δὲ ἐπὶ ca. 447 18 , ἐπὶ 9 Bδ-	
9	κχ[οις, αὐτὰι μόναι σῶσαι. Ἀριστομένης ἐνίκα Ἀθήναια ἐπὶ ca. 445 . . . 11 . .	
10	. , ἐπὶ Διοφάντου Διονύ[σου δακτύλῃ, $\bar{B}$ ἐπὶ ante 390 23 , ε-	394
11	ν δ[ᾷσει ἐπὶ Νικοτέλους [. 9 , $\bar{\Gamma}$ ἐπὶ ante 440 18 ἀνεδί-	390
12	δαξ[ε, ἐπὶ Λυσιστάχου [. 12 , Ἀθήναια ἐπὶ ante 439 18	435
13	. . .]ε, ἐπὶ Μορυχίδου [. 9 , ἐπὶ 17 , ἐπὶ Στρατοκ-	439
14	λεος] Κολοφώροις, [ἐπὶ 17 , ἐπὶ 18	424
	[ἐπὶ Ἀντιπάτρου Ἀδμήτῃ].	388

Callias won two City victories (*IG*. II. 977 i, last line as restored in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XX, p. 396, by comparison with *IG*. II. 971 f, col. iii; see my *Introd. of Com. into City Dion.*, p. 24), probably none at the Lenaea. The first City victory is dated exactly. Six titles are quoted: *Aigyptios*, *Atalante*, *Batrachoi*, *Kyklopes*, *Pedetai*, and *Scholazontes*. The majority of his plays were either not preserved or bore no specific titles.

1. The *Cyclopes* was the most quoted of the plays of Callias; see above, p. 213. The mention of ἐν ᾧσει in l. 2 shows that the preceding section was Lenaeae; but since the exhibition under Antiochides l. 6 was Lenaeae, that under the same archon in l. 1 was ἐν ᾧσει. Hence Ἀθήναια must be introduced in l. 1.—*Satyroi*, l. 4, was a common title, employed by five other poets.

5. Title restored by Bergk. Since the competition under Antiochides l. 6 was Lenaeae (see note on l. 1), and the festival is not mentioned in l. 6 after ε, it follows that a Lenaeae section under the ε class preceded. This is the most probable position for the new section.—Between 431 and 425 (*Acharnians*) the number of competitors was reduced from 5 to 3.

7. Lysippus seems to have won no Lenaeae victories (see pp. 209 f. above). Hence the μὲν serves to set off the firsts against the seconds—ἐνίκα μὲν δεύτερος δέ.

8. The archon may be Theopompus, 410. The date of the first entry under β' was that of Lysippus' first appearance and gave him his position in this document after Callias and before Aristomenes. The restoration ἐπὶ Φιλίσκου (447) *Θυρσοκόμοι* would exactly fill the available space. If the *Thyrsokomos* was not here it must have been in the line above, the first City victory.

9. The *Bacchai* is the only play of Lysippus quoted in antiquity.—On the necessity of introducing a new poet here see above, pp. 214 ff. The first Lenaeae victory of Aristomenes is approximately fixed by his position in *IG*. II. 991 d, where two victories are recorded. The known plays of Aristomenes are: *Admetos*, *Boethoi*, *Goetes*, *Dionysos asketes*, *Koleophoroi* (*Hyllophoroi*, *Olophyroi* MSS). We have quotations from all but the first and last.

10. That there is space for the epithet after *Dionysos* tends to confirm Pollux as against Athenaeus; see p. 216. Aristomenes can not have won a City victory, for if ἐν ᾧσει should be inserted here in place of β' there would be a repetition of the festival name in l. 11.

11 ff. The γ' class began in l. 11, for it can not be supplied before Lys. in l. 12 because of the α, nor before Morychides l. 13 because ἐν ᾧσει there would repeat the festival name in l. 11; and the sequence 390, 435, and 439 indicates two new chronological series in these lines. Hence the γ' (ἐν ᾧσει) class in l. 11 and the Ἀθήναια section in l. 12. For ἀνεδίδαξε see 1098 α, l. 5. No title or grammarians' comment would explain the α, after which an ε can not be restored (Körte, p. 447). The play which the poet reproduced in 440 or before had been brought out only a few years previously, and was doubtless under the lost δ' or ε' classes below.

14. There is no place in ll. 9-13 for a play brought out in 388; hence the *Admetos* was third at the Lenaea. It is also third in Hyp. Aristoph. *Plut.*—confirming the official character of the didascalic notice there given, including the order. Hence the second *Plutus* was brought out at the Lenaea. For Κολοφώροι = Ὑλοφώροι MSS, see p. 216. The large proportion of thirds is partly due to the fact that Aristomenes' career covered the whole of the period in which there were but three competitors. He seems generally to have got as low as he could!

1096 'Αναξανδρίδης ἐπὶ αὐτῶν Λαφῶν ca. 380. Three Lenaeon victories. ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν seven victories. Ε (ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν) ----- Λαφῶν -----			
1] ἐπὶ Χίλωνος Μελισσίου. ἐπὶ 21	ἐπὶ 6	364	
2] ἐπὶ Διοφάντου γυναικῶν. ἐπὶ 23	ἐπὶ 10		
3] 'Αμπακιδίου, Γ ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν 382 24	ἐπὶ Φαυ- στοῦ		
4 ἐπὶ Ἰσχυροῦ 'Εργαίου, δ ἐπὶ 22	ἐπὶ 11	'Αχι- 382	
5 ληδ, ἐπὶ Χαριστοῦ Μελισσίου 9	Λαφῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν 374 17	ἐπὶ 375	
6 'Ιπποδάμου 'Ισίου, δ ἐπὶ 24	ἐπὶ 11	374	
7] 'Οδυσσεύ, ἐπὶ Κερκυραίου 8	Δ ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν 369 16	365	
8] ἐπὶ 'Απολλωνίου 'Αγροῦ, ἐπὶ 23	ἐπὶ 16	369	
9 Ἰπποδ. Λαφῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν 368 20	ἐπὶ αὐτῶν 367 16		
10 πηλῶν, ἐπὶ Σαυροῦ Μελισσίου 11	ἐπὶ 23	367	
11 Ε ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ Χίλωνος [. 15	ἐπὶ 14	Φαυ- 364	
12 μέγας ἐπὶ 'Αγαθαλῆος 12	ἐπὶ 24	356	
13] ἐπὶ Θεοδόμου 'Α 8	Λαφῶν ἐπὶ 20	ἐπὶ 352	
14] ἐπὶ 'Αντρέου, ἐπὶ 17	ἐπὶ 17	Φαυ- 351	
15 Ἰπποδ. ἐπὶ αὐτῶν Λαφῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν			
16] ἐ, ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ			
17] ἐ, ἐπὶ			
18] ἐπὶ 'Αγροῦ Θεοδόμου			

Anaxandrides, first recognized here by Beckh. was 10 victories all told (Suidas), of which 3 were Lenaeon (IG. II. 971 ff.). His first City victory was won in 376 (Mar. Per., I. 82). His position in the Lenaeon list indicates ca. 380 for his first Lenaeon victory. The naming of the festival in I. 3 shows that the Lenaea had been mentioned above; hence the competitions in II. 1-3 are Lenaeon and Ε (i. e., ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν) followed the victories. Anaxandrides wrote 65 plays (Suidas); ca. 21 were recorded in II. 1-15. Adding the 10 victories we see that under the Ε ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν section and the lost portion of Ε Λαφῶν were ca. 24 plays, or ca. 29 all told which was second. The record of Anaxandrides thus filled about 39 lines.

2 ff. The titles in II. 2, 3, and 4 are not elsewhere known to have been used by Anaxandrides.

3 f. A new festival section must have begun between Charisandrus and Hippodamas.

6. An Ιο of Anaxandrides is not known elsewhere; the title was used by Anaxilas.

7. Another Cephisodorus in 357. The mention of the Lenaea in I. 9 shows that an ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν section under the Ε class had preceded. Since the first entry under Ε ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν must be earlier than the first under Ε Λαφῶν, and the latter in turn must be prior to 380, the new class can not be introduced in I. 8. But it might be in I. 6.

11. The only alternative to ἐ here is to introduce Ε (i. e., ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν) before the last entry in I. 10; but this would give only one play to that section.

12. αὐτῶν, ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν can not be restored unless either the Ε Λαφῶν section begun in I. 11 or a new poet. The more probable solution is that of Wilamowitz, who suggests the title *Pharmakomantis*.

13. The large amount of space suggests that the Lenaeon section under the ἐ class began here. This would give 5 City and 4 Lenaeon under ἐ.

14. Anteros Körte, correcting Ath. xiv. 654 b ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν accordingly.

15. The poet whose record began here won two Lenaeon victories and at least one ἐν ᾧ αὐτῶν. The only poet in the victors' lists credited with two Lenaeon victories and near Anaxandrides is Philetaerus; Phillipus, two places above Anaxandrides, is a possibility. The only new fact to be gained by an identification is that Philetaerus or Philippus won a City victory; only the list of victors for this period could determine the question.

17. ILET copy.

18. The position of the remains would suit an archon's name. But everything in the last three lines must remain purely conjectural.

THE HELEN EPISODE IN VERGIL'S *AENEID*

II. 559-623

BY H. R. FAIRCLOUGH

Vergil's story of the terrible night when Troy fell into the hands of her Greek foes culminates in the tragic scene of Priam's murder. Pyrrhus first strikes down Polites at his father's feet, and then slays the old king himself in the presence of Hecuba and her daughters, and upon the very altar at which this ill-starred family had sought refuge. This act of almost incredible impiety is witnessed by Aeneas himself, whose thoughts turn with horror to his own aged father, his forlorn Creusa, his plundered home, and his little son. He looks about. His followers have vanished and he is alone. At this moment, from his lofty position on the palace-roof, the hero espies Helen lurking by the altar of Vesta. Driven to frenzy as he is, this glimpse of her who was the primal cause of his country's ruin inspires him with the thought of revenge. "Surely," he cries, "it is monstrous that she should return as a queen to her Spartan home, while my country lies prostrate in ashes. No renown does one win for slaying a woman, yet praise shall be my meed if I blot out this unholy thing and exact a just recompense; and it will give me joy to fill my soul with the fire of vengeance and satisfy the ashes of my kindred."

Such words Aeneas blurted out and in his frantic state was rushing on to slay her, when his mother appeared, in all her divine radiance, caught him by the hand, and calmed his fury. "Whither," she cried, "has thy love for me fled? Wilt thou not first see to it, where thou hast left thy aged father, Anchises, whether Creusa thy wife and the boy Ascanius still live? . . . Did not my love prevent, ere this the flames had destroyed them and the hostile sword had drunk their blood. It is not the hated face of the Laconian woman, daughter of Tyndareus; it is not Paris that is to blame; but the gods, the relentless gods, overturn

this wealth, and make Troy topple from her pinnacle." Then Venus removes the cloud that veils his mortal vision, and allows him to see the gods themselves busy in the work of destruction. "Haste away, my son," thus she closes, "and put an end to the struggle. Nowhere will I leave thee, but will set thee safely on thy father's threshold."

We say it with confidence that, if this splendid passage had come down to us with the same manuscript authority as the rest of the *Aeneid*, not a word of protest would have been raised against its authenticity. As it is, vv. 567-88 have been preserved in none of the first-class manuscripts, and such of the later ones as give them probably depend upon Servius, who is our only real authority for them, and who inserts them in the introduction to his commentary on the *Aeneid*, explaining that, like the four lines of the prooemium, they had been withdrawn from the epic by Varius and Tucca, Vergil's literary executors. In his note on ii. 592 Servius refers to the matter a second time, saying:

ut enim in primo diximus, aliquos hinc versus constat esse sublato, nec immerito. nam et turpe est viro forti contra feminam irasci, et contrarium est Helenam in domo Priami fuisse illi rei, quae in sexto dicitur, quia in domo est inventa Deiphobi, postquam ex summa arce vocaverat Graecos. hinc autem versus esse sublato, Veneris verba declarant dicentis, "non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae."

Thus Servius gives two reasons which are supposed to have led Varius and Tucca to expunge the lines in question.

Modern scholars have found additional reasons for rejecting the lines, and as a rule go farther than Servius, by denying that they were ever composed by Vergil at all. Thus Thilo (p. xxxii of his edition) objects that the passage is really foreign to the poet's purpose. The writer supposed that Venus was to intervene in order to protect Helen from the hero's anger, whereas her object was to restrain Aeneas from fighting and deliver him from his perils. To this we reply that with Servius we recognize in 601 a distinct reference to the discarded passage, for that verse has little point if the preceding lines are removed.

Again, says Thilo, in 570 Aeneas is said to be wandering about when he espies Helen *secreta in sede latentem*. Yet in

632 we learn that not until he has had the revelation of the gods does he come down from the palace-roof. Here again we refuse to admit the inconsistency, for we need not suppose with Heyne that in the Helen-scene Aeneas has descended to the ground. In fact, it was the hero's advantageous position aloft that enabled him to discover Helen, the flames lighting up the whole scene (569). Minor objections apply mainly to the language. Thus in 568 (*limina Vestae servantem*) *servare* is used of remaining a short time in a place, but elsewhere of a settled abode. But, as Henry points out, *servare* here as elsewhere means "to keep close to;" cf. ii. 711: *longe servet vestigia coniunx*, "keep in the footsteps;" ii. 450: *has servant agmine denso*, "keep fast beside;" *G.* iv. 459: *hydram moritura puella | servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba*, "hugging the banks." Again in 576 *sceleratas poenas*, according to Thilo, would be an appropriate expression if used later by Aeneas, when his anger had cooled, and he was reflecting upon the vengeance he had conceived. This would be a point well taken if the expression meant "horrible" or, as Henry translates it, "damnable punishment." But *sceleratas* is used as in vi. 563 *sceleratum insistere limen*, "no pure soul may tread the threshold of the guilty," and therefore *sceleratas poenas* is precisely the same as *scelerum poenas* in xi. 258. If *sceleratas poenas* passes muster, we need not be troubled by *merentis poenas* in 585, 586, whether *merentis* be regarded as a genitive or better as in agreement with *poenas*.

The only real difficulty in the text as given by Servius is in 587, where *ultriciſ famam* is certainly corrupt, but the reading given by early editions and generally adopted, *ultriciſ flammae*, though pronounced unintelligible by Thilo, gives a fine metaphor with a very satisfactory sense. That the punishment of Helen should be called a "victory" (584) seems to Thilo an inapt expression. It is hard to see why. Line 579

coniugiumque domumque patres natosque videbit,

was condemned even by Wagner, who supports the passage as a whole, and of course Thilo objects to it as inconsistent with the stories told elsewhere about Helen. But the main idea contained in the line—viz., Helen's return to her home and kin—is neces-

sary to point the contrast between the happy future of this Spartan adventuress and the desolation of Troy, while the use of the plural in *patres* and *natos*, though of her parents only her father Tyndareus survived, and though tradition assigns to Helen only one child, a daughter Hermione, is (as Page shows) only a rhetorical mode of exaggerating Helen's happiness.¹

Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, pp. 45 f.—the most illuminating of recent books on the *Aeneid*) accepts the objections reported by Servius and made by modern scholars, but enlarges upon the ancient criticism: *turpe est viro forti contra feminam irasci*. The mere *irasci*, he says, would not have dishonored Aeneas, but Vergil would never have allowed his pious hero to conceive the thought of killing a defenseless woman, especially if she had sought refuge at the altar. How would this, he asks, befit one who has just narrated with horror the story of an altar-desecration? Again, if 601,

non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae,

points to the introduction of Helen in the preceding context, what about *culpatusve Paris* (602), of whom Aeneas has not so much as thought in the whole situation? And finally, the words,

scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenae
aspiciet, etc. (577 f.),

if genuine, would furnish the only soliloquy in the narrative of the second and third books. This seems to Heinze "unnatürlich und frostig," and he would be loath to attribute such tastelessness to Vergil. Heinze therefore holds that this passage is spurious, but, in view of the sequel, believes that this has taken the place of a genuine Vergilian passage, in which the hero, giving way to despair, has decided to go to his death, either by plunging into the midst of the enemy or, as is more probable, by taking his own life. Hence *dextra prehensum continuit* (592) is explained, not by a contemplated attack on Helen, but by a contemplated act of suicide.

¹The "metrische Kleinigkeiten" which Norden notes (edit. of *Aen.* vi, p. 255) certainly do not disprove Vergilian authorship. Synaloephae, involving forms of *Troia*, are, as Norden himself shows (p. 447), not uncommon in Vergil. So *Troiae et* (573) = *Troiae et* (x. 214), and *Troia arserit* (581) = *Troia antiqua* (iv. 312).

Heinze's argument is, I am convinced, an elaborate example of special pleading. The soliloquy will appeal to most readers as unusually impressive, and from the artistic standpoint seems to be modeled with great care. Thus Wagner comments on the beautiful balance between the three questions in the simple future *aspiciet*, *ibit*, and *videbit*, and the three in the future-perfect, *occiderit*, *arserit*, and *sudarit*, the correspondence being in inverse order. As Page puts it: "3. 4 her home happy, my king murdered; 2. 5 she in triumph, Troy in flames; 1. 6 she safe at Sparta, the Dardan coast reeking with blood." As to *culpatusve Paris*, this is only a corollary to the previous words about Helen. If *she* can arouse such anger, so also surely can her guilty paramour. The two have the force of a plural. It is no human agents you must accuse. It is the gods themselves who are responsible for Troy's downfall. And Heinze's idea that vv. 601, 602 would be natural enough apart from a previous passage involving Helen or Paris seems to me to be quite alien to the directness of Vergilian narrative, though it may easily be paralleled in Greek tragedy, especially in lyrical passages. As Heinze himself has seen, Vergil may well have had in mind here the famous passage in the *Iliad* iii. 164, 165:

οὐ τί μοι αἰτὴ ἔσσι, θεοί νύ μοι αἰτιοί εἰσιν,
οἳ μοι ἐφώρμησαν πόλεμον πολύδακρυν Ἀχαιῶν.

Here we have the directness of epic style. The words are addressed by Priam to Helen. So, too, all is simple and direct in Vergil, if, as we believe, Helen is present in the scene; but how much less natural if, as Heinze holds, Venus mentions her merely as the ultimate cause of Troy's downfall?

Finally, as to *contra feminam irasci*, the kernel of the argument is removed if we remember that Aeneas never carries his thought into action, and therefore the sin, if sin it is, is only contemplated, not committed. Though Aeneas was a saint in the Middle Ages, it is surely going too far to test him by the lofty standard set up in the Sermon on the Mount when Christ said: "I say unto you, that everyone who is angry with his brother shall be in danger of the judgment." Further, the hero himself anticipates the objection and offers a defense of his action:

namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
feminea in poena est nec habet victoria laudem,
extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis
laudabor poenas. (583 ff.)

That Helen is a *nefas*, an unholy thing, is (at least at such a time) a sufficient defense against the charge of impiety.

An Homeric situation somewhat similar to this Helen episode is one to which sufficient weight has never been given. Henry calls attention to the resemblance, but has not attempted to develop the parallelism. At the opening of *Odyssey* xx Odysseus lies down to rest in the *πρόδομος*, but his active mind will not suffer him to sleep.

And the women came forth from the house, they who aforetime consorted with the suitors, making laughter and mirth with one another. Then the hero's heart was stirred within his breast, and much he debated in mind and soul whether he should leap upon them and deal death to each, or suffer them to consort with the proud wooers, for the last and latest time. And his heart growled within him. And even as a bitch, stalking round her tender whelps, growls at a man she knows not, and is eager for the fight, even so his heart growled within him, from wrath at their evil deeds. And smiting on his breast, he rebuked his heart, saying: "Endure, my heart; even a baser thing didst thou once endure, on that day when the Cyclops devoured my valiant company; but still thou didst endure, till thy craft brought thee from out the cave, where thou didst think to die."

And as he tossed from side to side, debating how he might lay his hands upon the shameless suitors, one man against many, Athene descended from heaven, and came near to him, in form like unto a woman.

And she stood over his head and spake to him, saying: "Wherefore again art thou watching, most ill-fated of all men? Is not this thy house, and is not thy wife within and thy child, even such as one would wish his son to be?"

Here, as in Vergil, the hero meditates the slaying of women, but does not carry the thought into action. Here too the hero soliloquizes, and here too a *deus ex machina* appears on the scene. In Homer, Athene reminds Odysseus of his home, his wife and child; and in Vergil, Venus reminds Aeneas of his father, his wife and son, though even closer is the parallel in 562:

subiit deserta Creusa
et direpta domus et parvi casus Iuli.

And still further, as Athene chides Odysseus for his lack of confidence in divine aid, and assures him of her protection to the last: "Stubborn one!" she cries, "surely, many a man puts trust in a comrade, though he be weaker, one who is but a mortal, and hath not such wisdom as mine; whereas I am a god, who preserve thee to the end, amid all toils" (45 ff.); so in Vergil Venus, "manifesting the goddess" *confessa deam* (591), reproves her son, first for his frenzy, *quid furis?* (595), but secondly for forgetting her, *quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?* (whither has thy love [regard] for me vanished?)—and the Homeric parallel is sufficient to determine the exact meaning of this rebuke, which does not mean that Venus is wounded in her feelings because he has thought of attacking her protégée Helen, or because she has a special interest in Anchises, but because (as Conington puts it) "Aeneas by losing self-command showed that he had lost confidence in his mother and sense of his relation to her." Then at the close of their interview, she promises unfailing support:

nusquam abero et tutum patrio te limine sistam (620).

The parallel is fairly complete, and the conclusion seems irresistible that as this Homeric scene must have been in the mind of him who composed the Helen-episode, as well as of the author of the succeeding lines, *the whole of the passage involved, the doubtful and undoubted lines alike, must be the work of one and the same poet, viz., Vergil himself.*

It remains for us now to consider what view we are to take of the omission of vv. 567–88 from Vergilian MSS. Assuming that the passage was written by Vergil, it is evident that it was omitted from the original complete *Aeneid* as edited by Varius and Tucca. These editors therefore had some reason for expunging the lines. According to the account in Servius, Augustus commanded Tucca and Varius to emend the *Aeneid*, with this limitation, that they should remove superfluities, yet make no additions (*ut superflua demerent, nihil adderent tamen*), and both the prooemium and the lines in question are given as

examples of passages removed. They were therefore considered *superflua*. A similar statement is made by Suetonius, who, however, cites only the prooemium as an example of the *versus dempti*, on the authority of the grammarian Nisus. Apart from these two passages, we learn of no omissions (at least of any consequence) due to the editors.

It is well known that Varius and Tucca had been intimate friends of our poet for many years. Vergil mentions Varius in *Ecl.* ix. 35, a poem which belongs to 41 B. C., about which time Vergil first made the acquaintance of Maecenas and probably of Varius too. Horace mentions Plotius (i. e., Tucca), Varius, and Vergil as meeting the rest of the company at Sinuessa on that famous journey to Brundisium, described in the fifth satire of his first book, written not later than 37 B. C. The three, who are grouped together in the beautiful description

animae quales neque candidiores
terra tulit neque quis me sit devinctior alter

were evidently close friends at that time, eighteen years before Vergil's death. Again in 35 B. C. the three are once more bracketed together and associated with Maecenas, as poets and critics whose approval Horace proudly claims (*Serm.* i. 10. 81).

Of Tucca as a poet we know next to nothing, but both Tacitus (*Dial.* 12) and Quintilian (x. 1. 98) speak of the *Thyestes* of Varius as a tragedy of surpassing excellence. Horace often speaks of the literary work of Varius. He was considered Rome's best epic writer (*Serm.* i. 10. 43, written in 35 B. C.) until the *Aeneid* appeared, and Vergil and Varius are classed together as the greatest poets of the day in *Epp.* ii. 1. 247 and the *Ars poetica* 55. Probably no Roman was more worthy of the confidence of Vergil in things literary than Varius.

Suetonius tells us that Vergil made Varius and Tucca his residuary legatees, so that this friendship continued unbroken to the end. We may feel sure that if any friends were in a position to learn the poet's literary habits, plans, and problems, these intimate and cultivated men were in their number. It would seem that Varius even wrote a memoir upon Vergil, for Quintilian (x. 3. 8.) cites him as authority for the statement that the great

poet wrote a very small number of lines in one day. Perhaps, too, it was from such a memoir that Suetonius secured his interesting information about the poet's *modus operandi*. For example (§§ 23ff.), he tells us that Vergil "first drafted the *Aeneid* in prose, and, having arranged it in twelve books, proceeded to compose it bit by bit (*particulatim*), just as the fancy took him, without attacking subjects in due order. And, that nothing might stay his inspiration, he allowed some passages to remain imperfect, while others he bolstered up as it were with mediocre lines (*levissimis versibus*), which he jestingly declared were inserted as props to support the structure, until the solid columns arrived." In this way the composition of the *Aeneid* consumed eleven years. Suetonius further tells us (§§ 31-34) that during the composition of the poem Vergil on certain occasions read his work to others, though not often, generally confining himself to passages about which he was in doubt, that he might take advantage of the judgment of his hearers.

From these important statements we may draw several inferences. In the first place, a work of such magnitude as the *Aeneid*, involving the use of a great variety of legendary and historical material, must, if composed bit by bit, and in irregular order, have been subject to numerous imperfections and inconsistencies, until the work of revision was complete. Hence the inconsistency of representing Helen on the night of Troy's fall, in the second book as in the house of Priam, and in the sixth as in the house of Deiphobus, is easily explained.

In the second place, parts at least of the *Aeneid* must have been more or less known before the edition of Varius and Tucca appeared. In illustration we have the well-known prophecy of Propertius in his third elegy (written about 26 B. C.) and several imitations of Vergilian lines in various passages in Propertius (see Nettleship's *Essay*, p. 67), written before Vergil's death. We have also the story in Suetonius that when in Spain, in 26 or 25 B. C., Augustus wrote entreating and even threatening letters to Vergil, to send him "either the first draft of the poem, or some single portion. Much later, when the material was at last complete, Vergil read to the emperor three books, the second, fourth,

and sixth," on which occasion Octavia fainted, when the poet reached the touching passage about Marcellus. The book here called by Suetonius the second must be our second, because, though later Nisus is quoted as saying that Varius changed the order of two books, transferring to the third place that which was then second, still the order known to Suetonius must have been the same as is now known to us.

In the third place, it was the poet's practice to discuss his doubts and difficulties with others, and doubtless the two to whom he turned most frequently were his two greatest literary friends, Varius and Tucca. These therefore were in all probability familiar with the poet's sentiments and conceptions, and though the emperor's commands prevented them from destroying the *Aeneid*, according to Vergil's express entreaty, yet they were in a position to see that, as far as possible, the poet's wishes should be carried out. I take it, then, that Vergil, possibly for the very reasons given by Servius, had expressed his dissatisfaction with the Helen episode, and his executors therefore decided to omit it. Inasmuch as the emperor's instructions prevented them from making additions, they were compelled to leave the context in an imperfect state. But the passage was already known to others, and was possibly published later by someone who regretted its omission. Indeed, the very fact of its omission from the first complete edition would bring it into notice, much as rejected poems of modern writers not infrequently are published by their biographers and reviewers.

In lieu of the substitute passage which we may well believe Vergil intended to compose, I think we are justified in retaining in our texts the one which Servius has preserved, believing, as I do, that though its author was dissatisfied with it, as indeed he was with the *Aeneid* as a whole, yet it is the work of Vergil himself, and that the second book suffers vastly more from its omission than from its insertion.

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THE PREMATURE DEIFICATION OF EUMENES II

BY WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON

Ἵπὲρ βασιλέως Εὐμένου Φιλαδέλφου θεοῦ καὶ εὐεργέτου Δημήτριος Ποσειδωνίου.¹ This inscription once catalogued a dedication made in a small town on the Thracian coast of the Propontis, in territory which passed with Lysimachia and the Thracian Chersonese into the hands of the king of Pergamon in 188 B. C. It was at that time taken from Antiochos the Great; earlier it had belonged to Philip of Macedon who had seized it while under the protection of the Aetolian League, and it had probably formed part of the empire of the Ptolemies during the latter half of the third century B. C.²

Along with it are published two other inscriptions,³ found in the same place, which record dedications made "on behalf of King Attalos Philadelphos and Queen Stratonike." Mommsen, who first edited all three, gives no intimation that they were cut at the same time, or are in any special way to be connected with one another. Professor Dittenberger,⁴ for no assigned reason, thinks that they were inscribed simultaneously. Professor Niese seems to be of the same opinion, and of like mind are, perhaps, Professor Kornemann and M. Beurlier. But whereas Professor Dittenberger and M. Beurlier⁵ assign them to 172 B. C., the others date them after the death of Eumenes in 159 B. C.⁶

It must be granted that general probability is in favor of the view that they all belong to the same dedication or set of dedications, but of this no proof whatever is attainable. Let us, therefore, consider the first apart from the others. ὑπὲρ is a very common preposition in dedications of this kind. It occurs in

¹ Dittenberger *Orientalis Graeci inscriptiones selectae* I. 302.

² Mommsen *Hermes* IX (1875), p. 117; Niese *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten* II, pp. 150, 581, 588, 668, 760; Beloch *Griech. Gesch.* III. 2, pp. 279f.

³ Dittenberger *ibid.* I. 303, 304.

⁴ I. 302, n. 2.

⁵ *De divinis honoribus quos acceperunt Alexander et successores eius* (Paris, 1890), p. 104, n. 2.

⁶ *Beitr. alt. Gesch.* I, p. 86, n. 1; Niese *op. cit.* III, p. 204, n. 2.

hundreds of inscriptions from the earliest to the latest times. Nowhere, so far as I have been able to discover, is it used to connect a dedication with other than a living person. It lies in the nature of the word that this is so; for *ὑπέρ*, with its notion of helping one along, must have struck a new-fledged god—and no other came ordinarily into account—as impertinent, nay almost blasphemous. The language had other modes of expressing the conferment of an honor upon the dead. Professor Dittenberger¹ too knows of no use of *ὑπέρ* in the case of a dedication to one deceased.

On the other hand, in an Attalid inscription *θεοῦ* invariably denotes the death and deification of the monarch.² Absolutely no exception to this usage is extant, the reason being that no Attalid became a god during his lifetime. This was a point upon which the rulers of Pergamon insisted, and it served to distinguish them from other less democratic³ or less modest dynasties. That a Pergamean city should violate this well-understood principle is inconceivable. Death in the palace at Pergamon, however, was simply a change from humanity to godhood, and thereafter the title *θεός* was solemnly bestowed upon the late king.⁴ Henceforth it could not be omitted without offense.

How to explain the entirely abnormal collocation of *ὑπέρ* and *θεοῦ*—that is our problem. At first it occurred to me that it might be due to the fact that the Thracian Chersonese was earlier under the rule of the Ptolemies and Seleucids, who were regularly deified during their lifetime. But on further reflection this solution of the difficulty proved unacceptable, for I could not believe that any man would be so stupid as knowingly to use in this connection a mode of speech interdicted by his sovereign for sixteen years or more. Nor, on the other hand, was a plea of ignorance admis-

¹ *Op. cit.* I, p. 365, n. 3; p. 648.

² Kornemann *loc. cit.*, pp. 85 ff.

³ The republican spirit of the Attalids appears elsewhere; e. g., in the avoidance of the royal "we" (R. Laqueur *Quaestiones epigraphicae et papyrologicae selectae*, Argentorati, 1904, pp. 100 ff.; cf. Dittenberger *op. cit.* II, p. 550, and, for the usage of the Seleucids, I. 231 along with 232), and in the assumption in Boeotia of the citizen-title *Περγαμεύς* (Dittenberger *op. cit.* I, pp. 655 ff.). The Attalids never engraved their likenesses upon the coins they issued. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer *Abh. d. Berl. Akad.* (1884) III. Their position in the state was not unlike that of Augustus.

⁴ Beurlier *op. cit.*, p. 104 and Kornemann *loc. cit.*, pp. 88 f.

sible, since the two inscriptions already referred to, which are quite or almost contemporary, proved that the natives of this particular town knew the Attalid usage. And if these were discarded, as being possibly later, it was still incredible that a subject, interested enough to make open profession of his devotion, should have falsely imagined his ruler to be a god. A sharp distinction between king and gods¹ in the ritual employed every month, the lack of a personal temple and altar, no regular sacrifices, no tithes! This spoke louder than many proclamations, and what it meant was obvious.

The inscription is noteworthy in two other particulars: (1) Granting that Eumenes was alive at the time it was set up, his wife, Queen Stratonike, should have been included. (2) Apart from a suspicious passage in a very careless author, Stephanos of Byzantium, there is no case known in which the title *Philadelphos* is attached to the name of Eumenes. *Philadelphos* is the crown name of his brother and successor Attalos II.²

How are we to explain all of these peculiarities? We must recall a curious incident in the family history of the Attalids. In 172 B. C. Eumenes, while approaching Delphi on his way back from Rome, was set upon by robbers and so badly injured that for quite a time his life was in danger. He was conveyed to Corinth and then to his own island of Aegina, but his case was too serious for any definite information to be published. During his absence Attalos had been regent. Attalos, upon receiving a report, which circulated throughout the entire country, that Eumenes was dead, at once seized the crown and married the widow, Stratonike. The dead king was no doubt deified, and we may conjecture that Attalos had him dubbed "the god who loves his brother." Then came word that Eumenes was alive and recovering.

The situation was, to say the least, embarrassing. Who was king? Eumenes was officially dead and deified. Attalos was regularly crowned and in possession of power. Stratonike had

¹The distinction between heroic and divine honors—that drawn by Augustus between his father and himself—was obvious in daily worship (Kornemann *loc. cit.*, pp. 86 ff.).

²Mommsen *Hermes* IX (1875), p. 118.

been childless for over sixteen years; she now became pregnant, and, in due course, bore a son whom Eumenes, according to Polybius,¹ had not acknowledged at least five years later, but who subsequently succeeded his legal uncle, Attalos II, as Attalos III. Some time must have elapsed before it became clear that Attalos had abdicated, and that Eumenes had pardoned him and received back his throne and wife.

At this and at no other time can our inscription have been inscribed. And the other two were, perhaps, set up at the same moment; but of this there is no necessity, since upon the death of Eumenes, thirteen years later, Attalos again married Stratonike. Hence a dedication "on behalf of King Attalos Philadelphos and queen Stratonike" could then have been made at any time.

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¹The purport of Polybius' remark (xxx. 2) was first perceived by F. Koepp (*Rhein. Mus.* XLVIII (1893), pp. 154 ff.). His interpretation was contested by Niese (*Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten* III, p. 204, n. 4), but, as we now see, rightly defended by Dittenberger (*op. cit.* I, pp. 656 ff.).

THE OMEN IN HERODOTUS VI. 107

BY CAMPBELL BONNER

Herodotus (vi. 107) relates an odd, half-comical incident of the landing of the Persians in Attica. The aged Hippias, who had had an ominous dream the night before (*ἔδόκεε τῇ μητρὶ συνευνηθῆναι*), and had interpreted it as betokening his repatriation,¹ was greatly dispirited by a peculiar happening on the next day. Shortly after going ashore he was seized by a violent fit of coughing or sneezing, which so loosened his teeth that one fell out. He was at pains to find it (*ἐποιέετο πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐξευρεῖν*), but the search was unsuccessful. Whereupon, *ἀναστενάξας εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς παραστάντας* "ἡ γῆ ἥδε οὐκ ἡμετέρη ἐστὶ, οὐδέ μιν δυνησόμεθα ὑποχειρὴν ποιήσασθαι· ὁκόσον δ' ἔτι μοι μέρος μετῆν, ὁ ὁδὸν μετέχει." *Ἰππίης μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ τὴν ὄψιν συνεβάλετο ἐξεληλυθέναι.*

The superstitious fear of the old Peisistratid seems to be only in part explained by the sinister interpretation given by him to the fact that his tooth had found a burial-place in Attic soil. The anxiety that he manifested even before the search proved hopeless needs further explanation. Here, perhaps, we may find help in ancient and modern folklore. Among the dream-omens that form part of the fast-disappearing folklore of our southern states there is a fairly common one² to the effect that to dream of a tooth falling out portends a misfortune, which is usually particularized as the death of a friend or relative. Some add that if the tooth has blood upon it, the relative will be a near one. That this is one of the many bits of European superstition that have been retained with singular tenacity by the rural population of the South seems to be proved by a comparison of the material collected in Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* III, pp. 129 ff.³ I quote two passages there cited:

¹ For this interpretation cf. Artemidorus *Onirocr.* i. 79 (pp. 76, 77 Hercher).

² Reported by several members of a folklore club organized in the Peabody College.

³ Much of the same material in Hazlitt's *Faiths and Folklore* I, pp. 189 f.

Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* (1584), act iv, sc. 3: "I dreamed," says Ismena, "mine eye tooth was loose, and that I thrust it out with my tongue." "It fortelleth," replies Mileta, "the losse of a friend."

The Countryman's Counsellor (1633), p. 330: "To lose an axle toth or an eye, the death of some friend; to dream of bloody teeth, the death of the dreamer."

Some of the old commonplace books (cf. Brand III, p. 133) refer to Artemidorus as the source of this interpretation. It may well be doubted whether the compilers had consulted the ancient oneirocritic, yet due allowance must be made for the possibility of a vague and inexact tradition of the doctrines of Artemidorus through the dream-books of the Middle Ages. However, the symbolism of the tooth in such dreams evidently appealed to the vulgar understanding, and the popular belief may have existed beside, not through, a literary tradition.

The omen in question is also known among the modern Greeks. My informant is an intelligent Greek merchant some years settled in this country, a native of Vostitza and for many years a resident of Athens. He says he has often heard it said that a dream of losing a tooth forebodes death. If the tooth falls out without pain, it signifies the death of a friend or a distant relative; if it gives pain, a near kinsman will die.

Artemidorus (i. 31; cf. also ii. 67) treats the tooth-omen, after his wont, with a systematic minuteness that warns us to accept only the nucleus of his discussion as the expression of a genuine popular superstition. To follow him through his three pages of subtleties would be both tedious and unprofitable. The following extracts will suffice. The mouth, he says, is to be regarded as a house, the teeth as the persons connected with it. The upper teeth are persons of higher station, the lower those of inferior rank. Those on the right side are men, those on the left women. Front teeth represent young people, canines those in middle life, molars are the aged. *ὅποιον οὖν ἂν τις ἀποβάλῃ ὀδόντα, τοιούτου ἀνθρώπου στερηθήσεται.* Again, since teeth may represent material possessions as well as human beings, the loss of a tooth may signify the loss of property.

So much seems fairly clear, that the dream of losing a tooth, which, for whatever physiological reason, appears to be a common

one, symbolized to the superstitious contemporaries of Artemidorus a bereavement or a loss of some kind. Now students of folklore have learned to make allowance for the longevity of popular superstitions, and have observed that such beliefs, even when they are of very ancient origin, are frequently passed in silence by classical authors, who make no secret of their contempt for old wives' tales, to be recorded only in the age of decadence. It seems, then, at least possible that this particular superstition had its part in the story of Hippias. It is true that the happening related by Herodotus purports to be an actual occurrence, not a dream; and it is also true that a misfortune incident to mere senile decay would not ordinarily have an ominous significance. But following a portentous dream and accompanied by the ominous sneeze,¹ the petty accident might have had for Hippias—or for the inventor of the story²—as fateful a meaning as the dream omen. What is an unfavorable prognostication in waking hours may also be inauspicious if seen in a dream. Cf. Artem. i. 22, πλέουσι δὲ διαρρήδην ναυάγιον σημαίνει sc. τὸ ξυρῆσθαι τὴν κεφαλὴν, with Petronius *Sat.* 104, *audio enim non licere cuiquam mortalium in naue neque unguis neque capillos deponere nisi cum pelago uentus irascitur*. Some interesting modern instances of this superstition are given by Frazer *Golden Bough*³ I, p. 378. Another example is to be found in J. G. Campbell's *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, pp. 236 f.: "A person should not comb his hair at night, or, if he does, every hair that comes out should be put in the fire. Otherwise they will meet his feet in the dark and make him stumble. *No girl should comb her hair at night if she have a brother at sea.*" It seems a justifiable assumption that, conversely, circumstances might lend to a trifling accident, ordinarily unregarded, all the superstitious terror with which it was invested in the symbolism of dreams.

It must not be forgotten that the mere loss of any appurtenance of the body has been regarded with uneasiness by the

¹ Cf. Valckenaer's note *ad loc.* From midnight until noon it was considered unlucky to sneeze, according to Arist. *Probl.*, p. 962 b. 19.

² Macan's skepticism is not without foundation. See his note on the passage.

superstitious of all ages. Herein, perhaps, lies the ultimate origin of the sinister interpretation given to the dream in question. Through the medium of that which he has lost, a person may be subjected to the evil machinations of an enemy or of a malignant demon. In Theocr. ii. 53 Simaetha burns a bit of the fringe from her lost lover's mantle in order to regain her influence over him. The sorceress in Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 4. 5 (quoted by Fritzsche-Hiller on Theocr. *loc. cit.*) makes use of the shoes of a slippery gallant. In Apuleius *Met.* iii. 18 the witch Pamphile ties into knots¹ and burns what she believes to be the hair of the youth upon whom she has designs. See also Eur. *Hippol.* 513 ff., and Harry's note. For the general idea, cf. Tylor *Primitive Culture* I, p. 116, Lang *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* I, p. 96.

Modern examples are not lacking. The Hawaiian wizard "must possess himself of some object closely associated with the person he intends to kill" by enchantment. "Finger-nails, hair, and teeth are especially desired."² "The celebrated Countess of Dorset, Pembroke, and Montgomery, according to her *Day Book*, cited by Southey, was accustomed to pare the nails of her hands and feet, and burn them afterwards."³ Most children, at least in the southern states, are jestingly warned to burn their milk-teeth as they shed them, because, if one is thrown out and trodden upon by a dog or a pig, a tusk will grow in its place. Originally, no doubt, the idea was that the lost tooth might become the medium for the exercise of witchcraft.⁴

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¹ *κατάδεσς*; cf. Theocr. ii. 3.

² O. M. Skinner *Myths and Legends of Our New Possessions*, p. 286.

³ Hazlitt *Faiths and Folklore* II, p. 430.

⁴ Cf. Elworthy *The Evil Eye*, p. 76.

ON CORREPTION IN HIATUS

BY EDWARD BULL CLAPP

It is a familiar fact that in Greek hexameter poetry diphthongs and long vowels at the end of a word, followed in the same verse by a word beginning with a vowel, are usually treated as short (*vocalis ante vocalem corripitur*). But the explanation of this correption is uncertain, its relation to the tolerance of hiatus is obscure, and even the elementary facts concerning the extent and proportions of the usage itself, the vowels and diphthongs in which it appears most frequently, and the difference in practice among the different poets, are loosely stated in the most recent handbooks. It has therefore seemed worth while to make a new and somewhat extended examination of this feature of dactylic verse, covering a considerable number of poets from the earliest to the latest times. Such an examination may furnish us at least with a clear general view of the extent of the practice and the circumstances under which it occurs, and at the same time may shed some light on the difficult problem of its origin and explanation.

The poets whose usage has been noted are twenty-six in number, and the list includes the chief representatives of the epic, classical, Alexandrian, Roman, and Byzantine periods. Certain poets of great intrinsic importance are passed over because we possess too little of their work to afford a sufficient basis for observation. The parts of Homer examined were chosen from among the earliest, as well as the latest, portions of the poems, in the hope of finding such a difference of usage as should be significant. But no such marked difference was found to exist. Homeric correption is fairly constant from A to ω , and the slight differences have no apparent significance for our inquiry. In most cases at least 1,000 consecutive verses of each poet were examined,¹ or the

¹ It was found that the practice of each poet, in regard to correption, was reasonably uniform, and that nothing of importance was likely to be gained by including more than 1,000 verses in the study.

whole extant remains of poets from whom a less number of hexameters are preserved. The few exceptions to this rule will be seen in the following table, which shows in detail the portions of each poet on which the later tables are based:

	Verses
Homer, A, B 484-877, K, X, ι, ω [Dindorf-Hentze]	3,213
Hesiod, Theogony	1,022
Homeric Hymns to Del. and Pyth. Apollo, and Hermes	1,128
Tyrtæus	145
Solon	220
Theognis	1,430
Simonides	364
Empedocles	419
Theocritus, Idylls i-xxii	2,082
Aratus	1,154
Manetho, ii [i], iii [ii]	930
Callimachus	1,356
Apollonius Rhodius i	1,362
Moschus	229
Bion	209
[Phocylides]	230
Nicander, Theriaca	958
Oppian, De venatione i, ii.	1,166
Quintus Smyrnaeus i, ii	1,496
Dionysius Periegetes	1,186
[Orphic] Argonautica	1,373
Nonnus, Dionysiaca i, ii	1,246
Colluthus, Helen	385
Musæus, Hero and Leander	341
Tryphiodorus	673
Tzetzes, Antehomerica, Homerica 1-194	600

The following table shows the frequency of correption of the several diphthongs and long vowels in the different poets. The figures indicate the *average* number of instances to each 100 verses of text. The vowels and diphthongs are arranged in the order of prevailing frequency in the whole list of poets. This may aid the reader's eye to interpret the results, since the figures opposite each poet's name will in general diminish from left to right, so that any marked exception to this rule (as in the case of Theocritus) indicates a practice more or less unusual. The diphthongs *ev* and *av* are occasionally shortened, but they are omitted here to save space:

	αι	οι	ου	ει	ψ	η	η	ω	α	φ
Homer.....	16	7.3	1.5	1.6	1.5	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.1	0.0
Hesiod.....	19	4.1	4.7	1.7	1.9	1.2	1.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
Homeric Hymns.....	18	6.0	3.0	1.2	1.5	1.3	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.0
Tyrtæus.....	10	4.0	2.0	1.3	1.3	0.0	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0
Solon.....	12	2.3	1.4	1.9	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Theognis.....	16	4.5	1.4	1.5	0.6	1.6	1.0	0.6	0.1	0.1
Simonides.....	4	1.4	2.2	0.3	2.7	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
Empedocles.....	24	3.6	0.7	2.4	0.5	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0
Theocritus.....	17	6.0	0.7	1.9	1.9	0.5	0.3	2.4	1.5	0.5
Aratus.....	17	6.4	1.9	1.5	1.9	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.0
Manetho.....	13	3.2	2.6	1.2	1.7	2.4	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Callimachus.....	12	3.1	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.1
Apollonius Rhodius.....	15	6.3	2.2	1.1	1.0	0.7	0.3	0.5	0.1	0.0
Moschus.....	15	6.0	0.4	0.8	0.4	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bion.....	17	3.3	0.0	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	1.0	0.0
[Phocylides].....	10	2.6	1.3	0.9	0.4	0.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
Nicander.....	26	3.3	2.9	1.3	1.5	1.1	0.2	0.1	0.0	0.1
Oppian.....	7	0.7	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0
Quintus Smyrnaeus.....	19	7.7	2.3	0.8	0.5	1.0	0.5	0.6	0.0	0.0
Dionysius Periegetes.....	21	4.6	1.7	1.0	0.7	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0
[Orphic] Argonautica.....	11	4.5	1.6	0.8	1.2	0.7	0.4	0.4	0.0	0.0
Nonnus.....	12	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0
Colluthus.....	16	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
Musæus.....	11	3.2	0.3	0.6	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0
Tryphiodorus.....	13	1.8	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Tzetzes.....	13	3.5	2.0	0.2	1.7	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0

It will be seen from the above table that the diphthong *αι* is shortened, not only more frequently than any other single vowel or diphthong, but actually more frequently than all the other vowels and diphthongs combined. Of this very large number of cases of the correpction of *αι*, about three-fifths occur in the single word *καί*, while most of the remaining instances appear in the inflectional endings of verbs, especially *-ται* and *-μαι*, though there are a few nominatives plural. But it would appear that more than one-third of all the cases of correpction in hiatus in Greek poetry are furnished by *καί* alone. The following table shows the total number and distribution of the instances of shortened *αι*, adding in detail the practice of certain poets who display a marked divergence from the prevailing tendency. In general, the preponderance of *αι* over the other vowels and diphthongs is most overwhelming in Oppian, Nonnus, Colluthus, and Tryphiodorus, and in all of these but Nonnus the vast majority of cases appear in *καί*. In this connection it is significant that *καί* is practically never elided, although *κε* often suffers elision and *δε* constantly.

	<i>καί</i>	Verbal Ending	Scattering
Total number	2,206	1,457	191
Theognis	89	128	7
Solon	5	22	0
Theocritus	180	110	53
Aratus	111	149	32
Colluthus	56	3	0

The diphthong *οι* is shortened only one-fourth as often as *αι*. The nominative plural furnishes almost exactly one-half of all the cases of short *οι*, and most of the remainder occur in the datives *οί, σοι, μοι*. In view of the fact that the accentual law for final *οι* is the same as for final *αι* (*ἄνθρωποι, θάλασσαι*), the different behavior of the two diphthongs in hiatus is remarkable. The following table shows (1) what may be called the natural frequency of final *οι* and *αι* as seen in Thucydides and Xenophon; (2) the frequency of correction in hiatus (in hexameter) in the same diphthongs; (3) the frequency of correction in the nominative plural. The figures represent the average number to 100 lines of text.

	<i>αι</i>	<i>οι</i>
Natural frequency in prose	63	34
Frequency of correction in hexameter	15	4—
Frequency of correction in nominative plural	0.7	2—

The shortening of *ου* occurs only in the genitive singular. The diphthong *αι* is shortened most frequently in the word *ἐπεί*, and in the third person singular of verbs. Of the "improper" diphthongs, *φ* and *α* are shortened only in the dative singular. The same is true of *η* in the great majority of cases, though a few subjunctives appear. Of the long vowels, *η* appears as short chiefly in nominatives singular, and in the particles *δή, μή, ἤ*, and others, although the list in Theognis is much lengthened by that poet's frequent use of the vocative *Πολυπαίδη* (~~~~~). Correction of *ω* is seen most often in *ἐγώ*, and in the first person singular of verbs, except in Theocritus, where the many genitives in *-ω* introduce a new element.

After this preliminary survey of the extent and character of corption, we are prepared to take up the question of the origin and explanation of the practice. The question is a double one, as has already been hinted. We must endeavor to ascertain (1) why it was permissible to treat the long vowel or diphthong as short, and (2) why this corption was regarded as justifying hiatus. Both questions have been discussed with great thoroughness by Hartel in his *Homerische Studien* II, III (Wien, 1874), and by Grulich *De quodam hiatus genere* (Halle, 1876). But both of these scholars based their discussion almost entirely upon Homer alone. New light may reasonably be expected from a more extended field of observation.

The fact of corption was noticed by the ancient metricians. Aristides Quintilianus (p. 46, Meibom) says:

Τῷ γὰρ οὐκ ἔχειν μεταξύ σύμφωνον τὸ συνάπτον αὐτὰς [i. e., final and initial vowels], κεχρηνότες ἀπεργαζόμεναι τοὺς ἤχους, τὴν τῆς φωνῆς διαλύουσιν εὐτονίαν· ἥ τε ἡμετέρα σπουδὴ τοῦ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐπιλαβεῖν, διὰ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς συνέχειαν, πρὶν ἐντελῇ προσενέγκασθαι τὴν προτέραν, τῆς τοῦ καθηγουμένου τόνου μακρότητος ἀποτέμνεται.

This seems to mean: "Since the final and initial vowels have no consonant between to link them together, they leave a void (gaping) in the sound, interrupting the tension of the voice; and in our haste to reach the second sound, in order to preserve the continuity of the voice, we curtail the length of the preceding tone, before it has attained its full duration." This is clearly an effort to account for the *corption* only, and Hartel would appear to be in error when he says: "Aristides fasste richtig den Vorgang, nicht um die Erscheinung zu begründen, sondern vielmehr auszudrücken, dass und wie bei einem solchen Zusammenstoss der Vocale Hiatus vermieden werde." The words *διὰ τὴν τῆς φωνῆς συνέχειαν* may indeed refer to an effort to obviate the hiatus described in the first sentence of the quotation, but there is no clear statement of *how* this is accomplished. Why could not hiatus after a *short* vowel be obviated by a similar hastening of the voice to the second sound? Aristides may possibly have meant that this acceleration of movement, and consequent curtailment of

quantity, produced something of the same effect as crasis or elision, and thus rendered the hiatus unobjectionable. But his language certainly gives no hint of this.

Boeckh, in his *De metris Pindari* (p. 102), seems to follow Aristides, but adds an effort of his own to explain the allowance of hiatus:

Deinde si ultima prioris vocabuli est longa natura, sed nihilo secius corripitur [here he inserts a note referring to the passage quoted from Aristides], non habetur hiatus, quia vox, ut longam corripiat, adeo concitata pronuntiatione ad sequentis verbi initium transeat necesse est, ut vincat moram ab hiatu objectam.

Here Boeckh clearly grapples with the problem, though his solution of it is not fully satisfactory. Why can not the voice hasten over *every* long vowel in the same way? What part is played by the initial vowel of the next word? What connection has the practice of correption with other analogous phenomena of speech, such as crasis and synizesis? Boeckh's statement, when analyzed, seems to amount merely to this: "Because the void in sound is objectionable, we hasten the pronunciation in order to remove the difficulty and so the hiatus is overcome." But why can not this be done in *all* cases of hiatus alike?

Curtius, in his *Studien* I. 2, pp. 279 ff., regards the correption of *αι* and *οι* as "semi-elision," supporting this opinion by such crases as *κα'γω* for *καὶ ἐγώ*, implying an intermediate form *κα'ἐγώ*. Cf. *οἱ ἐμοί*, (*ὁ' ἐμοί*) *οὐμοί*. In the same way he would explain *δὴ ἐγώ* as *δὲ' ἐγώ*. To this theory it has been objected that the metrical shortening which we are discussing appears most frequently in the diphthongs ending in *ι*, a vowel which is not often elided. But this objection is not fatal, since the elision of the whole diphthong *αι* is common enough in the verbal endings *-σθαι*, *-ται* (less so in *-μαι*, *-νται*), and even *ι* alone is very frequently elided in *ἐπ'ι*, *ἀμφ'ι*, the termination *-μι*, and elsewhere. The conjunction *καί*, to be sure, which furnishes so very large a proportion of the cases of metrical correption (see p. 242), is seldom, if ever, elided; but this fact need not be interpreted as unfavorable to the "semi-elision" theory. On the contrary, it may be regarded as distinctly supporting the opinion of Curtius.

W. Hartel, in the work referred to above (p. 243), noticed that correction in hiatus is most frequent in diphthongs consisting of a *short* vowel followed by *ι*, and on this fact he based a new effort to explain the practice. Believing that the usage began with these diphthongs, he assumed that in such combinations as *καὶ ἐγώ*, the final *ι* of the diphthong, standing between two vowels, under the influence of the rapid movement of dactylic verse, passed over into the corresponding consonantal sound of *jot*. The emergence of this consonantal sound at once removed the hiatus, and the preceding *-α-*, at the same time, being left by itself, appeared with its natural short quantity. Thus the verse (A 437)

ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βαῖνον ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης

seems to show, at the end of the first foot, both irregular mensuration and hiatus. But if we write *ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοί*, neither hiatus nor irregularity of quantity is left.

O. Grulich (see p. 243) planted himself upon the position of Hartel, but he went farther than his predecessor, in that he endeavored to show how the practice of correption extended from the diphthongs mentioned to the other diphthongs, and so, finally, to the long vowels. In particular, he pointed to the locative ending *-αι* (which often served as a dative ending) as having perhaps assisted in establishing the tendency to shorten the regular dative ending in *φ*.¹

F. D. Allen, in his paper on "Greek Versification in Inscriptions" (*Papers of the American School at Athens* IV, pp. 120 f.), refers to the views of Hartel and Grulich as offering a possible explanation of the facts in question, but corrects these scholars in their error of extending the application of the principle (*καὶ ἐγώ* = *καὶ ἐγώ*) to the termination *-ου* of the genitive (*ἐκ Πύλου ἐλθών* = *ἐκ Πύλου ἐλθών*). Allen rightly calls attention to the fact that *-ου* in the genitive was never a real diphthong, so that it is impossible to speak of the "consonantization" of the second element.

The handbooks of metric give us little assistance. Christ (p. 38) says simply:

¹ Grulich does not, however, mention the Boeotian *-αι* for *-φ*, which may have had an influence on the shortening of the latter.

Von einem Hiatus kann nicht mehr die Rede sein wenn . . . ein langer Vocal . . . in der Thesis verkürzt wird . . . , denn so wurden eben regelmässig die Vocale an den bezeichneten Stellen von den griechischen Schriftstellern behandelt.

Elsewhere (p. 26), however, he seems to endorse the views of Hartel and Grulich, and says:

Der Grund, dass die Kürzung gerade in der Thesis des Dactylus eintrat, lag in der raschen rollenden Aussprache, welche die Aufeinanderfolge mehrerer Kürzen mit sich brachte, und durch welche namentlich die Diphthonge sich leicht in ihr rein vocalisches und ihr halb-vocalisches Element auflösten.

Westphal (III. i, p. 122) combines the principle of "semi-elision" with the Hartel-Grulich consonantization of *ι* and *υ*. After comparing correption in hiatus with elision, he says:

Wie dort [i. e., in elision] die einzeitige kurze Vocal zur zeitlosen Vorschlagsilbe wird, so verliert hier [i. e., in hiatus] der zweizeitige lange Vocal die Hälfte seines Werthes, und wird zur einzeitigen Kürze. Besonders häufig werden von dieser Verkürzung die diphthongischen Auslaute, *αι*, *ει*, *οι*, und *ου* [but see p. 241] betroffen, deren zweiter Bestandtheil, das *ι* oder *υ*, hierbei in einen Halbvokal übergeht.

It thus appears that, while the convenient term "semi-elision" has found considerable favor as describing correption in hiatus, yet the consonantization theory of Hartel and Grulich has also been widely accepted as affording a more fundamental explanation of the process. It is at this point that the hope of more light from a wider field of investigation presents itself. As suggested by Allen in the paper cited (p. 121), if it should be found that after Homer the correption shows a tendency to spread more and more from the "short" diphthongs to the "improper" diphthongs and the simple long vowels, it would add considerably to our confidence that Hartel and Grulich were right; that the practice began with the diphthongs *αι*, *ει*, *οι*, *ευ*, as explained by those scholars, and that its appearance in other vowels and diphthongs is to be accounted for either by analogy or in some other way.

The results in detail have been set forth in the table on p. 241. But for the sake of clearness and sharpness of presentation, the

following table is added, in which those cases of correption which are satisfactorily explained by Hartel and Grulich are combined into one group ("A"), while those cases which represent the tendency toward the extension of the field of correption form another group ("B"). The diphthongs *eu* and *au* are ignored as before.

In 100 Verses	Total	A	B	Per cent. A	Per cent. B
Homer.....	30.1	24.9	5.3	0.83	0.17
Hesiod.....	33.8	24.8	9.0	0.73	0.27
Homeric Hymns.....	31.8	25.2	6.6	0.79	0.21
Tyrtæus.....	19.9	15.3	4.6	0.77	0.23
Solon.....	19.6	16.2	3.4	0.83	0.17
Theognis.....	27.4	22.0	5.4	0.80	0.20
Simonides.....	12.9	5.7	7.2	0.44	0.56
Empedocles.....	32.4	30.0	2.4	0.93	0.07
Theocritus.....	32.7	24.9	7.8	0.76	0.24
Aratus.....	30.2	24.9	5.3	0.82	0.18
Manetho.....	24.7	17.4	7.3	0.70	0.30
Callimachus.....	17.6	15.5	2.1	0.88	0.12
Ap. Rhodius.....	27.2	22.4	4.8	0.82	0.18
Moschus.....	23.4	21.8	1.6	0.93	0.07
Bion.....	23.3	21.3	2.0	0.91	0.09
[Phocylides].....	16.5	13.5	3.0	0.82	0.18
Nicander.....	36.5	30.6	5.9	0.84	0.16
Oppian.....	8.8	7.8	1.0	0.89	0.11
Q. Smyrnaeus.....	32.4	27.5	4.9	0.85	0.15
Dion. Periegetes.....	29.8	26.6	3.2	0.89	0.11
[Orph.] Argonautica.....	30.6	16.3	4.3	0.79	0.21
Nonnus.....	13.6	13.0	0.6	0.96	0.04
Colluthus.....	16.9	16.3	0.6	0.96	0.04
Musæus.....	16.6	14.8	1.8	0.89	0.11
Tryphiodorus.....	14.9	14.8	0.1	0.99	0.01
Tzetzes.....	22.1	16.7	5.4	0.76	0.24

The above table affords little evidence of steady progress, from Homer onward, in the direction of widening the field in which correption takes place. On the contrary, the practice of Homer is seen to be very nearly the mean or normal usage of the whole list. Hesiod, to be sure, shows a decidedly larger proportion of the less usual cases of curtailment of quantity (B) than Homer, but after Hesiod we find no further movement toward "B," of any consequence, except in Simonides. In this poet alone the cases under "B" are actually more numerous than those under "A," though this is due, not to a numerical increase in the former class, but to a marked falling-off in the latter. On the other hand, in the Homeric Hymns, Tyrtæus, Solon, and Theognis (the last three, like Simonides, employing the elegiac couplet), the proportion is much the same as in Homer, while in Empedocles there is a

decided reaction toward "A." The Alexandrian poets do not differ materially, in their usage, from their earlier models, except that in Moschus and Bion the tendency toward confining correction to the "A" diphthongs becomes still more marked. The poets of the Roman and Byzantine periods differ widely among themselves, but from Nonnus onward there is comparatively little correction of any kind, and the little that appears is confined more closely than ever to the diphthongs under "A." Tzetzes forms the only exception, and approaches very closely to the Homeric norm. It would be interesting to know whether this was studied, or unconscious, imitation of his great prototype.

In short, what little progress can be observed, from Homer to Tryphiodorus, lies in the direction of narrowing the range of correction, rather than of extending it. The opinion of Hartel and Grulich does not therefore receive the kind of confirmation which was hoped for (see p. 246). If correction began with the "short" diphthongs, and extended to the other diphthongs and long vowels by analogy, the process must have begun far back of our Homer, and reached its maximum effect in Hesiod and Simonides, after whose time it began to lose its force. Indeed, when we observe some of the remarkable variations and extremes of usage, as in Hesiod, Simonides, Empedocles, Nicander, Oppian, Tryphiodorus, we are forced to the conclusion that we are dealing, not with a process of phonetic or historical development, but with the peculiarities of individuals, or schools of poetry, which would probably find their explanation in a detailed study of the subject-matter, style, and vocabulary of the poets in question.

One question, however, may still be raised. We have examined the usage of the different poets as regards correction, and have based our conclusions upon the frequency with which one or another of the vowel-endings is shortened. But are we sure that the poets exercised any choice in this matter, conscious or unconscious? May it not be true that they shortened all vowel-endings, as they came to hand, with equal freedom, so that the frequency, for example, of short *ai* or *oi*, or the rarity of short *η* or *φ*, represents merely the frequency or the rarity of the *occurrence* of these endings, in the language which the poets wrote? If

it should appear that the results given in the table on p. 241, in regard to the relative frequency of correption in the different vowels and diphthongs, depend solely, or chiefly, upon the natural tendency of the Greek language, or of a given poet, to *use* words ending in these vowels or diphthongs, our whole investigation would be shown to be on the wrong path. It therefore seemed necessary to ascertain, not only the habit of each poet, in the matter of the use of the various vowel-endings, but also the usage of ordinary prose as shown in Thucydides and Xenophon. The following tables give the results. The first table indicates the number of times which the different vowel-endings appear in each poet, to each 100 lines of text (based, in most cases, on the reading of 600 consecutive lines), the usage of Thucydides and Xenophon being added below. The second table shows these same results combined into two groups as before (A=*ai, ei, oi*; B=the remaining diphthongs and long vowels), and, finally, exhibits what may be called the "tendency to shorten," which is obtained by comparing the number of *occurrences* of the endings in each group with the number of times they appear as short.

VOWEL ENDINGS

	ai	oi	ou	ei	ē	η	υ	ω	ā	ε
Homer	42	28	11	14	9	28	10	15	3	1
Hesiod	44	15	9	9	12	29	11	8	3	1
Hom. Hymns	47	21	10	12	9	23	9	10	1	0
Tyrtæus	35	17	11	14	13	14	12	14	2	0
Solon	41	20	14	20	7	16	14	5	1	2
Theognis	47	22	16	18	8	22	14	10	1	2
Simonides	28	17	21	10	15	10	6	7	4	7
Empedocles	49	15	11	16	7	18	13	9	0	0
Theocritus	62	17	4	17	6	11	4	29	22	7
Aratus	74	34	19	15	12	25	12	6	0	0
Manetho	46	13	18	23	13	17	9	2	0	0
Callimachus	48	22	12	11	9	29	9	10	1	0
Apoll. Rhodius	35	23	12	6	11	20	13	7	1	1
Moschus	45	17	10	12	9	31	12	7	7	1
Bion	55	19	3	22	6	14	3	21	13	3
[Phocylides]	33	12	20	16	7	32	11	7	9	1
Nicander	50	16	18	19	11	26	11	2	0	1
Oppian	41	26	5	11	5	20	5	6	0	1
Q. Smyrnaeus	42	21	12	9	6	30	8	6	1	0
Dion. Periegetes	50	20	16	7	6	20	5	4	0	0
[Orphic] Argonautica	32	15	13	4	8	18	7	5	0	1
Nonnus	28	7	19	8	24	15	11	8	1	0
Colluthus	34	4	10	7	5	21	4	7	0	0
Musaëus	30	9	18	9	8	21	7	9	1	0
Tryphiodorus	36	20	9	9	13	23	9	4	0	0
Tzetzes	29	19	14	10	9	14	6	2	1	0
Thuc. Xen.	63	34	21	13	17	22	11	4	2	5

	Vowel- Endings A	Vowel- Endings B	Shortened A	Shortened B	Tendency to Shorten A	Tendency to Shorten B
Homer.....	84	77	24.9	5.2	0.90	0.07
Hesiod.....	68	73	24.8	9.0	0.36	0.12
Hom. Hymns.....	80	62	25.2	6.6	0.32	0.11
Tyrtæus.....	66	66	15.3	4.6	0.23	0.07
Solon.....	81	59	16.2	3.4	0.20	0.06
Theognis.....	87	73	22.0	5.4	0.25	0.07
Simonides.....	55	70	5.7	7.2	0.10	0.10
Empedocles.....	80	58	30.0	2.4	0.58	0.04
Theocritus.....	96	83	24.9	7.8	0.26	0.09
Aratus.....	123	74	24.9	5.3	0.20	0.07
Manetho.....	82	59	17.4	7.3	0.21	0.12
Callimachus.....	81	70	15.5	2.1	0.19	0.03
Apoll. Rhodius.....	64	67	22.4	4.8	0.35	0.07
Moschus.....	74	77	21.8	1.6	0.29	0.02
Bion.....	96	63	21.3	2.0	0.22	0.03
[Phocylides].....	61	87	13.5	3.0	0.22	0.03
Nicander.....	85	69	30.6	5.9	0.36	0.09
Oppian.....	78	42	7.8	1.0	0.10	0.02
Q. Smyrnaeus.....	72	63	27.5	4.9	0.38	0.08
Dion. Periegetes.....	77	51	26.6	3.2	0.35	0.06
[Orphic] Argonautica.....	51	52	16.3	4.3	0.32	0.08
Nonnus.....	43	78	13.0	0.6	0.30	0.01
Calluthus.....	45	47	16.3	0.6	0.36	0.01
Musæus.....	48	64	14.8	1.8	0.31	0.03
Tryphiodorus.....	65	58	14.8	0.1	0.23	0.00½
Tzetzes.....	58	46	16.7	5.4	0.29	0.12
Thuc. Xen.....	110	82				

From the above table it appears, as we should expect, that there is some connection between the frequency of use of the two classes of vowel-endings by the different poets, and the frequency of correction of the same endings. The very large proportion of corrections under "B" in Simonides, for example, in comparison with those under "A," goes hand in hand with a somewhat larger proportion of occurrences of the same endings. Something of the same sort, too, may be seen in the figures for Hesiod and Theocritus. And in Empedocles, on the other hand, a large proportion of A-endings is accompanied by a large proportion of A-corrections. But in Aratus the A-endings are extraordinarily numerous, while the A-corrections are no more frequent than in Homer. In Nonnus, whose comparative fondness for the B-endings is greater than that of any other poet, the cases of correction in these endings are insignificant in number. If the frequency of correction were *closely* dependent upon the frequency of occurrence, we should expect that the figures in the last two columns of the last table, representing the "tendency to correction" in the two classes, would be approximately constant throughout the list.

But, as a matter of fact, the tendency to shorten "A," in Simonides, is precisely the same as the tendency to shorten "B," while in Tryphiodorus the former is more than 100 times as great as the latter. Hesiod shortens one-third of his A-endings and one-eighth of his B-endings, while Moschus, who shortens nearly one-third of his A-endings, curtails but one-fiftieth of his B-endings. These facts, together with others of a similar nature, which may be gathered from the table, compel us once more to admit that the practice of correction in hiatus is, after all, largely a personal matter—a feature of style—in which the poet was guided, to a great extent at least, by the traditions of the school to which he belonged, or the preference of his individual taste.

The results of our discussion may be summed up as follows:

1. Throughout the whole range of Greek hexameter poetry, correction in hiatus tends to confine itself, more or less closely, to the diphthongs *αι*, *ει*, *οι*. It does not extend itself freely to all vowel-endings, nor does the frequency of correction of the various endings depend, to any great extent, upon the frequency of occurrence of the same endings. An element of choice, or fitness, must certainly enter into the problem.

2. The consonantization theory of Hartel and Grulich offers too exact and satisfactory an explanation of at least some of the phenomena of correction to be wholly rejected. In regard to the diphthongs *αι*, *ει*, *οι*, it accounts both for the curtailment of quantity and for the tolerance of hiatus, and in a way which seems open to no reasonable criticism. The fact that these diphthongs furnish an overwhelming majority of all the cases of correction is therefore distinctly favorable to this view rather than to Curtius' doctrine of semi-elision, for there is no good reason why the latter process should confine itself so largely to these particular diphthongs. Moreover, correction in hiatus is peculiarly characteristic of the dactylic foot, and especially of the last syllable of the foot, where the dactylic rapidity of movement is most strongly felt. This fact, too, supports the consonantization theory, rather than that of semi-elision, since elision does not appear to depend in the least on rapid movement, while the development of a consonant sound from *ι* is certainly assisted by rapid utterance.

3. If correption in hiatus began with the diphthongs *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, in accordance with this theory, its origin must go back to forms of poetry older than our Homer, since in the earliest as well as the latest portions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* we find a tolerably settled and stereotyped usage; a usage, moreover, in which correption has already spread considerably to the other diphthongs and the long vowels. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, as we have them, do not therefore stand at the beginning, but rather at the end, of the development of this poetic license. Whatever tendency can be detected in the later poets toward extending correption still more freely to all diphthongs and long vowels (as to a slight extent in Hesiod, Simonides, Manetho) must be regarded as poetic experiment, and in a direction which did not meet the approval of the other poets in question.

4. The general tendency of later times, in this as in so many other features of metrical usage, is toward the abridgment of freedom, and the setting up of fixed conventional standards. In many of the later poets, correption of any endings except *ai*, *ei*, *oi*, practically disappears.

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ON A FRAGMENT OF SAPPHO

BY F. BLASS

In the recent book by von Wilamowitz, *Die Textgeschichte der griechischen Bukoliker*, p. 179, a fragment of Sappho is discussed which had escaped notice until quite recently, when it was discovered by the Belgian philologist Joseph Bidez, the future editor of the emperor Julian, in one of the letters of this author (No. 59, p. 379 Hercher). The words of the poetess, which were addressed to a friend newly arrived, are adapted by the emperor to the philosopher Iamblichus, from whom he had just received a letter. They have scarcely suffered in transmission and fill two lines of Aeolic pentameters ($\approx \text{v} - \text{v} - \text{v} - \text{v} - \text{v} - \text{v} - \text{v} - \text{v} - \text{v}$), the metre in which Sappho's second book was written:

Ἥλθες· κάλ'¹ (καὶ MS) ἐπόησας (ἐποίησας MS; the writer adds on his own account ἤλθες γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸν οἷς γράφεις)· ἔγω δέ σ' ἐμαυόμαν (σε μὰ ἑμῶν MS)· ἄν (or perhaps δν, which was the Lesbian form) δ' ἐφλεξας (ἐφύλαξας MS) ἔμην φρένα καιομένην πόθῳ.

I think it better to preserve ἐφλεξας, which is given by Bidez, than to read ἐφλυξας with Wilamowitz, which would produce a mixture of images.

So far all is well; but I may say to Wilamowitz with Homer's Nestor: οὐδεὶς τοι τὸν μῦθον ὀνόσσεται· . . . ἀτὰρ οὐ τέλος ἴκεο μύθων. Although Julian gives the words above quoted without mentioning Sappho, he quotes her by name later on in the same letter in a passage that has been noted and received by the editors of her fragments, although not to its full extent:

χαῖρε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡμῖν πολλά, καθάπερ ἡ καλὴ Σαπφώ φησιν, καὶ οὐκ ἰσάριθμα μόνον τῷ χρόνῳ, ὃν ἀλλήλων ἀπελείφθημεν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ δεῖ χαῖρε κτέ. (see Bergk fr. 105 note: χαῖρε . . . φησιν).

Now it is quite clear that Julian does not quote Sappho for χαῖρε, nor for χαῖρε πολλά, but for a longer phrase, and further

¹ Or κάλλ', see Meister *Griech. Dialekte* I, p. 147, καλλά is attested (by Apollonius) as Doric, not as Aeolic; in the fragments of the Aeolic poets nothing but κάλλος.

that especially *ισάριθμα* does not come from Julian, but from the poetess. It is easy to restore a full pentameter:

Χαῖρε πολλά τέ μοι καὶ ἰσάριθμα τῷ χρόνῳ

and portions of a second:

ὄν σεθεν ~ ~ - ~ ~ - ἀπελειπόμαν.

Compare the new Berlin fragment col. I. 5 *ἀπυλιμπάνω*. It is highly probable that he quotes from the same poem which he was making use of before, but whether the words came immediately after the first or not is hard to decide. Everybody may judge for himself:

*Ἦλθες· κάλ' ἐπόησας· ἔγω δέ σ' ἐμαιόμαν,
 ἀν δ' ἔφλεξας ἔμαν φρένα καιομέναν πόθῳ.
 χαῖρε πολλά τέ μοι καὶ ἰσάριθμα τῷ χρόνῳ,
 ὄν σεθεν ~ ~ - ~ ~ - ἀπελειπόμαν.*

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THE MANUSCRIPTS OF ARISTOPHANES. II

BY JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE

In this article two topics will receive such discussion as is possible within brief limits: the critical use of the manuscripts of Aristophanes to the middle of the nineteenth century, and the employment of symbols to designate them.

Investigation has not yet disclosed the particular manuscripts that Musurus used in constituting the text of the *Princeps*, published by Aldus in Venice in 1498. They may no longer be extant, except perhaps as bindings in Aldine editions. At the end of the *Aves* Musurus speaks of "divers copies" from which he compiled the scholia.¹ In his dedication of the book, Aldus says he omits a tenth play, the *Lysistrata*, "quia vix dimidiata haberi a nobis potuit."

The range of the investigation of the source of the *Princeps* is gradually narrowing as the contents of the manuscripts become better known, and it seems not improbable that in time we shall be able to determine, if not the immediate source of this important book, at least the branch to which it belongs in the stemma of existing manuscripts.²

The second edition of Aristophanes, published in Florence in 1515, is a reprint of the text of the Aldine, but the text was

¹ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδιῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὰς σχολίων ἀρχαίοις συντεθέντων γραμματικοῖς, & δὴ σποράδην ἐν ἀντιγράφοις κείμενα διαφόροις καὶ πεφυρμένως συνίλεκται τε καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν τ' ἢ ἐπιμελέστατα διώρθωται παρὰ Μάρκου Μουσούρου τοῦ Κρητός, τέλος. The seven plays were the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*, *Equites*, *Acharnenses*, *Vespaee*, *Aves*. The original intention of Aldus, without doubt, was to end the book with the *Aves*, but subsequently he added the *Pax* and *Ecclesiasusae*.

² W. Dindorf, in the preface to his *Acharnenses* (1828), says of the *Princeps*: "ex uno eoque non optimo libro facta esse videtur." In his Oxford edition of Aristophanes (III. xvi), published in 1837, his view has shifted: "ex uno pluribusve infimae aetatis codicibus esse compositam vitiorum multitudo ostendit." Zuretti, in his *Analecta Aristophanea* (1892), pp. 35-84, maintains that Cod. Estensis III D 8, which once belonged to Musurus, is virtually the sole source of the text of the Aldine Aristophanes for the six plays which the manuscript contains, and that this manuscript and Cod. Ambrosianus L 41 are the chief sources of its scholia. See Zacher, who dissents, in Bursian's *Jahresbericht* LXXI (1892), pp. 30 ff.

revised,¹ and the editor, Bernardo Giunta, seems to have had the help of manuscripts.² It contains the same plays as the Aldine book, but without scholia. Four months later the same house issued, as an appendix, two plays not previously published, the *Thesmophoriazusae* and the *Lysistrata*. In the dedication of this little book the editor says that they were obtained from a manuscript which contained also other plays of Aristophanes and belonged to the library in Urbino.³ This was the Codex Ravennas.⁴

The third edition of Aristophanes was issued from the Juntine press in Florence in 1525, under the editorship of Francinus. This contains the nine plays in the Aldine edition, with scholia, in the order followed in that book, and gives for the first time verses 948-1011 of the *Pax*. Only eight manuscripts are extant which have this play, and five⁵ of these do not contain the verses mentioned. If, therefore, they were secured for the edition of 1525 from a manuscript now extant, this must have been either the Ravennas or the Venetus.⁶ Dindorf declared for the Ravennas.⁷ A collation of the Ravennas and the Venetus with the text of these verses in the second Juntine book neither confirms his statement nor proves it to be erroneous.⁸ The book, in fact, shows considerable variations from both manuscripts, which may be due to editorial revision. A collation, however, of the scholia

¹ The editor, speaking of the plays in the Aldine edition, says: "easdem hic quoque nos maxima diligentia recognitas summoque labore castigatas nostris typis meliores reddere conati sumus."

² Raper noted that entire verses, lacking in the Princeps, are found in the first Juntine: *Ran.* 515, *Ec.* 469, 470 (see Invernizi, III, p. xxxi). He remarks also other variations in text that certainly indicate the use of manuscripts. Dindorf thought that these were codices Laurentiani (ed. *Eccles.* iv; ed. Oxon. III. xvi).

³ "Venit mi Francisce expectata dies illa in qua ex Urbinate bibliotheca antiquissimum Aristophanis exemplar nacti sumus ibique inter alias *Λυσιστράτην* καὶ *Θεσμοφοριαζούσας* . . . non alias visas comedias invenimus."

⁴ See *Classical Philology* I (1906), p. 6.

⁵ Laurentianus XXXI. 15, Parisini 2715 and 2717, Havniensis 1980, and Palatinus 67.

⁶ The eighth manuscript, Cod. Venetus 475 (G), is a copy of Cod. 474. See *Classical Philology* I (1906), pp. 3 f.

⁷ Ed. Oxon. IV. iv.

⁸ Elsewhere, however, the text seems to show close relation with the Ravennas. For example, in the first three hundred verses of the *Aves*, it agrees with the Ravennas solely against fourteen other manuscripts, the Princeps and Junta I as follows: 75 γ' ἀτ'; 164 πειθώμεσθ'; 177 τί δ'; 216 σμίλακος; 227 ἐποποι' ποίπο' ποποποι' ποποι'; 293 ἐπὶ τῶν λόφων.

in the Ravennas and the Venetus with those in the book is decisive. It not only contains none of the scholia which are found in the Venetus, but are not in the Ravennas—and these are numerous—but in case of differences between the manuscripts invariably follows the older. The scholia on 948–1011 in Junta II were derived either from the Ravennas or from a manuscript, not now extant, which was very closely related to it.

Nevertheless, it seems to me highly improbable that the Cod. Ravennas was in the hands of Francinus in 1525. In the dedication of the second Juntine edition the editor boasts of the perfection of his book and of its superiority to both the editions of the poet that preceded it. But it does not contain the *Thesmophoriazusae* nor the *Lysistrata*, although the text of both these plays had been published, under the editorship of B. Giunta, by the same house early in 1516 from the Cod. Ravennas. This manuscript contains scholia on each play, and it is hardly credible that Francinus would have neglected the opportunity to complete his book by adding these plays, adorned by the commentary that had never yet been published, if the press still had control of the manuscript. It had originally come into its possession by the interposition of Euphrosynus Boninus, who had obtained it from the library in Urbino. But he did not return it thither, and it is to be presumed that in 1525 it was safely in his possession in Pisa,¹ and that he declined again to relinquish it. He may have sent a copy of the missing verses of the *Pax*, with excerpts² from the scholia, or these may have been copied out in 1516 against a future edition.

The edition of 1525, however, does contain scholia that are not found in the Aldine edition. These occur in the notes on the *Plutus* and *Nubes*, but practically disappear in the plays that follow.³ Furthermore, it was observed by Raper that vs. 132 of the *Ranae* occurs in the book, although it is in neither of the

¹ On Boninus as professor in Pisa, see Poccianti, *Catalogus Scriptorum Florentinorum*, p. 54.

² The following scholia in the Ravennas are omitted in the book: on 961, 967, 995, 1007, 1008 bis, 1009, 1011, and in part on 959, 968.

³ They are specially marked by a symbol in Küster's edition. See also Dindorf, ed. Oxon. IV. ix.

preceding editions, and also that some variant readings occur that indicate the use of manuscript sources.¹

Hemsterhuis² asserts that Francinus in the second Juntine edition depended on late, inferior manuscripts, whenever he departed from the Princeps. This adverse judgment is controverted by Reisig,³ who blames Brunck for perpetuating it, and says that there is no more accurate edition of the *Vespae* and *Pax* than that of Francinus.⁴

Before 1525 a separate edition of the *Plutus* and *Ranae*, single editions of the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, and *Ranae*, and a Latin version of the *Plutus* (1501) had appeared. After 1525 both 'complete' editions of the poet and editions of single plays multiplied with great rapidity. But the books bred in, and the independent use of manuscripts must have been rare. The editors practically never make mention of *libri scripti*,⁵ and are in general studiously

¹ See Invernizi, III, pp. xxxiii f.

² In his edition of the *Plutus*, p. xix.

³ In his *Coniectaneorum in Aristophanem libri duo* (1816), pp. xvi f.

⁴ It is obvious that we are not yet adequately informed in regard to these earliest editions of Aristophanes, which in some particulars have the importance of manuscripts. It will be the task of some patient man to determine the facts by an investigation of the relation of the two Juntine editions to one another, to the Princeps, and to the Cod. Ravennas, which is now easily accessible in facsimile, and of both these editions also to the Florentine manuscripts. See Dindorf in the preface to his edition of the *Acharnenses* (1828).

⁵ I have noted a few exceptions. Vettori wrote in the margin of his copy of the Princeps against vas. 1748-1754 of the *Aves*: "Sic distincta sunt haec carmina in vet. cod. ex bibliotheca Divi Marci, cum quo totam comœdiam contulimus." See *Acta Phil. Mon.* I (1812), p. 402. I ventured the suggestion in 1902 (in the preface to *Facsimile of the Codex Venetus Marcianus 474*, p. 6, n. 1) that the manuscript to which Vettori refers was Venetus 474, but the investigations of my colleague, Dr. Cary, show intimate relationship in the *Aves* between Vettori's notes and Laurentianus XXXI. 15 (Γ). It remains to be determined whether Laurentianus XXXI. 15 was ever in the library of S. Marco in Florence.—Fédéric Morel published in Paris in 1586 an edition of the *Pax* "cum emendationibus et variis lectionibus e codice manuscripto in bibliotheca reginae matris" (Catharine de' Medici). This book I have not seen.—Chrestien also made sparing use of Paris manuscripts in his edition of the *Pax* (1589). He has recorded his difficulties and reflexions: "Nullum ex his verbis [ὅκ ἐστὶ τῶν ξύλων *Pax* 1133] bonum sensum venari possum, cumque diutius me torsisset hic locus, conquisi quae potui exemplaria manu scripta. Atque adeo cum aditus mihi patuisset in Bibliothecam Mediceam, quae Parisiis est, quamque sub Reginae matris praestantissimae heroinae auspiciis et stipendiis diligenti custodia tanquam vigil draco mala aurea tuetur et servat vir doctus Bellebranchaeus Antistes, incidi in exemplaria vetusta duo; sed incertior inde discessi, quam eram. Nam lectionem hanc deprehendi οὐκ ἔδωκ, nostra adhuc pejorem. Scio manuscriptos libros magnum adferre has

silent as to their printed sources. Almost all the early books neglect to acknowledge their forbears.

The critical use of manuscripts which the editor names with such definiteness that in general they can now be identified begins with Kuster in his monumental variorum edition published in 1710. Zacagni, at this time librarian of the Vatican, furnished him with collations of the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*, and *Aves* in Cod. Urbinas 141¹ and of the *Equites*, *Acharnenses*, *Vespae*, *Pax*, and *Lysistrata* in Cod. Palatinus 67.² He had at his command also collations of the *Plutus* in a Cod. Bodleianus, which Dobree thought might be the Lincolnensis in Oxford, of the *Plutus* and *Nubes* in the Arundelianus now in the British Museum, and of the *Lysistrata* in an apograph of Vossianus 77 now in Leyden. This apograph, which enabled him to print the scholia on the *Lysistrata* for the first time, was sent to him from Cambridge by Bentley and is now in the library of Trinity College. Kuster mentions the use also of a "Baroccianus" in constituting the text of the scholia on the *Lysistrata*. He probably refers to the scholia in Bentley's apograph extracted from Baroccianus 38 to supply the omissions in Vossianus 77.³ Excerpts also of scholia from Vaticanus 1294 and Urbinas 141 were sent to Kuster from Rome and enabled him to state the important fact that many of the Aldine

litteras tractantibus auxilium, sed profecto saepe accidit, ut falsas lectiones et corruptas quas habent plerunque vetuste scripti codices amplectantur qui iudicio pravo parvoque lectionis usu praediti accedunt ad veteres illas tabulas et quasi litterarum naufragia." He finally proposes *εὐκαστῶν* for *ὀκ ἐκ τῶν*, and thinks well of his emendation.

¹ Kuster says simply "Ms. Vaticano-Urbinas," but the only other Urbinas in the Vatican collection that comprises plays of Aristophanes does not contain the *Aves*.

² Kuster says simply "Ms. Vaticano-Palatinus," but Cod. 67 is the only Palatinus of Aristophanes that contains the five plays he names. Of this Vaticanus Dobree said in 1820: "Contulit Zacagnius in usum Kusteri, qui praeter lectiones in editis notis memoratas, quaedam notavit in margine editionis Porti. Liber in Hemsterhusii potestatem venit (vide eum ad Plut. p. 482) et nunc est in bibliotheca Leidensi." By "liber" Dobree meant the annotated edition of Portus, as reference to Hemsterhuis makes clear, but Dobree's note has been the source of an error which needs correction. Both Thiersch (ed. of the *Plutus*, p. xxxvi) and Teuffel (second ed. of the *Nubes*, p. 24) state that the *manuscript* is in the library in Leyden.

³ Kuster did not use Vos's manuscript but an apograph. See Dobree's note on *Lysistrata* 200, in *Porsoni Notae*, p. 226, and in the Addenda, p. (148). See also, on the various Leyden 'Lysistratas,' G. Stein, *Scholia in Aristophanis Lysistratam*, pp. xxxff. — Bentley, it seems, used also Baroccianus 127. See *Classical Journal* XII, p. 104.

scholia were not 'old' but were due to Thomas Magister and John Tzetzes.¹

In 1744 Hemsterhuis published his edition of the *Plutus*, in which he first made use of the D'Orvillianus now in Oxford and of Leidensis 34.² In the second edition of this important book (1811), the editor, Schaefer, prints extracts from Parisinus 2827 which had been made for him by Bast.

J. G. Trendelenburg published in 1780³ readings of the *Plutus* from the Elbingensis, a manuscript of which Harles also subsequently made use through Trendelenburg's good offices.

Thomas Burgess, in his edition of the *Miscellanea Critica* of Dawes issued in 1781, published variants of Barocciani 43 and 127 on passages dealt with by Dawes. Burgess recorded the lacunae in Cod. 43.

Richard Brunck of Strassburg first made systematic use of manuscripts housed in the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris in his celebrated edition of Aristophanes issued in 1781-83. These manuscripts were Cod. Regii 2712, 2715, 2717, a "Regius Bombycinus," which had not been given a regular number in the printed catalogue of 1740, but was almost certainly Supplement 135,⁴ and Regius 2820, which he used for supplementary emendation on the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, and *Ranae*. Besides these Brunck used another bombycine manuscript which he designates as "Codex Meus" and gives the symbol D,⁵ and, in editing the *Lysistrata* and *Thesmophoriazusae*, an "Augustanus" (Cod. Monacensis 492⁶).

¹See Küster's Praefatio, p. ii, and Zacher, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplem. XVI (1888), pp. 561 f. Also, on the Tzetzian scholia on the *Aves* in Urbinas 141, White, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* XII (1901), pp. 69 ff.

²See his edition, pp. xvi and 381.

³In *Bibliotheca philologica et critica*, Göttingen, I (1780), pp. 25 ff.

⁴Brunck says (at the beginning of his notes on the *Plutus*): "Initio Codicis C. interierunt folia aliquot, quibus continebantur praeter argumentum versus fabulae 68. primi, et scholia in 65. horum priores." Cf. with this Omont's description of Supplement 135 (*Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* III, p. 221). The identification, which was assumed by Bothe in his edition of the *Ranae* (1828), p. iii, still lacks final confirmation.

⁵See *Classical Philology* I (1906), pp. 6 f.

⁶492, not 192. This manuscript is a transcript of the Ravennas. See Enger, *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. II, p. 245, whose statement is confirmed by W. G. Clark, *Journal of Philology* III, p. 160, and von Velsen, *Ueber den Codex Urbinas der Lysistrata und der Thesmophoriazusae*, p. 7.

In his edition of the *Nubes* published in 1788, Harles, the editor of the *Bibliotheca Graeca* of Fabricius, used a Cod. Bavaricus (Monacensis 137), from which collations of the *Nubes* and *Ranae* were made for him by Ammon. Trendelenburg also furnished him readings of both the *Nubes* and the *Ranae* from the Elbingensis. The collations of the *Ranae* from these two manuscripts are published in an appendix.¹ Harles includes in his book also an argument of the *Nubes*² found in Cod. Matritensis 67. This he extracted from Iriarte's catalogue. He states, furthermore, that Matthaei had sent to him readings of the *Plutus* from a Cod. Moscouiensis, but no use of them can be traced.

The ponderous edition of Aristophanes planned by Invernizi began to appear in 1794. He has the distinction of being the first modern scholar to make use of the Ravennas. The manuscript had been seen by D'Orville at Ravenna in 1728, but he simply catalogued it.³ Invernizi, by the liberality of Cardinal Stefano Borgia, had command also of a Cod. Borgianus.⁴ This manuscript was sent to him from the Museum Veliternum, and it furnished him readings of the *Plutus*, *Nubes*,⁵ and *Ranae*.

J. A. Ernesti had contributed a preface on the scholia to the edition of the *Nubes* that was reprinted from Kuster's edition at Leipzig in 1753. Ernesti then began to collect materials for a new edition and collated manuscripts. His notes on the *Nubes* were published after his death⁶ and furnished a basis for G. Hermann's two editions of the play. Ernesti himself described the manuscripts he had consulted in these words: "Sub signo R. adscripta est varietas Codicis Regii collati cum exemplo Basileensi Frobenii. Igitur interdum, ubi illa lectio iam est in textu Kust. adscripti: Sic Kust. Vbi nihil diversitatis notatum est, consentit cum Basil. —L. est Cod. Leidensis. C. Coislilianus, nunc regius. Ia. Iesuit. Paris. primus. Ib. Ies. Paris. secundus. I. Cod. Ies. uterque." This is a vague and meager description, but Ernesti's readings

¹ Pp. 232-244.

² IX in Dindorf and Dübner.

³ See T. W. Allen in *The Academy* XXXVI (1889), p. 59, and *Journal of Philology* XXIV (1896), p. 324.

⁴ See *Classical Philology* I (1906), p. 7, n. 4.

⁵ *Nubes*, not *Aves*, as by a slip of the pen Invernizi says in his preface, p. xiii.

⁶ Io. Aug. Ernesti *Observationes philologico-criticae in Aristophanis Nubes*, 1795.

from these manuscripts have often been quoted. Hermann, in his first edition of the *Nubes* (1799), identified Ernesti's "Regius" with Brunck's A (Cod. Parisinus 2712). Dobree concluded that Ernesti's "Leidensis" was the same manuscript (Leidensis 34) that Hemsterhuis had used in editing the *Plutus*.¹ Ernesti's "Coislinianus, nunc regius" von Sinner² would identify with Cod. Coislinianus 354,³ as also the "Iesuit. Paris. primus" with Parisinus Supplem. 97.⁴

F. A. Wolf, in the preface⁵ to his translation of the *Nubes* which appeared in 1811, states that he had collated in Vienna and Munich six good manuscripts of which no use had previously been made, but was not able to avail himself largely of their readings.

Reisig in his often quoted *Coniectaneorum in Aristophanem libri duo* (1816) acknowledges his obligations to Thiersch for readings of the *Ecclesiazusae* and *Nubes* that A. Nickel had excerpted from a manuscript in Munich.⁶ Seidler also had furnished him readings "ex suis MSS." One of these was a Venetus.⁷ In his edition of the *Nubes* (1820) Reisig made independent use of the D'Orvillianus previously employed by Hemsterhuis.

W. Dindorf made the first of his important and long-continued contributions to the study of Aristophanes, at the age of eighteen, with his edition of the *Pax* published at Leipzig in 1820.⁸ He also was indebted to Seidler for readings of the *Pax* from Venetus 474.

In 1820 appeared Porson's *Notae in Aristophanem*, edited by Dobree. This book was a noteworthy addition to the resources of students of the comic poet, both in respect to the number of

¹ *Porsoni Notae in Aristophanem*, p. viii.

² *Aristophanis Nubes* (1834), p. xi.

³ It is to be noted that this is the only manuscript in the Coislin collection that contains plays of Aristophanes.

⁴ This manuscript belonged originally to the Collège des Jésuites de Clermont. On the suppression of the order of the Jesuits the manuscripts of the Collège were purchased *en bloc* by Gérard Meermann, in 1764, and left France; but certain manuscripts in the collection were presented by Meermann to the King, among others this book.

⁵ P. xvii.

⁶ See Reisig, p. v. The manuscript was Monacensis 137. Harles had previously published its readings of the *Nubes* and *Ranae* as has been stated on the preceding page.

⁷ See Reisig, p. xviii.

⁸ The same year the seventh volume of the Invernizi edition appeared under Dindorf's editorship.

manuscripts whose readings it furnished for the first time and in its critical accuracy. Porson had collated Harleianus 5664 and Baroccianus 34, and had made independent use of Barocciani 43 and 127, the D'Orvillianus and Bentley's copy of Vossianus 77. Dobree's contribution was noteworthy: the manuscripts in the library of the University of Cambridge (2626, 2614, 2627), Harleiani 5725 and 6307, and for the *Aves* Vossianus 191, now in Leyden. He used also readings of Monacensis 137 which Thiersch had sent to him, in editing the *Ecclesiazusae*, and inspected the Arundelianus afresh.¹

Cod. Havniensis 1980 was first used by W. Dindorf in his edition of the *Aves* (1822). A collation of this play, made by Bloch, is given in the preface, but it has been neglected by subsequent editors. In his *Ecclesiazusae* (1826), he published readings of Laurentianus XXXI. 15 (Γ),² which were sent to him by del Furia, and in his *Acharnenses* (1828) he had at command collations both of this manuscript and of Laurentianus XXXI. 16 (Δ). In his text edition of the eleven plays published in 1830 he added Laurentianus 2779 (Θ).

I. Bekker, in the course of his unwearied but hurried investigations in the libraries of southern Europe, twice collated Venetus 474, in Paris in 1812 and again in Venice in 1819. He seems to have made over his collations both of this manuscript and of the Ravennas to Seidler, who intended to publish them. Seidler's book never appeared, but he put the material at the command of other scholars, Reisig, Dindorf,³ G. Hermann, and Fritzsche. Dindorf published readings of the Venetus not only in his edition of the *Pax* but also, though few in number, in his *Aves* (1822) and *Ranae* (1824). Hermann in 1830 acknowledged his indebt-

¹ Since brief mention of the first use of *libri manuscripti* alone is here intended, mention is purposely omitted of certain early editions of Aristophanes to which Porson and Dobree had access, with marginal readings whose provenance is not always certain, although presumably they were copied from manuscripts. Many such books are preserved, especially in the libraries of northern Europe.

² Two years earlier, in his *Ranae* (1824), Dindorf gives readings of "Florentinus b" on the first one hundred and eight verses, but fails to designate the book so that it can be identified. In his preface he intimates his knowledge of "Libri Florentini octo," and adds "De his propediem alio loco agetur."

³ See the preceding page.

edness to Seidler for readings from both the Venetus and the Ravennas,¹ as likewise Fritzsche in 1837.² Bekker had inspected also Venetus 475 (G) and in 1818 had collated the Ravennas anew, convinced that the collations used by Invernizi were not to be trusted. In Paris he had collated also, for the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, and *Ranae*, certain "Codices Mutinenses," which had been brought thither from northern Italy.³ All this material appeared in his edition of Aristophanes published in London in 1829. He had given attention not only to the text of the play but also to the ancient commentary and was the first to publish the old scholia on the *Thesmophoriazusae*, and from Venetus 474 he recast the scholia on the *Vespae* and *Pax*.

In 1829 Tafel published readings of the Tubingensis in the fourth volume of Seebode's *Neues Archiv für Philologie und Pädagogik*, and those on the *Plutus* are reprinted by Thiersch in his edition of this play,⁴ which appeared in 1830. In this book Thiersch first published readings of the *Plutus* in Monacensis 137. He states that he had been informed by Ernest Hecht, just as his book was going through the press, that recently, while on his travels in Italy, he had seen five "Codices Ambrosiani" in Milan, and adds: "Quum vero codices Ambrosiani omnes praeter alias fabulas Plutum quoque exhibeant, quod mihi sero innotuerunt, sane dolendum est"! Thiersch prints in his Addenda a brief description of these five manuscripts prepared by Hauthal.⁵ Another important Milan manuscript was shortly to be laid under contribution by Dindorf. Thiersch collated Monacensis 492 afresh for his edition of the *Thesmophoriazusae* which appeared in 1832.

L. von Sinner, in his duodecimo edition of the *Nubes* (1834), calls attention to eight manuscripts in the Royal Library in Paris that contain the *Nubes* but had never been collated.⁶ He thinks their collation would yield important results, but he declines to undertake the task himself.

¹In his edition of the *Nubes*, p. x, Hermann had recourse to Seidler because he found Bekker's London edition carelessly printed.

²In his edition of the *Thesmophoriazusae*, p. ix.

³See *Classical Philology* I (1906), p. 7. ⁴Pp. 257 ff.

⁵Pp. cdlxxxi f. The manuscripts were C 222, F 40, A 65, A 100, A 97.

⁶Cod. 2598, 2716, 2718, 2821, 2822, 2823, 2824, Supplem. 58.

W. Dindorf's *Annotationes* appeared at Oxford in 1837. For these he collated Vossianus 77,¹ whose readings had previously been quoted from Bentley's apograph with such corrections as Dobree had been able to publish in 1820,² and edited for the first time the readings of the *Lysistrata* in Laurentianus XXXI. 16 (Δ). It does not appear that Dindorf himself was ever in Italy.³ In only two instances, so far as I can learn, does he state to whom he is indebted for new readings of the text in Italian manuscripts.⁴ He is totally silent as to the sources of his information in regard to them in the preface to his *Annotationes*, yet he was the first to make known the contents of three Florentine books (Γ Δ Θ). In like manner his acknowledgment of the nature of his obligations for assistance in editing his *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem ex codicibus aucta et emendata* (1838) is expressed in very vague terms.⁵ There is no precise statement of the labors of Emmanuel Miller in his behalf, although they must have been serious.⁶ Notwithstanding its inaccuracies, due to the tremendous pace at which Dindorf worked all his life long, the book marks an advance in our knowledge of the ancient commentary on Aristophanes. In editing the scholia Dindorf had at his command collations in whole or in part of six manuscripts: Ravennas, Veneti 474 and 475, Laurentiani XXXI. 15 and 2779, Ambrosianus L 39. The Ambrosianus was now brought into service for the first time.

The library of Trinity College, Cambridge, possesses collations of many manuscripts of Aristophanes that were made at different times by W. G. Clark, the accomplished editor of Shakspeare. Clark's activity falls in the period just after 1850, but his work should be recorded. His critical skill was remarkable. In 1867 he had completed part of a commentary on the *Acharnians*, and this

¹ A fly-leaf in Leidenensis 52 records that this manuscript had been sent to Leipzig for Dindorf's use in 1828.

² *Porsoni Notae*, Addenda p. (148).

³ See I. v. Müller's *Biographisches Jahrbuch*, 1883, pp. 112 ff.

⁴ Seidler and del Furia. See above, pp. 262 f.

⁵ See the preface, p. xvii.

⁶ "En 1835, Miller fut chargé d'une mission en Italie pour recueillir les scolies d'Aristophane." Salomon Reinach in I. v. Müller's *Biographisches Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 15. Miller was at this time twenty-three years of age.

was subsequently published¹ just as it was left when he finally abandoned the work on which he had long been engaged. He had independently collated this play in the following manuscripts: Ambrosianus L 41; Barberinianus I 45; Estenses III D 8 and III D 14; Palatini 128 and 67; Ravennas; Laurentiani XXXI. 15 and 16; Parisini 2712, 2715 and 2717. The first five had never previously been used by any editor of Aristophanes. There are only two manuscripts in existence, besides the twelve he collated, that contain the *Acharnians*.² This, however, is simply an indication of Clark's range. His papers, now preserved in the library of Trinity College, show that he had made collations for all the eleven plays, and the extent to which he had single-handed laid the libraries of Europe under contribution was extraordinary when compared with the results of the labors of scholars who had preceded him. He had himself collated, in whole or in part, the following manuscripts, in addition to the twelve already named: Veneti 474 and 475, Urbinas 141, Vaticanus 1294, Palatinus 116, Ambrosianus L 39, Laurentiani XXXI. 4 and 13, LXXX. 26, XCI. 7, 86 (A F 2715), 140 (A F 2779), Monacenses 137 and 492.³ Six of these had never previously been used by editors of the text of the comic poet. Scholars must feel poignant regret that Clark, because of ill-health, finally relinquished the edition of Aristophanes for which he had collected materials so ample and which he was so singularly well-fitted to write.

It appears from this brief summary that editors of Aristophanes have made recorded use of manuscripts, in establishing the text of the eleven plays, for about two hundred years. Their employment of symbols in referring to the manuscripts, to pass to my second topic, has not been consistent. The early editors, as was natural, used such designations as seemed good to them; their successors either disregarded these or made only partial use of them. The result is confusion.

¹ In the *Journal of Philology* VIII (1879), pp. 177 ff., and IX (1880), pp. 1 ff., 165 ff. Clark furnished von Velsen with a collation of the *Equites* in Parisinus 2712, which von Velsen used in his critical edition of this play (1869).

Havniensis 1980 and Vallicellianus F 16.

³ Clark passed many of his vacations on the Continent. He collated the Ravennas for the first time in 1852.

Küster refers to the manuscripts he used either by unabbreviated titles or has Cod. Vat. U., Cod. Vat. (Vat. P.), Cod. Bodlej., Cod. Arund. (Arundell.), Cod. Voss. In his edition of the *Plutus* Hemsterhuis designates his two manuscripts as C. D'O. and C. LB. Trendelenburg has Cod. Elb. (Elbing.); Burgeß, Ms. 43 and Ms. 127.¹

Brunck was the first editor to use single capitals of the Roman alphabet to designate certain of his books, but with regrettable economy, although he had the whole alphabet at his command, he made the first three letters do service for four manuscripts. He styles Parisinus 2712 as A in his notes on the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*, *Equites*, *Aves*, *Acharnenses*; Parisinus 2715 as B on the *Equites*, *Aves*, *Acharnenses*, but as A on the *Vespae*, *Pax*, *Lysistrata*; Parisinus 2717 as C on the *Equites*, *Aves*, *Acharnenses*, but as B on the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*, *Vespae*, *Pax*, *Lysistrata*; his Regius Bombycinus² as C on the *Plutus*, *Nubes*, *Ranae*. His "Codex Meus" he designates as D. Of subsequent editors some have followed Brunck's intricate nomenclature, but the majority have designated each manuscript by a single letter, 2712 by A,³ 2715 by B, 2717 by C,⁴ the Regius Bombycinus and Brunck's own manuscript, on Dindorf's lead (1837), respectively by D and E.⁵

Thus at the start Brunck entailed confusion, but he must not be harshly judged by exasperated editors for his lack of foresight. He was not a modest man, as his preface makes manifest,⁶ but

¹ See above, pp. 259 f.

² See above, p. 260.

³ Hermann identified Ernesti's R with Brunck's A, but nevertheless in the notes of both his editions of the *Nubes* he maintains the two designations of the manuscript, although he uses A more sparingly in the edition of 1830 than in that of 1799. Blaydes, in the *Conspectus* prefixed to his edition of the text (*Aristophanis comici quae supersunt opera*, 1886, pp. lxx ff.), proposes Par. 1 as the designation of Ernesti's R.

⁴ Dindorf adopted A, B and C, in exclusive application to 2712, 2715, 2717 respectively, in 1837; previously he had followed Brunck, except in his edition of the *Ecclesiazusae* (1826), in which 2715 is D.

⁵ Some editors have adopted new designations for these manuscripts. Thus 2712: Teuffel (1856) a; Rogers (1902) P; 2715: Thiersch (1830) G; Rogers (1867) P; Rogers (1902) P¹; 2717: Teuffel (1856) b; Rogers (1867) II; Rogers (1902) P²; "Regius Bombycinus": Teuffel (1856) c; Rogers (1902) P³; "Codex Meus": Teuffel (1856) d; Rogers (1902) P⁴.

⁶ "Aristophanis quae ad hunc diem prodierunt editiones, si vel optima omnium epigraphen quis inscripsisset, ΒΟΡΒΟΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΟΡ ΑΕΙ ΝΩΝ, haud sinistre facetissimi ipsius Comici verbis iudicium animi significasse videretur. E tetra col-

notwithstanding his high opinion of his own performance, he can not have imagined that his edition would play so important a rôle as it was destined to have. Furthermore he lived in Strassburg in troublous times, was a public official, and worked in the midst of confessed distractions.¹

The first use of the remaining capitals that occur in modern European alphabets may be briefly stated in tabular form. In each entry, other designations that have been used to denominate the manuscript to which the letter was appropriated are added after the dash. These designations, especially the early ones, were often followed by immediately subsequent editors.²

- R Parisinus 2712, Ernesti-Hermann (1795, 1799, 1830).—Par. 1; A, a, P.
 L Leidensis 34,³ Ernesti-Hermann (1795, 1799, 1830).—Leid., u, Leid. 5;
 C. L.B., Leid., Leid. 4.
 E Parisinus 2820,⁴ Höpfner (*Ranae*, 1797).—quartus Regius, F, e, P⁴.
 F Cantabrigiensis 2627, Kidd (1817).—4 or Cant. 4, Dobraei quartus,
 Dobr. 4, g.
 I Harleianus 5664, Kidd. (1817).—A, M, Harl., Harl. 1, H, L.
 T Harleianus 6307, Kidd (1817).—6 or Harl. 6, H, Dobraei sextus, Ask.,
 Harl., Harl. 3, Dobr. 6, i, L¹.

lucie vix tandem extractus, elegantiorum hominum in conspectum prodit totius antiquitatis scriptor ingeniosissimus, idemque tersi sermonis Attici exemplar perfectissimum, studio meo nitidior multo, quam erat antea, factus, nec tamen ita, ut eum esse vellem, ab omni sorde purgatus."

¹ He describes the painstaking care with which he constituted and twice copied his text with his own hand (see *Classical Philology* I, 1906, p. 2), and airily adverting to the mistakes a copyist is sure to make, adds: "nec hujus inconsiderantiae necesse duco ut me purgem, veniamque petam: quin mirari subit laetarique, bonam Fortunam frequentioribus istiusmodi lapsibus mihi cavisse, maxime quum recorder, partem haud minimam istarum fabularum a me descriptam iterum fuisse, dum in museo meo vel ludebat filius meus, quo animum meum nihil magis advertit oblectatque, vel confabulabantur boni quidam viri, qui quot fere diebus horisque matutinis ad me visere solent"! On this Porson, in his famous review of the book, remarks: "Tantamne rem tam negligenter? I think in such a case I should have sent Master Brunck out of the room. Pugh! says Mr. B. (or I suppose would say if he read Shakspeare) 'He talks to me that never had a son.' But to be serious: What right has a man to publish a work of this kind in a hurry?"

² Raper proposed in 1797 the following designations of manuscripts to be used in an edition which he was planning to publish: U for Kuster's Urbinas, P for his Palatinus, B for his Bodleianus, A for his Arundelianus, V for his Vossianus, and O for the D'Orvillianus used by Hemsterhuis. Raper's book was never issued.

³ I accept Dobree's identification of Ernesti's L. with the Leidensis used by Hemsterhuis. See above, p. 262.

⁴ This was Brunck's sixth manuscript, used in his Addenda without literal designation.

- P Vaticanus Palatinus 67, Dobree (1820).—Vat., Vat.-Pal., Vaticanus, *r*, Vat. P.
 U Vaticanus Urbinas 141, Dobree (1820).¹—Vat. U., Vaticanus, Vat., Urb., *q*.
 V Vossianus 191,² Dobree (1820).—Vossianus, Leid. 6, *Γ*.
 G Cantabrigiensis 2626, Dindorf (*Ranae*, 1824).—2 or Cant. 2, E, Dobraei secundus, Dobr. 2, *f*, C'.
 H Harleianus 6307, Dindorf (*Ranae*, 1824).—See above under T.
 M Harleianus 5664, Dindorf (*Ranae*, 1824).—See above under I.
 N Monacensis 492, Blaydes (1880).—Aug., G; H.
 S Venetus 475, Blaydes (1882).—G, V³.
 W Vindobonensis 163, Blaydes (1886).—
 Y Vindobonensis 210, Blaydes (1886).—W¹.
 Z Vindobonensis 227, Blaydes (1886).—W².
 O Baroccianus 127, Rogers (1902).—B., Bar. 3, E, Bodl. 1.

The symbols employed by the special editors of the prolegomena of Tzetzes *περὶ κωμῳδίας* are not included in this list nor in the list that follows.⁴

The confusion in existing practice is still more apparent, if one considers the different successive applications of each letter, as follows:

- A Parisinus 2712, Parisinus 2715, Arundelianus, Harleianus 5664, Ravennas.
 B Parisinus 2715, Parisinus 2717, Baroccianus 127, Venetus 474, Borgianus.
 C Parisinus 2717, Brunck's "Bombycinus," Ernesti's "Coislianus," Cantabrigiensis 2614, Cantabrigiensis 2626.
 D Brunck's "Meus," Cantabrigiensis 2626, Parisinus 2715, Brunck's "Bombycinus," D'Orvillianus.
 E Parisinus 2820, Cantabrigiensis 2626, Brunck's "Meus," Baroccianus 127, Elbingensis.

¹ Höpfner (*Ranae*, 1797) proposes V. or U., but in his critical notes has Ms. V., Ms. Vat., Ms. Vat. V., Ms. Vatic. U., or the like.

² Now part of Leidensis 52.

³ Four manuscripts besides manuscripts named in the list contain Tzetzian prolegomena, but nothing else that relates to Aristophanes, as follows:

OXFORD

Baroccianus 194 (B Kaibel) S ff. 91 ff. + XV.

Miscellaneous 188 (B Cramer, M Kaibel) S ff. 285 ff. + XVI.

PARIS

Parisinus 2403 (P Kaibel) S ff. 17 ff. + XIII.

ROME

Vaticanus 1385 (V Studemund) S ff. 89-98 + XV.

- F Cantabrigiensis 2627, Cantabrigiensis 2626, Parisinus 2827, Parisinus 2820, Laurentianus XXXI. 15.
 G Cantabrigiensis 2626, Parisinus 2715, Venetus 475, Cantabrigiensis 2614, Monacensis 492, Parisinus 2827.
 H Harleianus 6307, Harleianus 5725, Harleianus 5664, Monacensis 137, Monacensis 492.
 I Harleianus 5664, Laurentianus 140 (AF 2779).
 L Ernesti's Leidensis, Vossianus 77, Harleianus 5664.
 M Harleianus 5664, Bekker's first Mutinensis, Ambrosianus L 39, Monacensis 137.
 N Monacensis 492, Monacensis 137, Ambrosianus L 41.
 O Baroccianus 127.
 P Palatinus 67, Parisinus 2715, Palatinus 128, Parisinus 2712.
 R Ernesti's Regius, Ravennas.
 S Venetus 475.
 T Harleianus 6307, Tubingensis, Venetus 472.
 U Urbinas 141, Venetus 473.
 V Vossianus 77, Vossianus 191, Venetus 474.
 W Vindobonensis 163.
 Y Vindobonensis 210.
 Z Vindobonensis 227.

In the attempt to secure brief forms for use in repeated citation editors first resorted to self-interpreting abbreviations of the full names of the manuscripts. The adoption of capital letters was often a further application of the same principle, as Ernesti's R (Regius) and L (Leidensis), Dobree's P (Palatinus), U (Urbinas), and V (Vossianus); but Brunck, the first scholar to make use of capitals, applied them arbitrarily (A, B, C, D) and this has been the general practice. Some attempt was early made to designate manuscripts simply by Arabic numerals, as Porson 1 (Baroccianus 34) and 2 (Baroccianus 43), and Dobree 1, 2, 3, 4 (four Cantabrigienses), and 5, 6 (two Harleiani), but possible confusion of the numerals denoting the manuscripts with those designating the verses of the plays prevented this method from coming into vogue. At one time or another all capital letters of Roman source, except J, K, Q, and X, have been employed, but these proved to be insufficient and resort was had to capitals of the Greek alphabet. Some of these could not be used because of their similarity in form to Roman capitals: A,

B, E, Z, H,¹ I, K, M, N, O, P, T. Greek capitals have been employed as follows:

Γ² Laurentianus XXXI. 15, Dindorf (*Acharnenses*, 1828).—Laur., F.

Δ Laurentianus XXXI. 16, Dindorf (*Acharnenses*, 1828).—k, F³.

Θ Laurentianus 140 (AF 2779), Dindorf (*Text Edition*, 1890).—I, F⁴.

Π⁵ Parisinus 2717, Rogers (*Pax*, 1867).—C, B, b, F².

Σ Laurentianus 607 (MN 88. 57), Blaydes (*Nubes*, 1873-74).—

Φ⁴ Laurentianus 66 (AF 2715), Blaydes (*Nubes*, 1873-74).—F⁴.

X Laurentianus XXXI. 13, Blaydes (*Nubes*, 1873-74).—F².

Ψ Laurentianus XXXI. 22, Blaydes (*Nubes*, 1873-74).—

Ω Laurentianus XXXI. 35,⁵ Blaydes (*Nubes*, 1873-74).—F³.

Υ (See note 3 below.)

Ξ Laurentianus XXXI. 19, Blaydes (*Plutus*, 1886).—

Scholars early became aware of the increasing confusion in the denomination of the manuscripts of Aristophanes. Dindorf gives practical evidence of this fact in the list he published in 1837,⁶ in which he abandons some of his previous designations and starts afresh.⁷ Teuffel, in his first edition of the *Nubes* (1856), offered a list of thirty-three manuscripts, to which he added the copy of the edition of Caninius, with marginal notes, now in Leyden.⁸ He employed as symbols for these books the

¹ In his edition of the *Plutus* (1886) Blaydes drops into the use of H (which is sometimes printed H), but does not state here or elsewhere what this symbol signifies.

² Hall and Geldart in 1900 properly applied this symbol also to Leidensis 52. A. von Velsen first suggested that Laurentianus XXXI. 15 and Leidensis 52 were parts of the same manuscript. See *Ueber den Codex Urbinas der Lysistrata und der Thesmophoriazusen des Aristophanes* (1871), p. 53, and also Zacher, *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*, Supplem. XVI (1888), pp. 549 f., who adduces final proof.

³ In the Conspectus of his edition of the text (1886), Blaydes assigns (p. lxx) Π to Laurentianus XXXI. 4 and T to Laurentianus XXXI. 19, but in the same Conspectus and elsewhere he denominates Laurentianus XXXI. 19 as Σ. In his edition of the *Equites* published in 1875 he enters T simply as "Laurentianus XXXI," but in his voluminous critical notes on the play he has both Π and T, although Π is not entered in his "Catalogus Codicum." The same confusion is unhappily perpetuated in his edition of the *Equites* published in 1892.

⁴ Employed by Rogers (*Vespae*, 1875) to designate Laurentianus XXXI. 16.

⁵ By misprint this is designated in the "Catalogus Codicum" of the book as XXXI. 26.

⁶ Ed. Oxoniensis III, pp. xiii-xvii. In IV, pp. iii ff. he gives an account of the manuscripts containing scholia. A fuller list of the latter was shortly published by Dübner, *Scholia Graeca in Aristophanem* (1841), pp. xi f.

⁷ In his use of the Symbols A, B, C, D, E, F.

⁸ See *Porsoni Notae in Aristophanem*, p. viii.

first nine capitals and all the lower-case letters,¹ except j, of the modern alphabet.² Only one of his assignments tallies with the previous practice of any editor.³ It is fifty years since Teuffel proposed his new denominations, but no subsequent editor of Aristophanes has adopted them.

A similar attempt to introduce system into the general disorder has recently been made by B. B. Rogers in the new series of admirable verse-translations of Aristophanes which he began to publish in 1902.⁴ In the appendices of the three volumes already issued he has employed thirty-three manuscripts. He has wisely left undisturbed four denominations, R, V, M, U, which may be regarded as fixed. The principle on which he has symbolized the remaining manuscripts is best stated in his own words:

The letters by which the MSS. are designated vary in different editions of Aristophanes, and in none (except in the case of two or three of the principal MSS.) bear any relation to the MSS. themselves. I have therefore recast the nomenclature, denoting all the Venetian MSS. by the letter V, all the Parisian by P, all the Florentine by F, the Milanese by M, the Oxford by O, the Cambridge by C, the London by L, that of Modena by m, that of Monaco (formerly called Portus Herculis)⁵ by H, the Viennese by W, the Elbing by E, and the Borgian by B, whilst I have retained the letters R and U for the Ravenna and the Vaticano-Urbinas respectively.

The veteran editor of Aristophanes, Blaydes, in his edition of the text (1886), published a complete list⁶ of the manuscripts known to him and prefixed to them symbols. These manuscripts number more than ninety, including some used by early editors that have not yet been identified. Nineteen of them he designates by single capital letters of the modern alphabet, ten by Greek

¹ Bekker had previously used two lower-case letters, m and n, to denominate his second and third 'Mutinenses.'

² The list is repeated in his second edition (1863), pp. 22-24.

³ F, assigned by Dindorf (*Ranae*, 1824) to Cantabrigiensis 2626, but afterwards attached by him to Parisinus 2820.

⁴ He had previously published at long intervals translations into verse of the *Clouds*, *Peace*, *Wasps* and *Lysistrata*, which have long been out of print. In 1902 the *Frogs* and *Ecclesiazusae* appeared, in 1904 the *Thesmophoriasusae*.

⁵ Mr. Rogers must relinquish this pleasing ascription. The two manuscripts (Monacenses 137 and 492) he designates by the single letter H are in Munich.

⁶ See pp. lxx-lxxv.

capitals. The remainder are denominated by abbreviations consisting of three or four letters, to each of which is attached, with few exceptions, an Arabic numeral.¹

It is highly desirable that scholars should agree, if possible, upon a method of symbolizing the manuscripts of Aristophanes adequate not only to denominate the two hundred and forty or more manuscripts that are now known but also to provide for any others that may be discovered. The determining principle is reasonably clear: so far as is practicable, the symbols chosen should be significant; they should each be of the smallest possible compass; they should be easy to distinguish even if ranged in order without spacing. No set of symbols, however, can ignore previous practice, and it may be well to consider this aspect of the problem first.

It is apparent that this practice is not uniform; on the contrary, it is so divergent that to trace the history of opinion about a passage is often perplexing and difficult. Nevertheless there are certain symbols, chiefly arbitrary, whose application may now be regarded as fixed: R, V, A, B, C, U,² Γ, Δ, Θ. To these should be added W, Y, Z, a recent set of symbols first applied by Blaydes to Vienna manuscripts, and also Ξ, Π,³ Σ,⁴ Φ, X, Ψ, Ω, assigned by him to Laurentian books. Blaydes has reported the contents, in whole or in part, of many manuscripts that had not previously been used, and no determination of symbols should be made that does not take his eleven monumental volumes into account. His reports are not always accurate, as was perhaps inevitable, and should be used with caution, but no editor is faultless and all students of the text of Aristophanes have substantial reasons for gratitude to this devoted scholar.⁵ The indisputable fact is that

¹ Zuretti, in his *Analecta Aristophanea* (1892), in which he enumerates one hundred and nine manuscripts of Aristophanes housed in Italian libraries (pp. 3-33), adopts no system of symbols for reference.

² For Vaticanus-Urbinas 141 since Dobree's time. (Küster used Vat. U.) The practice of Blaydes is not consistent; he designates this manuscript as U, Urb., or Vat.; but in his editions of the *Plutus* and *Nubes*, U = Venetus 473.

³ Π (=T) should be assigned to Laurentianus XXXI. 4. See above p. 271, n. 3.

⁴ Blaydes has made only slight use of Σ.

⁵ See the interesting preface to his edition of the text (1886), especially at the beginning and at the close.

they will have his volumes in hand, and the use of the manuscripts should not be further complicated by wilful disregard of his system of nomenclature in any attempt to devise a set of comprehensive symbols. Nevertheless there are other editors, and when Blaydes himself departs from established usage he should not be followed. For example, Dindorf long ago assigned G (Blaydes S) and M (Blaydes Med. 8) respectively to Venetus 475 and Ambrosianus L 39, and he has been followed by editors not only of the scholia but also of the text.¹ Of the remaining capitals, D, if used at all, should certainly designate Brunck's collation of his own manuscript ("Cod. Meus"). This *collation* is variously referred to in the editions as D (first by Brunck himself), E (first by Dindorf), *d*, P⁵. The manuscript itself has never been used in editing the plays since Brunck's death, but it is now accessible among the Cambridge books and probably no editor will hereafter depend on Brunck's readings, made one hundred and twenty-five years ago. L should no longer be used for Leidensis 52, of which both parts legitimately claim the symbol Γ.² N is hopeless. Assigned by Blaydes in 1880 to Monacensis 492, a manuscript which von Velsen had denominated G in 1878,³ it was applied by von Velsen in 1883 to Monacensis 137, which Blaydes had named M in 1873-74, and in 1901 was assigned by Neil to Ambrosianus L 41!

The abbreviations, generally consisting of three or four letters, that have been used to designate the manuscripts of Aristophanes have been self-interpreting. Sometimes they have referred to the libraries in which the manuscripts were housed, as Bodl., signifying Bodleianus, Laur., Laurentianus; oftener to the owner, especially in England, as Voss., Vossianus, Harl., Harleianus, Ar., Arundelianus, Bar., Baroccianus, D'Orv., D'Orvillianus, Borg., Borgianus; but generally to the town in which the library was

¹ Blaydes himself makes the same use of G and M as Dindorf in his lists of manuscripts containing the scholia, but elsewhere G represents Parisinus 2827 (for which in his *Conspectus* he proposes also Par. 14) and M is Monacensis 137, for which von Velsen in 1883 employed N. Only Graves has followed Blaydes in his use of S; nobody has adopted his Med. 8.

² See above, p. 271, n. 2.

³ In his first edition of the *Thesmophoriazusae*.

situated, as Cant., Cantabrigiensis, Havn., Havniensis, Elb., Elbingensis, Leid., Leidensis, Med., Mediolanensis, Mut., Mutinensis, Monac. (Bav.), Monacensis (Bavaricus), Par., Parisinus, Rav., Ravennas, Urb., Urbinas, Tub., Tubingensis, Ven., Venetus. The method last named is easy to apply and the abbreviation is significant of a fact of prime importance. On this basis, setting aside the use of capitals, a general principle, which I have tentatively applied in the list of manuscripts of Aristophanes already published in this journal,¹ might be formulated as follows:

The symbol shall signify the name of the town in which the manuscript is preserved and shall consist of two letters, the initial capital and by preference the first consonant that follows, otherwise the first vowel.

Thus Br = Bruxelles, Ln = London, El = Elbing, Tb = Tübingen, Ld = Leyden, Np = Napoli, Md = Madrid, but Mu = München, Pa = Parma, Pe = Perugia, Mo = Moskva (Moscow).

The ultimate form is here the modern name of the town, whereas the abbreviations significant of place that early came into use were compendia of Latin adjective forms, Cantabrigiensis, Havniensis, and the like. The disagreement, however, is here apparent rather than real. There are forty places in which manuscripts of Aristophanes are now to be found. In case of twenty-five of these the application of the principle formulated above gives the same result, whether the basis is the modern or the Latin designation; two of the fifteen that remain disappear because of the use of single capitals; to eight others, that are relatively unimportant, no denomination has as yet been attached by the editors of Aristophanes; the remainder² will be considered below. The place, in a few instances, is not readily suggested by the abbreviation, under the rule, of the name now used by its inhabitants. The Danish name of Copenhagen is a case in point; furthermore, the German name of this city is not, in its first part, in literal agreement with the English, French and Italian forms. Here the adoption of H by reversion to 'Havniensis' reconciles all difficulties. Dindorf used Cod. Havniensis 1980 in 1822, and

¹ *Classical Philology* I (1906), pp. 9-20.

² Copenhagen, Cambridge, München, Firenze, Modena.

Blaydes has employed the abbreviation Havn.¹ Cn is applied to Stamboul on the same principle. The Greek name of Athens is naturally transliterated and J (not previously used) signifies Jerusalem. There are manuscripts also on Mt. Athos, Mt. Pelion, Mt. Sinai. These are designated by use of a capital and a small capital, respectively, as MA, MP, and MS.

The initial capital and the first following vowel have been used in the list as the abbreviation to designate the place in a few cases where the employment of capital and first consonant would give the same abbreviation for two names which both occur, as Parma (Pa) and Perugia (Pe), Caen (Ca) and Constantinople, München (Mu) and Montpellier; but Sa for Salamanca in order to avoid the concurrence of l and the following numeral 1.²

To the symbol, consisting of two letters or of a capital, employed to designate all the manuscripts housed in any one town numerals are added to distinguish the different books. Porson and Dobree applied this principle to Oxford, Cambridge, and London manuscripts. Blaydes also thus enumerates nine manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,³ four in Cambridge,⁴ three in London,⁵ six in Leyden, ten in Milan, twenty-one in Paris. The numeral, since the practice is now settled of designating the different hands in a manuscript by a superior number, should be added on the level of the symbol, not above it. What the number attached to a particular manuscript shall be rests with the editor who first uses the book. In the list of manuscripts given above, a numeral has been added to each manuscript, with due attention

¹ This book contains nine plays and seems likely to play an important part in the determination of the sources of the *Princeps*. It was in Venice in 1699 and has an interesting history. See the references in Graux, *Notices sommaires des manuscrits grecs de la Grande Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague* (1879), p. 68. See also above, p. 263.

² By an oversight, the wrong abbreviations of Torino and Verona have been given in the list; they should be respectively Tr and Vr.

³ Blaydes, neglecting Porson's numbers, designates O1, O2, O3, O4, O6, O7, O8, O9, respectively as Bodl. 2, 3, 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9. By Bodl. 5 he signifies "*Bodleianus Kusteri*."

⁴ He uses Dobree's numbers.

⁵ Blaydes, neglecting Dobree's numbers, denominates Ln3, Ln5, Ln6 respectively as Harl. 1, 2, 3.

to previous practice, but this enumeration is merely experimental; the majority of the books have not yet been used.¹

The symbols suggested in the list in a few cases do not follow the general principle suggested and the reasons for some of these aberrations remain to be stated. In some instances they are only apparent. For example, the designation of the Paris books, under the rule, would be Pr (Blaydes Par.), but they are numerous and the adoption of the significant symbol P for them seems reasonable. P5, P8, and the remainder, are not likely to get confused with any previous use of the single letter P, although it has seen hard service. The symbols A, B, C, of three of the Paris manuscripts are fixed by the previous practice of editors. Of the remainder Blaydes first reported on twelve and to these he has attached numbers, which have been retained in the list so far as was possible.² In like manner, but with less ground for objection since the letter has escaped other use, O seems preferable to Ox for the Oxford books. Cm is the proper abbreviation under the rule to denominate the Cambridge manuscripts, but the abbreviations first used by Dobree for four of these (Cant. 1, Cant. 2, etc.) has become so firmly established that Ct seems preferable to Cm. Dobree's numbers have been retained.

Half the manuscripts of Aristophanes are in Italy, but with the exception of R, V, M, the Florence books, and four in the Vatican library, they have been little used. Ten of the Florence manuscripts are designated by Greek capitals; the remaining available Greek capitals would not suffice even for the Laurentian books that have not yet been denominated. Under the rule, manuscripts in Florence, both Laurentiani and Riccardiani, would be designated by Fr; in the list this has been abbreviated, with Rogers, to the significant F, and has been applied in this form to

¹ Eighty-five, if the count is correct, of the total number included in the list, have been used by editors, whether of the text, the scholia, or the prolegomena. These eighty-five include, of course, the most important manuscripts.

² Blaydes denominates P25 (Parisinus 2820) as both F and "Par. 8 bis;" P14 (Parisinus 2827) as both G and "Par. 14;" P23 (Parisinus 2830) as "Par. 16 bis;" P24 (Supplem. 97) as "Par. 18 bis." He has made very slight use of P10, P11, P12, P13, P15. He has attached numbers to P16 (his "Par. 16"), P18 ("Par. 18"), P21 ("Par. 21"), P23 ("Par. 16 bis"), but so far as I am aware has not reported them except "Par. 16" once. His last number is 21.

the books still undenominated. Blaydes has reported three Milan manuscripts besides M¹ and his numbers have been retained. In his *Conspectus* he assigns numbers to six others, but apparently he has not used these.² All the books in Modena await an editor, unless, indeed, Bekker's Mutinenses m and n are again in the Modena collection, although as yet unidentified. In the list the manuscripts in the Biblioteca Estense are denominated E on Kaibel's lead; Zuretti had previously used Es.³

Only four manuscripts of the great collections in the Vatican Library, a Vaticanus, two Palatini, and an Urbinas, have been used as yet by editors of the text.⁴ The Vatican manuscripts are so numerous that their correct denomination is a matter of unusual importance. The six collections are kept separate in the library and this distinction should be maintained in symbolizing them. In the list V (Vaticanus) has been prefixed in each case to a significant lower-case letter designating the collection, with the exception of the two books originally in the library at Urbino.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

(To be continued)

¹ M4, M5, M9, which he denominates respectively Med. 4, Med. 5, Med. 9. M he denominates Med. 8.

² M1, M2, M3, M6, M7, M10, which he makes respectively Med. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 10.

³ Kaibel in his discussion of the prolegomena in *Comicorum Graecorum fragmenta* I (1899), pp. 3 ff.; Zuretti in his *Analecta Aristophanea*.

⁴ Clark excepted. See above, pp. 265 f.

THE ΔΙΝΗ IN ANAXIMENES AND ANAXIMANDER

By W. A. HEIDEL

It has sometimes been doubted that Anaximenes believed in a δίνη. Zeller (I. 242. 4) controverts the contention of Teichmüller that the primordial motion of the Air was rotary. We might be content to accept Zeller's conclusion, if we could assume that Anaximenes distinguished between the primordial motion of the infinite Air and the original motion in the cosmos. But this assumption, made without definite evidence, would be extremely hazardous in the case of so early a thinker. Within the cosmos Zeller, though not without misgivings, is willing to accept the δίνη, regarding Anaximenes as the first to advance this view. In support of a δίνη in the system of Anaximenes we may offer the following considerations.

1. When Simplic. *Phys.* 24. 26 (*Dox.* 477. 4), following Theophrastus, says, κίνησιν δὲ καὶ οὗτος (as well as Anaximander) αἰδίων ποιεῖ, δι' ἣν καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν γίνεσθαι, he doubtless referred to rotary motion; cf. Arist. *Cael.* 286 a. 9, θεοῦ δ' ἐνέργεια ἀθανασία· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ ζωὴ αἰδίου. ὥστ' ἀνάγκη τῷ θεῷ κίνησιν ὑπάρχειν. ἐπεὶ δ' ὁ οὐρανὸς τοιοῦτος (σῶμα γάρ τι θεῖον), διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τὸ ἐγκύκλιον σῶμα, ὃ φύσει κινεῖται κύκλῳ αἰεῖ. This conception was ancient; cf. Alcmaeon, fr. 2 (Diels) and Diels *Parmenides Lehr-gedicht*, p. 67.

2. [Plut.] *Strom.* 3 and Hippol. i. 7. 3 use the verb ἐποχεῖσθαι of the earth supported by the air, clearly implying that it is borne by air in motion.¹ The earth and the stars so borne are thin disks (Hippol. *ibid.* and Arist. *Cael.* 294 b. 13). These phenomena we are doubtless to conceive as analogous to that of leaves caught up by a whirlwind, cf. Arist. *Cael.* 295 a. 11.

3. Hippol. i. 7. 6 οὐ κινεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν τὰ ἄστρα λέγει, καθὼς ἕτεροι ὑπειλήφασιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ γῆν, ὥσπερ ἐπερὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν κεφαλὴν στρέφεται τὸ πιλίον. Here it is clearly assumed that there is a

¹ Cf. Diog. Laert. ix. 30 (speaking of Leucippus): τὴν γῆν ὀχεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον διουμένην· σχῆμά τε αὐτῆς τυμπανῶδες εἶναι. Cf. also Diels *Dox.*, pp. 46, 329 test. b 3.
[CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY I, July, 1906] 279

general rotary motion in a horizontal plane, the circling diurnal movement of the heavens centering in the earth. Our ancient sources appear to confound two things in themselves sufficiently distinct: (a) position at the center of a circle (due to rotation in a plane) and (b) position at the center of a sphere. In spite of the allusions to Anaximander's *σφαῖρα* and the spheres of the stars, I incline to think that the introduction of the scientific conception of the cosmos as a sphere was due chiefly to the Pythagoreans. The rotary motion in a plane accounts only for the position of the earth at the center of the *δίνη*, and not for the failure of the earth to fall in space. The latter problem does not seem to have troubled Anaximenes; he might equally well have inquired why the cosmos does not fall. The remarks of Arist. *Cael.* 294 b. 13 ff. must therefore be taken as applying chiefly to Anaxagoras.

4. Diog. Laert. ii. 9 says of Anaxagoras: *τὰ δὲ ἄστροα κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν θολοειδῶς ἐνεχθῆναι, ὥστε κατὰ κορυφὴν τῆς γῆς τὸν αἰὲρ φαινόμενον εἶναι πόλον, ὕστερον δὲ τὴν ἐγκλισιν λαβεῖν.* In the first of these positions Anaxagoras, as we see, agreed with Anaximenes. The latter can not well be thought ignorant of the inclination of the ecliptic, the discovery of which is variously assigned to Anaximander or to Pythagoras. It is possible, therefore, that Anaximenes, like Anaxagoras, referred to the *original* motion of the stars. The mistake, if mistake there was, may have been due to the explanation he offered of the setting of sun and stars. But clearly such an explanation was possible even if he accepted a present inclination of the earth, since the phenomena to be explained are the same in any case. At all events, it is not without interest to note the close connection of two opinions—the inclination and the disk-shape of the earth. All of those philosophers—Empedocles, Anaxagoras,¹ Diogenes, Leucippus, Democritus—whom the doxographers quote on the first head were likewise agreed on the second. The inference would seem to be clear. The disk-shape of the earth was supposed to be due to the action of a rotary cosmic motion oper-

¹ Archelaus also should be included; for according to him the earth is a disk, raised at the circumference and hollowed at the center. Cf. Hippol. i. 9. 4 (*Dox.* 563. 27). His view of the inclination is particularly interesting and suggestive; cf. Hippol. *ibid.*: *ἐπικλιθῆναι δὲ τὸν οὐρανὸν φησι, καὶ οὕτως τὸν ἥλιον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ποιῆσαι φῶς καὶ τὸν ἀέρα ποιῆσαι διαφανή καὶ τὴν γῆν ξηράν. λίμνην γὰρ εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον.*

ating in a plane and collecting the sediment (so to speak) of the ἔκκρισις at the center. See *Philosophical Review* XIV, p. 71.

I have taken Anaximenes first because his case is comparatively strong. Zeller, as we have seen, inclines to accept the δίνη as the discovery of Anaximenes, thus denying the notion to his predecessor Anaximander. We may now enumerate several considerations which lend support to the contrary view.

1. Simplic. *Phys.* 24. 13 (*Dox.* 476. 13): οὗτος δὲ οὐκ ἀλλοιοῦμένου τοῦ στοιχείου τὴν γένεσιν ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀποκρινομένων τῶν ἐναντίων διὰ τῆς αἰδίου κινήσεως. As was said above, κίνησις αἰδίου implies rotary motion. And, besides, the whole range of Greek philosophy connects ἀπόκρισις and ἔκκρισις with the δίνη.¹

2. The earth has the disk-shape; cf. Hippol. i. 6 (*Dox.* 559. 23 f.).

3. Arist. *Cael.* 295 b. 10: εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἱ διὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητά φασιν αὐτὴν (sc. τὴν γῆν) μένειν, ὥσπερ τῶν ἀρχαίων Ἀναξίμανδρος. It is evident that Anaximander couched his explanation of the position of the earth in rather vague terms. This is proved by the interpretations offered by Aristotle and Theophrastus. The former in attempting to illustrate the thought alludes to the argument familiarly known as "Buridan's ass." This is hardly more absurd than the phrase used by Theophrastus (*apud* Hippol. i. 6. 3) διὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν πάντων ἀπόστασιν. It may be taken for granted that Anaximander was placing the earth in a circle rather than in a sphere. Assuming the δίνη as established, it would seem most natural to understand him as attributing the central position of the earth to the uniformity of the surrounding strata—water all around, air next, and fire at the periphery, each in a uniform circle.²

¹Theodoretus iv. 16: οἱ δὲ τρόχον δίκην περιδινεῖσθαι (sc. τὸν κόσμον). Diels *Dox.*, p. 46 refers this to Anaximander.

²This interpretation receives some support from two passages in Plato, namely *Tim.* 62 e ff. and *Phaedo* 109 a, although the argument here relates to position at the center of a sphere. In Plato the earth is of course a globe, and as such ἰσορροπός or ἰσοβαρής, or as was said of the *ὄν* of Parmenides, πάντα ὅμοιος. The statement of a similar view on the part of Parmenides *Aet.* iii. 15. 7 points to the same interpretation. The fact that in this latter passage Democritus is coupled with Parmenides is instructive as to the confusion, above noted, between position at the center of a circle and of a sphere. Democritus regarded the earth as a disk; Parmenides, as a globe. The explanation of the inclination of the earth to the ecliptic ascribed to Democritus (*Aet.* iii. 12. 2: διὰ τὸ ἀσθενέστερον εἶναι τὸ μεσημβρινὸν τοῦ περιέχοντος) is interesting as suggesting, by way of contrast, what was meant by ὁμοιότης.

4. The argument of Zeller (I. 223. 2) against the assumption of a $\delta\iota\nu\eta$, based on the supposed opinions of Anaximander touching the stars, is far from conclusive. It is by no means certain that Anaximander held the views mentioned by Aristotle *Meteor.* ii. 353 b. 6 ff. But assuming that Alexander was correct in referring them to Anaximander, the vague use of the word *ἄστροι* and the inclusion of the planets among the "stars" in early times suggest the need of caution on the part of the historian.

These considerations appear to make it very probable that the cosmic $\delta\iota\nu\eta$ was one of the original conceptions with which Greek philosophy attempted to explain the origin of things; that it was all but universally accepted by subsequent thinkers is a matter of common knowledge.

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THE FORM OF THE CHLAMYS

By F. B. TARBELL

The question of the form of the chlamys is one of the most perplexing that meet us in the study of Greek costume. Every one of the numerous modern statements on the subject with which I am acquainted is either indistinct or, in my judgment, erroneous. And yet the evidence is abundant, consisting not only of numerous representations of the garment in vase-painting and sculpture, but also of several more or less specific indications in our literary sources.¹ Under these circumstances it would seem as if a convincing solution must be attainable.

We are in the habit of applying the name "chlamys" with a great deal of confidence to all small brooch-fastened outer garments represented in Greek art. But for our present purpose it is better to take nothing for granted. For identifying, then, the chlamys in art we have chiefly the following data: it was fastened by a fibula (Isidore *Orig.* 19. 24. 2: *chlamys est, quae ex una parte induitur, neque consuitur, sed fibula infrenatur*; Ovid *Met.* 14. 393, 394; Suetonius *Tib.* 6); it was associated with the petasus (Philemon, quoted by Pollux 10. 164; *Anthol. Gr.* xii. 78); it was worn by Hermes (Ovid *Met.* 2. 733; Lucian *Tim.* 30; Pausanias v. 27. 8). Accordingly, the chlamys may be recognized in such vase-paintings as Figs. 8, 463, 524 of Baumeister's *Denkmäler*; *Arch. Zeitung*, 1854, Pl. 67; *Jahrbuch d. arch. Instituts*, 1891, Pl. I, and *Anzeiger*, p. 23. From these and similarly well-attested examples we may go on to identify the chlamys, with more or less of certainty, in numerous other cases; but the question whether every small brooch-fastened garment may safely be called a chlamys is one which I should like to leave open till the end.

The vase-paintings just cited have been chosen because they clearly show that, if the chlamys had one definite shape, it was

¹ Acknowledgment for reference to these sources is due to Blümner *Griechische Privatalterthümer*, p. 178, and to Amelung in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. "Chlamys."

four-cornered. Numerous other representations, both in sculpture and vase-painting, confirm this statement. Others, while not clearly betraying the existence of four corners, afford no evidence to the contrary. So far as I can see, there are no cases of probable chlamydes which refuse to be interpreted as four-cornered. If, then, we could rely upon the accuracy of Greek renderings of costume in art, it would be our next duty to determine, by actual experiment, what particular four-cornered form the chlamys assumed. But, considering the liberties which the Greek artists took with the form and disposition of drapery, it is advisable to look to our literary authorities for further guidance. I shall attempt to show that, in connection with the monumental evidence, these authorities indicate this shape:

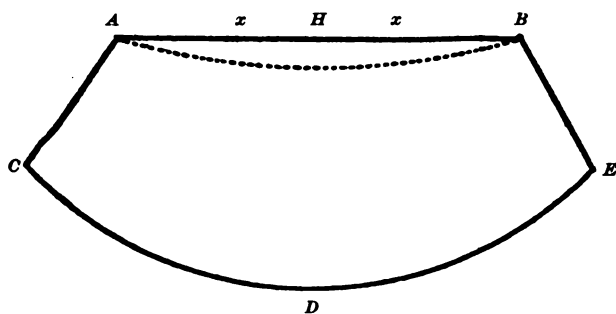


FIG. 1

or this:

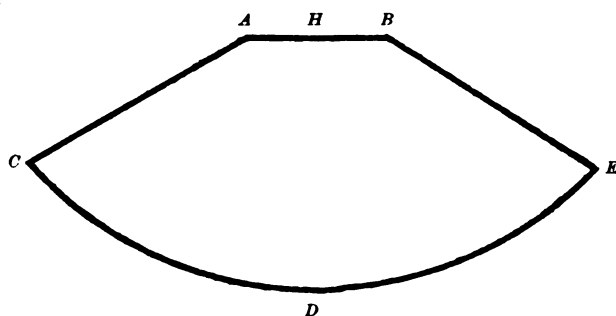


FIG. 2

A chlamys of the pattern shown in Fig. 1 would be fastened about the neck at the points marked *x*, and would display four corners; one of the pattern shown in Fig. 2 would be fastened at

A and B, and would display two corners. There would naturally be other variations, both in size and in proportions, but these do not call for special comment.

For the circular form of the lower edge the evidence is abundant. Thus Ammonius *De differentia vocabulorum* 147 quotes Didymus to this effect: ἡ μὲν γὰρ χλαῖνα τετράγωνον ἱμάτιον· ἡ δὲ χλαμὺς εἰς τέλειον περὶ τὰ κάτω συνήκται. The words εἰς τέλειον συνήκται defy interpretation, but the contrast with τετράγωνον shows that a curvilinear form is intended. Valckenaer in a note on the above passage cites the parallel language of Ptolemy of Ascalon, 90: ἡ δὲ χλαμὺς . . . ἔχει κυκλοτερῇ τὰ κάτω, and from the lexicon of Cyril: χλαμὺς τὸ περιφερές, τὸ ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ λεγόμενον κυκλομάντιον.

Still more instructive is the stock comparison, variously expressed by various writers, of the site of Alexandria to a chlamys. It will be convenient to begin with Plutarch's version (*Life of Alexander* 26): κυκλοτερῇ κόλπον ἦγον, οὗ τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν εὐθείαι βάσεις ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρασπέδων εἰς σχῆμα χλαμύδος ὑπελάμβανον ἐξ ἴσου συνάγουσαι τὸ μέγεθος.¹ Here we meet again the circular lower edge (τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν), and learn further that the two adjacent edges were straight (εὐθείαι βάσεις) and inclined symmetrically so that the top was narrower than the bottom (ἐξ ἴσου συνάγουσαι τὸ μέγεθος), as in the diagrams given above. Pliny *N. H.* v. 62, puts the same comparison thus: *eam* [i. e., *Alexandriam*] . . . *ad effigiem Macedonicae chlamydis orbe gyrato laciniosam, dextra laevaue anguloso procursu*. Here the words *orbe gyrato laciniosam* must refer to the circular contour of the chlamys below, while the two *angulosi procursus* (called αἱ ἐκατέρωθεν γωνίαι² in Hesychius, Photius, and Suidas, s. v. *Θετταλικά πτερά*) are the ends conceived as extending to right and left of the breadth given by the upper edge, AB. Strabo's

The passage is difficult. Taking it in connection with other evidence bearing upon the form of the chlamys, I understand it somewhat as follows: "They described a rounded area, to whose inner arc straight lines succeeded, starting from what might be called the skirts of the area and narrowing the breadth uniformly, so as to produce the figure of a chlamys." The word *κόλπος*, which I have loosely translated by "area," may have been suggested by its use for that portion of a chiton which falls over the girdle. I understand τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν as the circular contour on the landward side. Strictly speaking, the words ought to imply a circular contour on the outer or seaward side, but I doubt whether this was intended by Plutarch; see below, p. 287.

² This point is borrowed from Wachsmuth *Rhein. Mus.* XXXV (1880), p. 454.

way of putting the same facts (C. 793) deserves also to be quoted, though it conveys no new information: ἔστι δὲ χλαμυδοειδὲς τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ ἐδάφους τῆς πόλεως, οὗ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ μῆκος πλευρά ἐστι τὰ ἀμφίκλυστα ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίων ἔχοντα διάμετρον, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλάτος οἱ ἰσθμοί, ἑπτὰ ἢ ὀκτὼ σταδίων ἑκάτερος. In this description τὰ ἐπὶ μῆκος πλευρά are the long sides, *AB* and *CDE*, called τὰ ἀμφίκλυστα because washed, the former by the Mediterranean, the latter by Lake Mareotis. The curvature of *CDE* accounts for the fact that these sides are spoken of as having a "diameter," by which I understand a straight line drawn from *C* to *E*. τὰ ἐπὶ πλάτος (πλευρά) are the short sides, *AC* and *BE*, called οἱ ἰσθμοί as being the narrowest places between two bodies of water. Diodorus xvii. 52 does not go into particulars, simply saying: τὸν δὲ τύπον ἀποτελοῦσα χλαμύδι παραπλήσιον.

There remains to be considered Strabo's repeated comparison of the inhabited portion of the earth to a chlamys. The most important passage for the present purpose is in C. 118, 119. According to this, the οἰκουμένη may be conceived as a chlamys inscribed in a parallelogram. The greatest length of the chlamys is indicated in terms which correspond to a straight line connecting *C* and *E* in our diagrams; its greatest breadth, to a straight line connecting *H* and *D*. The ends taper (μυνουρίζειν; cf. C. 113: συναγωγὸς εἰς μύουρον σχῆμα; C. 116: πολλὴ γὰρ συναγωγή τοῦ πλάτους πρὸς τοῖς ἄκροις). This language, taken by itself, might suggest this form:

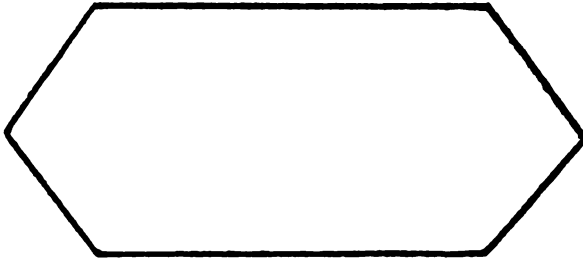


FIG. 3

This interpretation, however, is negated by other evidence, and Strabo's words are easily reconcilable with the diagrams pro-

posed above. Furthermore, as the parallel of latitude which, according to Strabo, marks the greatest length of the *οἰκουμένη* is about midway between the northern and southern limits, I have drawn the diagrams accordingly. But for this proportion, no more than for any other proportion of the figure, would I claim that it was always exactly observed.

For the form of the upper edge, *AB*, there is no explicit evidence in our literary sources; but the fact that Ammonius and Ptolemy describe the *lower* edge as circular may be taken to imply that the upper edge was straight. It certainly could not have been an arc of the same radius as *CDE*, or of shorter radius, if Strabo's statement that the greatest breadth of the *οἰκουμένη* is at the middle, *HD*, is to be applied to the chlamys. If, however, Plutarch's phrase *τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν* be thought to imply a curve at the top as well as at the bottom, we may conceive the upper edge as forming a more shallow curve than the lower edge, as is suggested by the dotted line of Fig. 1.

In conclusion, some possible objections to the foregoing views must be considered:

1. It has been assumed that, while the chlamys varied in size and proportions, it was cut on an essentially uniform pattern. Some may be inclined to assume, on the contrary, that there were distinct types of chlamys native to different regions, as a Macedonian chlamys, a Thessalian chlamys, and possibly others. This view is clearly contradicted by our literary authorities. Strabo, Diodorus, and Plutarch, in the passages cited above, speak of the chlamys as if it had a fairly definite and well-known shape. Pliny's account of the site of Alexandria must be derived from the same source as the other similar accounts; and, if he speaks of a Macedonian chlamys, this can mean only that he regards the chlamys as of Macedonian origin. Similarly with the statement about the Thessalian chlamys in Hesychius, Photius, and Suidas, *s. v.* *Θετταλικά πτερὰ*, and in Pollux vii. 46. That the Thessalian chlamys was not a special type of chlamys is evident from Pollux's assertion of the equivalence between *ἐντεθετταλισμεθα* and *χλαμυδοφορούμεν*. These lexical notes go back to some authority who regarded the chlamys as of Thessalian origin.

2. It might be imagined that some essential change in the form of the chlamys took place between the fifth century B. C., to which most of our monumental evidence belongs, and the time of Strabo. This notion is possible enough *a priori*, but it receives no support from the evidence. The fact that the best-attested representations can be easily interpreted in accordance with the literary evidence, provided reasonable allowance be made for the absence of photographic accuracy in the rendering of drapery by Greek artists, is sufficient ground for believing that no essential change took place.

3. It may be objected that neither the inhabited world as known to Strabo nor the site of Alexandria had the form advocated for the chlamys in the foregoing discussion. This seems to be true. But it is not the facts, but certain writers' conceptions of the facts, that are relevant. In the absence of scientific surveys, topography was to a considerable extent a matter of fancy. The fancies with which we are now concerned are, I think, sufficiently clear.

4. The last objection which occurs to me is of a different sort. No representation of a chlamys, so far as I am aware, gives any suggestion of a seam, as if the garment were sewed together out of two or more pieces. This, to be sure, is not decisive, inasmuch as a seam is very rarely indicated in Greek art, even where it must have existed.¹ Nevertheless, although positive evidence is lacking, I am disposed to assume that the chlamys was of one piece. Now the ordinary web of cloth is of uniform breadth, and a chlamys of the shape advocated above, if cut out of such a web, could not have selvages at both ends, *AC* and *BE*, nor would it be likely to have a selvaige even at one end, as that would involve unnecessary waste of cloth in cutting. But in the best example of the Orpheus relief, the one in Naples, the outer garment of Hermes, presumptively a chlamys, has the edge corresponding to *BE* of Fig. 2 characterized as a selvaige. The Parthenon Frieze

¹For an indication of a seam in vase-painting see the interior of a cylix decorated by Aeson (*Antike Denkmäler* II, Pl. 1). As for the statue published in the *Bullettino della commissione archeologica comunale di Roma* XXV (1897), Pl. XII B and p. 175, and in the Brunn-Bruckmann *Denkmäler*, no. 357, where Helbig (*Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, 2^o Auflage, no. 934) sees the indication of a seam, I am inclined to think that, while the meeting edges of the Doric chiton are marked as selvages, the seam itself is not expressed.

affords still more troublesome cases. The youthful figure on the west side, numbered 12 by Michaelis, wears a supposed chlamys, each end of which shows the puckered selvage; and the same is probably true of No. 15 in the same series. These selvages, then, of which perhaps other instances might be found, constitute the difficulty with which this paragraph deals. As has been partly indicated already, there is no lack of ways of escape. For one thing, I am assured by one who ought to know that there is no impossibility in weaving on a hand-loom a web with its edges inclined inward, like *AC* and *BE* of the diagrams. Perhaps this was done, and, if so, there is nothing more to be said. If, however, we assume the ordinary rectangular web, there is always the possibility that the chlamys was sewed together out of two or more pieces, in which case the difficulty again disappears. And if we do not wish to avail ourselves of this possibility, we may suppose, in the case of the Orpheus relief, either that the sculptor indicated the selvage arbitrarily and incorrectly or that he had in mind cases where the chlamys actually was cut with one end a selvage. In the case of the Parthenon sculptures, on the other hand, the selvages appear to be truthfully rendered,¹ and we are thus led to a query as to whether the two brooch-fastened garments cited from the West Frieze are really chlamydes at all. May not they and with them others of similar appearance on the Frieze and elsewhere be examples of a rectangular garment, of which the Greek name was perhaps *χλαμὶς* or *χλαμίσκος*? So far as I can see, there is nothing decisive to be said against this. If this supposition, which I do not urge, be entertained as a possibility, it would follow that in many cases of brooch-fastened garments represented in art it can not be certainly decided whether the name "chlamys" is applicable or not.

¹ The only exception which I have discovered is in the folded piece of stuff held by the priest in the East Frieze. In this piece two adjacent edges meeting at a right angle appear to be marked as selvages, where in any actual garment one of the edges would show a hem.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

AN EMENDATION OF CAESAR *BELLUM GALLICUM* VI. 30. 4

The disputed passage is: *sic et ad subeundum periculum et ad vitandum multum Fortuna valuit*. This is the reading of the α -class of manuscripts. In the β -class in place of *multum* we find *tumultum*; this is an unsatisfactory variant, which shows some close relation with the α -reading, and suggests that the scribe who wrote it felt the need of a noun in this place.

One can not escape the feeling that Caesar wrote a second accusative after *vitandum*, which in position and construction corresponded with *periculum*. Such a balanced structure is suggested by the repetition of *et ad*, as in other passages; e. g., *Bell. civ. iii. 1. 3: hoc et ad timorem novarum tabularum tollendum minuendumque . . . et ad debitorum tuendam existimationem*; when two gerundives limit a noun in common, it seems to be Caesar's usage to connect them simply with *et*, as in *Bell. Gall. vii. 22. 1, ad omnia imitanda et efficienda*, or with *-que*, as in the passage above cited from the *Bellum civile*. In other words, the use of *et ad . . . et ad* seems to particularize and differentiate two statements, like the English "in the first place," "in the second place." I do not find myself in agreement with those editors who refer *ad subeundum periculum* to Basilus and *ad vitandum* to Ambiorix. It was Basilus who was trying to seize the person of Ambiorix. How then could the lieutenant of Caesar be said to incur danger through the action of Fortune, when he was himself the aggressor? It is much more reasonable to say that Fortune suddenly plunged Ambiorix into danger and as suddenly extricated him from it.

For *multum* I suggest *mortem*; this word could easily be mistaken for *multum*, especially if there were influences which would make such a change natural. *sic et ad subeundum periculum et ad vitandam mortem Fortuna valuit* is not only a well-balanced sentence, according with Caesarian usage, but, standing as it does at the very end of the chapter, it epitomizes the contents of the chapter. Caesar remarks (§ 2): *multum cum in omnibus rebus tum in re militari potest Fortuna*. For this statement two reasons are given: (1) *nam sicut magno accidit casu, ut in ipsum incautum etiam atque imparatum incideret . . .*; (2) *sic magnae fuit fortunae omni militari instrumento, quod circum se habebat, erepto, raedis equisque comprehensis ipsum effugere mortem*. First, Ambiorix,

unarmed, suddenly found himself facing the enemy; but, secondly, in spite of his dangerous position, he escaped death. How this happened is told in the two sentences following. Finally, the last sentence, with the reading I have suggested, is a distinct restatement of the power of Fortune exerted in these two particulars. To be sure, *ad vitandum* (sc. *periculum*) also summarizes the second statement, but not in the exact, direct manner Caesar is wont to employ.

Still, since the tendency of modern textual criticism is to retain the manuscript reading, wherever possible, I should not have had the temerity to suggest a change here if, in the first place, the text were sound, or if, in the second place, the α -reading accorded with good Latinity or even good sense. Standing as it does now, wedged in between *vitandum* and *Fortuna*, the adverb *multum* is in neither a natural nor an emphatic position. Caesar's favorite position for *multum* when used as an adverb limiting a verb is at the beginning of the sentence; e. g., *Bell. Gall.* vii. 84. 3, *multum ad terrendos nostros valet clamor*; *Bell. civ.* i. 61. 2, *quod multum Caesar equitatu valebat*. Other instances are *Bell. Gall.* v. 14. 1; vi. 21. 1; *Bell. civ.* i. 19. 3, 57. 3, 69. 2; ii. 38. 2; iii. 63. 7, 75. 3.

Again, an adverb like *multum*, or especially a comparative or superlative like *plus*, *minus*, *plurimum*, *tantum*, when used with *valere*, in a sense weakens the force of the verb, because it limits its degree. To say that Fortune was "quite" powerful or "more" powerful implies that its full power is not exerted. Now the escape of Ambiorix was due wholly to Fortune.

The scribe who committed the error of writing *multum* was unconsciously influenced to do so no doubt by a lingering memory of *multum potest Fortuna* earlier in the chapter, where the emphatic *multum* made a strong impression on his mind. But there *multum* is quite proper. The meaning is that chance has a good deal to do with determining events; that is, that it often happens that chance determines them. In the sentence in question *multum* is not proper. This is the individual illustration. In this specific instance chance did not merely have a good deal of influence, it completely ruled. *multum* is in place in the general statement; it is out of place and weak in the special instance. To say *multum Fortuna valuit* would be equivalent to saying *Fortunā (periculum vitare) multum poterat (Ambiorix)*, which is absurd in this connection.

The phrase *fuga mortem vitare* is applied in a similar situation (*Bell. Gall.* v. 20) to Mandubracius.

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THE QUOTATIONS OF ATHENAGORAS AND THE TEXT OF EURIPIDES

Wakefield and Earle admitted into the text of Eur. *Alc.* 8 ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς αἶαν on the strength of a quotation in Athenagoras, assuming that Athenagoras had a text representing a different recension from that of our MSS, which agree in giving ἐλθὼν δὲ γαῖαν. Hayley in his note to the passage objects to this procedure, suggesting that the ancients often quote from memory, and defends the traditional reading on its merits, citing Wecklein's statement (*Woch. f. klass. Phil.*, 1895, 1255) that the tragic poets do not use αἶα where γαῖα is metrically possible. It has seemed worth while to examine the tragic quotations in Athenagoras anew, in order to ascertain if possible whether there is any evidence for a different text and to find out what was the habit of this Christian apologist in the matter of verse quotations. I have used Otto's text, in constructing which nineteen MSS were used. Omitting the five quotations not known from other sources, the rest may be grouped into two classes, which will be considered separately.

I. Passages from lost plays. (a) Aesch. *fab. inc.* fr. 350 N. 5-9 = Athenag. p. 104, quoted also by Plato, Eusebius, and others. The MSS of Athenagoras with one exception give the obviously wrong κἀγὼ τι for κἀγὼ τό. (b) Soph. *fr. dub.* 1025 N. 1 f. = Athenag. p. 26. The two verses are believed to have been interpolated into the text of Athenagoras. (c) *Fr. adesp.* 455 N. = Athenag. p. 138, also in *schol. ad Soph. Ant.* 620, ὅταν ὁ δαίμων for ὅταν δ' ὁ δαίμων. (d) Eur. *Dan.* fr. 324 N. = Athenag. p. 154, also in Lucian, Athenaeus, Tzetzes, and others. The MSS of Athenagoras, Athenaeus, and Lucian fluctuate between δεξίωμα and δεξιῶμα (the right reading), though two MSS of Athenagoras read δξίωμα. Again, Athenagoras and Athenaeus read τοιάσδ'; the right reading is τοίās. (e) Eur. *fab. inc.* fr. 941 N. = Athenag. p. 24, also in Stobaeus, Lucian, and others. The Athenagoras MSS abound in small errors, but offer no variant reading. — In all the above cases the differences are palaeographical, but the next example is more significant. (f) Eur. *Melan.* fr. 480 N. = Athenag. p. 24. The verse is quoted by Lucian, Justin Mart., and others in the form

Ζεὺς ὅστις ὁ Ζεὺς, οὐ γὰρ οἶδα πλὴν λόγῳ.

Athenagoras allows himself liberties in adapting the verse to his sentence: Ζῆνα γὰρ ὅστις ὁ Ζεὺς, οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν λόγῳ. Otto remarks: "Hunc versum liberius citat Athenagoras."

II. Quotations from extant plays. (a) Eur. *Alc.* 1 f. = Athenag. p. 104. Variations insignificant. (b) Eur. *Alc.* 8 f. = Athenag. p. 104. The Euripides MSS all give

ἐλθὼν δὲ γαῖαν τήνδ' ἐβουφόρβουν ξένῳ.

The MSS of Athenagoras, however, with one exception, give ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς αἶαν and ξένων, the exception (Lub.) having ξένῳ. Otto's note is: "Rectius Athenagorae δ' ἐς αἶαν quam quod ap. Eur. vulgo exstat δὲ γαῖαν." Wakefield and Earle evidently had the same feeling about it. But, apart from the objection to αἶα which Wecklein urged, we can readily explain ἐς αἶαν without the assumption of an independent text tradition: Athenagoras, quoting from memory, naturally avoids the poetical construction ἐλθὼν γαῖαν in favor of the prepositional construction. Equally significant is (c) Eur. *Cycl.* 332 f. = Athenag. p. 134. The Euripides MSS read

ἡ γῆ δ' ἀνάγκη, κἂν θέλῃ, κἂν μὴ θέλῃ,
τίκτουσα πόλιν τὰμὲν πάλαι βροτά.

All the Athenagoras MSS except two give φύουσιν οἶαν (Duc. πόαν; Lub. φύουσα οἶα in *rasura*). The editors correct to φύουσα ποίαν. *τίκτουσα* is figurative, *φύουσα* literal. In a quotation from memory the choice of the literal word is readily accounted for. There can be no question that Euripides wrote *τίκτουσα*, although Valckenaer (*vid. Hermann Cyclops* 336, note) seems to have preferred *φύουσα*; cf. Porson *ad Phoen.* 34, who states that Valckenaer wrongly preferred *τεκόντας*, given by Strabo, to the *φύσαντας* ("parents") of the MSS.

On p. 84 Athenagoras quotes from the *Iliad* and assigns the verse to Orpheus. This bit of carelessness tends to confirm the conclusion which I would draw from the *Alcestis* and *Cyclops* passages and perhaps from the "free quotation" from the *Melanippe*. The chances are that Athenagoras was in the habit of quoting familiar passages from memory. The small number of his quotations from the tragic poets that are not quoted also by others seems to point to a free use by him of stock or familiar quotations (perhaps from a *florilegium*)—and these are the kind in which the exact language of the poet is most likely to be slightly altered.

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HORACE *ARS POETICA* 95 AND PROCLUS ON THE PLAIN STYLE

A fragment of Proclus preserved by Photius Codex 239 states that the plain or jejune style is suitable to the expression of grief: τὸ δὲ ἰσχνὸν τὴν τροπικὴν μὲν (concessive) καὶ φιλοκατάσκευον σύνθεσιν μεταδιώκει, ἐξ ἀναιμίων δὲ μᾶλλον συνήρηται, ὅθεν ὡς ἐπίπαν τοῖς γοεροῖς ἀριστά πως ἐφαρμόττει. In *Rhein. Mus.* XLIX, p. 134, note 1, W. Schmid pronounces *γοεροῖς* meaningless and peremptorily emends *γοεροῖς*. But there is more profit, if less glory, in understanding a text than in emending it. That the plain style suits τοῖς γοεροῖς is both common-sense and the general tradition of ancient rhetoric. To begin with, Horace, in v. 95 of the *Ars poetica*, tells us:

et tragicus *plerumque dolet sermone pedestri*
 Telephus et Peleus, cum pauper et exsul uterque
 proicit ampullas et sesquipedia verba,
si curat cor spectantis tetigisse querela.

This is also the doctrine of the rhetoricians collected in Spengel. Longinus (Spengel I. 327) recommends the consoler to speak *μετὰ συμπεπονθυίας . . . ἀπλόγητος*. Apsines (I. 358) says: *αἱ παθητικαὶ διηγήσεις οὐ πολὺν ἔχουσιν ὀφείλουσι κόσμον*, and again, *περὶ πάθους*, p. 405: *τὴν δὲ λέξιν δεῖ εἶναι ἀπλαστον καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστον· τὸ γὰρ καλλωπίζειν οὐ τοῦ θρηνηύοντος*. And Demetrius (Spengel III. 267-8), after the warning *ἀπλοῦν γὰρ εἶναι βούλεται καὶ ἀποιήτον τὸ πάθος*, adds that a florid artificial style *οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία πάθος κινήσει οὐδὲ ἔλεον, ἀλλὰ τὸν καλούμενον κλαυσιγέλωτα· τὸ γὰρ ἐν πενθοῦσι παίζειν, κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν, τὸ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν τοῖς πάθεσι κακοτεχνεῖν ἐστίν*. But why labor the point? Tennyson's "So that day there was dole in Astolat" will serve as well as a wilderness of Greek rhetoricians.

PAUL SHOREY

THE MOODS OF INDIRECT DISCOURSE

I regret that I was not acquainted with Professor Hale's criticisms (see the last number of this journal) in time to reply to them in my own remarks in the same number. If I do not reply now, it is not because I consider his objections valid, but because it is hardly fair to them, or to my own views, to treat the subject in the summary fashion which such a reply makes necessary. While reserving the matter for a fuller discussion, I wish to say now that I take exception to both points which Professor Hale raises.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Greek Thinkers: A History of Ancient Philosophy. By THEODORE GOMPERZ. Authorized Translation by G. G. BERRY. Vols. II and III. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905. Pp. xvi + 397 and xiii + 386. Each \$4, net.

Professor Gomperz' *Greek Thinkers* in this excellent translation will probably supersede Zeller for all but professional students. In a review intended for the more general public (cf. *Dial* August 16, 1901; July 16, 1905) I have already expressed my appreciation of its three chief qualities: (1) its readableness; (2) its skilful blending of the history with the discussion of ideas; (3) its consistent adoption of a modern, rational, and scientific point of view. Taking this estimate for granted, I may, without risk of being misunderstood, proceed at once to record my dissent on certain matters of detail that may interest students of the subject, but do not appreciably affect the value of the work as a whole.

In his account of the Socratic method (II, p. 55) Professor Gomperz, influenced perhaps by Grote, exaggerates the distinction between the positive and the negative use of induction. The Platonic Socrates rarely, if ever, elaborates a final positive definition by the inductive method. For Plato, as I have elsewhere shown, has no faith in absolute definitions. But rapid positive induction is frequently employed to win acceptance of a generalization needed in the course of the argument. And proposed definitions are often refuted by such generalizations, or by the direct inductive application of a "negative instance." In any case, it is not true that Aristotle uses *παραβολή* as the technical name of the negative procedure. A negative instance, *ἐνστάσις*, may be associated with a *παραβολή*, but is not of its essence (152 a. 25). The "parable" is merely a species of example or illustration akin to induction, and negativity belongs to it only in so far as τὰ Σωκρατικά are apt to be critical or skeptical of dogmatism.

Philologists seek a knot in a bulrush when they raise difficulties about the rôle of a preacher of virtue attributed to Socrates in the *Apology*. Professor Gomperz says (II, p. 107) that such an attitude is irreconcilable with the doctrine that virtue is knowledge. But this proves too much, for Plato himself, with his constant concern for edification, held the doctrine to the end. We can never infer a moralist's practice from the consequences which we impute to his metaphysical prin-

ciples. The Xenophontic Socrates is a tedious moralizer of the commonplace. The Platonic Socrates, whatever his metaphysical theories may be, in fact always appeals to the heart and will, as well as to the intellect. The burden of his protreptic is *ὅπως χρὴ σοφίας τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι* (*Euthydem.* 278 d). There is no contradiction between the *Apology* and other dialogues. The *Crito* is written throughout in a hortatory and edifying style. In *Phaedo* 115 b ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμενοι, etc., is as hortatory in its suggestions as ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἀρετῆς in *Apol.* 31 b; and in *Laches* 188 a Socrates' rôle of moral gadfly is distinctly indicated in Nicias' words: καὶ οὐδὲν αἰμαὶ κακὸν εἶναι τὸ ὑπομνήσκεσθαι ὃ τι μὴ καλῶς ἢ πεποιήκαμεν ἢ ποιούμεν. It is, of course, possible to force a purely intellectual meaning upon all such passages. But to do so is to beg the question. The whole controversy is idle. Nor is there any evidence to support Joel's hypothesis that Socrates began as a moralist, and, mistaking the means for the end, finally lost himself in dialectics. At the most it can be said that the historic Socrates was perhaps less edifying and emotional than the Platonic.

In his treatment of the Sophists and minor Socratics Professor Gomperz errs, if at all, from an excessive eagerness to rehabilitate them against Plato's criticism. This tendency has two sources: (1) Grote's watchful jealousy to defend modern utilitarian and relativist philosophies against Platonic absolutism; (2) the ingenuity of philologists ever seeking something new. From the first Professor Gomperz should have been warned by Mills's defense of the *Theaetetus* against Grote's championship of *Protagoras*. The only remedy for the second is to repeat that we have no evidence. It is abstractly possible that Antisthenes, Euclid, and the unknown thinkers satirized in the *Philebus* and *Theaetetus* meant all that the most advanced modern nominalists, associationists, and positivists could read into the crude formulas attributed to them. But it is not probable, and there is not an iota of evidence to prove it. Professor Gomperz is inclined to find a developed nominalistic logic in every attack on the Platonic ideas. And he even reads it into a corrupt fragment of Antiphon (Diels *Vorsokratiker*, p. 553. 1), which, so far as its meaning can be made out, plainly deals with another matter.

Professor Gomperz' analyses of the Platonic dialogues are always suggestive and sometimes illuminating. He too often, however, condescends to the "immature" thinker of an earlier time, and reads the greatest dialectician who ever lived lessons in elementary logic, and in his endeavor to detect fallacies, inconsistencies, and chronological developments in the dialogues he verifies again my thesis that such attempts, however plausible *a priori*, almost always ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡλικίας, as if by some fatality, lead to misinterpretation.

Thus in II, p. 332, and III, p. 50, he argues that the *Gorgias* must be earlier than both *Rep.* I and the *Crito*, because Plato is "still" far

removed from the principle of love toward enemies. The only basis for this statement is the paradox, of which I should have thought it impossible to miss the humor, in *Gorg.* 480 *e* that the sole use of the Sophistic rhetoric would be to save your enemy from punishment, that he might suffer the heavier penalty of living in sin. Even that is guarded by the qualification *εἰ ἄρα δεῖ τινὰ κακῶς ποιεῖν*. But a little thing like *ἄρα* can not be allowed to mar a point.

Similarly, following Grote, he illustrates Plato's aristocratic prejudices by the passage in the *Gorgias* 512 *b*, where a mechanic "who had (?) saved his country from destruction by inventing an engine of war, is, nevertheless, spoken of in a tone of contempt, just because he labored with his hands." But Plato does not himself especially disparage the engineer. He places him above the successful general, and affirms that Callicles despises him, but is not logically justified in so doing by his own ethics of "survival" and "salvation."

In III, p. 171, after explaining the theory that the $\mu\eta\ \delta\upsilon\upsilon = \epsilon\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$, he continues: "The non-existent in the province of beauty is simply the ugly The second step of this reduction is logically more assailable than the first." It certainly is. But the second step is taken by Gomperz, not by Plato, who explicitly says (*Sophist.* 257 *b*): *ὅποταν τὸ μὴ ὄν λέγωμεν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ἐναντίον τι λέγομεν τοῦ ὄντος, ἀλλ' ἕτερον μόνον*, and in *Symp.* 201 *e*: *ἢ οἶαι, ὃ τι ἂν μὴ καλὸν ᾖ, ἀναγκαῖον αὐτὸ εἶναι αἰσχρόν*;

Experiences of this sort do not predispose us in favor of the hypothesis that in *Protag.* 350 *c* Plato intended to attribute to Protagoras the "discovery" that a universal affirmative can not be converted *simpliciter*. And our distrust is confirmed when we find the principle amply illustrated "already" in the *Euthyphro* 12 *b*.

Again in III, p. 159, the "notable fallacy" attributed to Plato in his *reductio ad absurdum* of extreme Heraclitism belongs to his interpreter. "There is," as Gomperz says, and Plato himself says better (*Rep.* 436 *de*), "no contradiction in affirming that in one sense a thing is at rest, while in another it has motion." But this evasion is not competent to an opponent who has accepted change of place and change of quality as two kinds of motion, and still avers that the word and idea "rest" are to be eliminated altogether from thought and speech. And that is the situation in the part of the *Theaetetus* under discussion.

The statement (III, p. 316) that Plato, "while he was still a pure Socraticist, could not be fully conscious of the double sense of *ἀφροσύνη*," begs the question. It is not really conceivable that the author of the *Protagoras*, of *Euthydemus* 277, 278, and of *Theaetetus* 167, 168 was not always aware that a word may have two meanings, and so two opposites.

Of a similar character are many of the alleged inconsistencies and developments. It is hypercritical to argue (II, p. 347) that the exemplary punishment of the incurable in the eschatological myths seriously

contradicts the thesis that punishment is salutary, or that this in turn is incompatible with the recognition by the legislator of both the corrective and the deterrent effect of his penalties.

The statement (II, p. 354) that in the *Laws* Plato's faith in the coincidence of virtue and happiness proclaimed as an axiom in the *Gorgias* "is no longer what it was" sounds strangely in view of his reiterated affirmation that he is more certain of it than of the island of Crete—*ὡς οὐδὲ Κρήτη νήσος σαφῶς* (662 b).

In arguing that the *Euthyphro* eliminates piety as a special virtue, and therefore "must" follow the *Gorgias* and precede the *Phaedo* (II, p. 363; III, p. 37), Professor Gomperz forgets that he himself places the *Meno* after the *Euthyphro*, and that the *Meno* recognizes piety, 78 d.

It is not true (III, p. 28) that the *Phaedrus* introduces the ideas "shyly." The oratorical precautions of 247 c evidently refer to the dithyrambic description of the *ὑπερουράνιος τόπος*, which, it is true, involves the ideas.

The assertion (III, p. 30) that the technical term *εἶδος* occurs for the first time in *Phaedo* will mislead. Not to speak of *Hippias major* 289 d, *Symp.* 210 b, *Gorgias* 504 cd, which are open to controversy, we have in *Phaedr.* 249 b *κατ' εἶδος λεγόμενον*, and in *Meno* 72 c *ἐν γέ τι εἶδος ταῦτόν ἅπασαι ἔχουσι δι' ὃ εἰσὶν ἀρεταί*. To say that *εἶδος* is merely logical in these passages is to misconceive the whole doctrine. For both dialogues are full of transcendentalism and teach *ἀνάμνησις*.

The differences alleged between the *Politicus* and other dialogues are mostly imaginary. The method of dichotomy is not "abandoned as inadequate" (III, p. 181). It is merely illustrated further and improved—else why write another dialogue about it? The political theory and classification of governments, as I have shown in "Unity of Plato's Thought" (p. 62), does not differ from the *Republic* except in the form of presentation. The recognition of the opposition of the two temperaments is not "a notable piece of self-correction" (III, p. 184). It is merely a specially explicit statement of fundamental Platonic doctrine (cf. "Unity," pp. 11, 13). *Politicus* 267 c does not "revoke" the comparison of the ruler with the shepherd, *Rep.* 416 a, and 440 d (III, p. 357). The comparison is a literary commonplace from Homer down, the origination of which it is naïve to attribute to Antisthenes (III, p. 180). The *Republic* passages are purely literary and figurative. The *Politicus* merely points out that we can not reason as if the analogy were perfect. Neither is there any self-correction in the "revocation" of the comparison with the queen-bee, *Rep.* 520 b; *Polit.* 301 e. Plato always yearned for the scientific rule of the "capable man." In the *Republic* he indulges his fancy with the picture of a utopia which shall systematically produce him in the human hive. In the *Politicus* he ironically (*ὡς δὴ φάμεν*) admits

that existent society provides no such man, and that we must therefore accept as second best the reign of law. Unless he was to rewrite the *Republic*, what else could he say?

Space fails to examine Professor Gomperz' interpretation of the *Timaeus*, with which he is hardly in sympathy, and which he therefore sometimes misunderstands. Necessity and the "cause of disordered motion" are not two principles, as he thinks, but one (III, pp. 210, 213). The plain meaning of the Idea of Good is missed by him as by most interpreters. And on all ultimate metaphysical problems he is apt to err, through a desire to defend modern positivism against the traditional Platonic absolutism, or through failure to perceive the real depth and essential rationalism of Plato's thought. Thus in the discussion of the theory of causation set forth in the *Phaedo* he misses the distinction between the teleological view which Socrates renounces as too difficult, and the purely logical and non-committal causation of the ideas, which is merely a consistent and intentional substitution of the *causa cognoscendi* for the *causa fiendi*.

In these specific and perhaps captious criticisms my object has not been to assert the infallibility of Plato. Much that is known to us he could not know. But within the sphere of his own experience his thought was elaborated and expressed with a consistency, a completeness, and a precision of which literature has few examples. To interpret him rightly is to exhibit this essential unity and sanity of his thought, not to hunt for flaws and self-contradictions which in at least nine cases out of ten prove to be misapprehensions of the interpreter.

PAUL SHOREY

Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Iran. Von J. MARQUART.
Zweites Heft [Schluss]. Leipzig: Dieterich, 1905. Pp. 258.
M. 10.20.

This is a continuation of the investigations published under the same title in Vols. LIV and LV of *Philologus*, and exhibits the same astounding mastery of the most diverse sources. Dealing exhaustively with numerous details of Iranian chronology and topography, the book contains much that is only of remote interest to the classicist. Yet the intimate connection of Persian with Greek history, and the fact that authors like Herodotus, Ctesias, Arrian, Curtius, etc., are among the sources under consideration (cf., e. g., the chapter on Alexander's march from Persepolis to Herat), justifies us in calling attention, if only thus briefly, to this important series of investigations.

CARL D. BUCK

Papers of the British School at Rome. London: Macmillan & Co. Vol. I, pp. 285, 1902, 25 s.; Vol. II, pp. 165, 1904, 30 s.

The British School was established at Rome in 1901, and the very next year the first volume of its *Papers* appeared, containing two notable contributions, that of director at the time, Mr. G. McN. Rushforth, of Oxford, on the "Church of S. Maria Antiqua" (pp. 1-123), and that of Mr. Thomas Ashby, Jr., at that time a student in the school, on the "Classical Topography of the Roman Campagna" (pp. 127-285). In 1904 the second volume appeared, devoted entirely to a discussion of certain sixteenth-century drawings of Roman buildings attributed to Andreas Coner, by Mr. Ashby, who had recently been appointed assistant director of the school.

As everyone knows, the recent excavations on the north side of the Forum resulted in the discovery of the original church of S. Maria Antiqua, as it existed in the eighth century, for it was abandoned in the ninth century and never restored. Like other churches of this period, this was built in the ruins of an older structure, in this case the so-called Bibliotheca of the temple of Augustus. Mr. Rushforth gives a careful and excellent description of the building itself, and especially of the frescoes that adorned its walls, much the more important part of the whole. Unfortunately, the fact that these frescoes have not even yet been published officially made any reproductions impossible, although, as the author points out, "a careful description is almost as valuable for iconographical purposes as reproduction," and "their interest consists rather in the choice and treatment of subjects than in their artistic character." The most recent detailed description of these frescoes will be found in *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1905, pp. 84-94, by Professor Hülsen.

Mr. Ashby's paper in the first volume is the first of a series in which he proposes to treat the comprehensive and difficult subject of the topography of the Roman Campagna during the classical period. His object and the method employed in the first paper, and presumably in those that are to follow, are thus stated (p. 136): "to determine the course of each of the three main roads (with their branches) which traverse the district under consideration, and to describe the ancient remains which exist near each road, as evidence of the inhabited character, or the reverse, of the country through which it runs, and of its comparative importance or unimportance." This involves an enormous amount of work, actual travel, the visiting of sites over and over again, and the investigation of much literary and epigraphical material, published and in manuscript. Under the empire the Campagna was covered with villas and estates, and the roads leading out of Rome were connected with a perfect network of crossroads, so that the problem of following out the

original line is often very difficult. Mr. Ashby has spared neither time nor strength in his researches, and the result is eminently satisfactory as regards both substance and form.

We are reminded in the introduction that great cities, that develop normally, usually have two sets of communications with the surrounding communities, the one for local, the other for long-distance traffic. In the case of Rome, roads of the first class were ordinarily named from the town to which they led, those of the second class from those who were chiefly concerned in their construction. Some roads, however, originally designed for local traffic, became long and important thoroughfares, but kept the same names. The three roads described in this paper illustrate these classes. The Via Collatina was a short road for local traffic with Collatia and of small importance; the Via Praenestina, originally a similar road to Gabii, was afterward extended to Praeneste and became the most important of the local roads; while the Via Labicana, at first a local road to Labici, was extended to join the Via Latina, thirty-one miles from Rome, and became one of the main thoroughfares to the south, although it retained its original name.

The author has limited himself to the classical period, a division which, while he calls it purely artificial, is entirely justified by various considerations. He also disclaims absolute completeness, on account of the endless quantity of material to be examined, and the changes that are continually going on in this territory; but no one who has gone through the paper will feel that any such apology is needed. It was high time that this work was done, for with the rapid growth of agriculture in the Campagna many, if not all, existing ruins are likely to be very soon destroyed and the territory to become again a garden as it was in the time of the empire. As about sixty-five pages are devoted to each of the roads, the Praenestina and the Labicana, it may be inferred that the description is very detailed. Eight elaborate contour maps, besides the guide-map, accompany the text, on which are indicated the remains of all tombs, bridges, cuts, drains, villas, etc. The text contains a full discussion of all matters, archaeological, epigraphical, and geographical, that pertain to the determination of the line of the main roads as well as of their *deverticula*, together with numerous corrections of statements made by previous writers, such as Gell, Nibby, and Fabretti, and also those found in the *CIL*. Perhaps the most notable of the author's definite results is the determination of the line of the Via Labicana between Colonna and Monte Compatri, and the consequent identification of the latter with the ancient Labici, concerning the site of which there has always been so much uncertainty. Mr. Ashby deserves hearty congratulation upon having published the first part of a work so accurate, so complete, and withal so well written.

Various scholars, especially Lanciani and Hülsen, have recently called attention to the fact that the drawings and sketches of the Renaissance often contain valuable information concerning the position and architecture of the ancient monuments, and many problems have been nearly or quite solved by this means. In the second volume of the *Papers* Mr. Ashby has published an important series of drawings that are contained in a volume in the Soane Museum in London. These sketches have been made by two hands, the first shown by internal evidence to be about 1515, and the second a little later. On the back of the Italian binding of the eighteenth century is written "Architec(tura) Civilis Andrea Coneri Antiqua Monume(nda) Rome," and on one of the leaves of the earlier part of the book is a copy of a letter from Andreas Coner to Bernardo Rucellai of Florence. This Coner is wholly unknown except from an inventory of his goods, preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Rome, which shows him to have been a learned man with a large library. Although the evidence is rather scanty, yet Ashby seems to have made out a plausible argument for assigning the earlier sketches at least to Coner. He was a friend of Bramante's, for there are several sketches by the latter in the collection, and some drawings in Florence—generally, though as it seems wrongly, ascribed to Michelangelo—are shown to have been copied from those of Coner.

The collection before us belongs to those "made by Renaissance architects who studied the remains of ancient buildings either as practical architects, in order to use them as models, or else as antiquarians, with a desire to form a *corpus* of the ruins of antiquity." As only two of these sketch-books have hitherto been published (p. 11), the present work is welcome, both for its contents and the manner of its execution. In all there are 165 leaves, reproduced on as many plates, and these are preceded by a description and identification wherever this is possible, as it is in most cases. In the earlier drawings measurements are regularly given in the Florentine *brachium* (0.5836 metre) and the *minutum*, one-sixtieth of the *braccio*. Ancient and mediaeval buildings both appear, and the contents are arranged in this order: ground plans, tombs, elevations, architectural details, fantastic sketches. The drawings of the Pantheon, the Colosseum, and the great *thermae* are especially noteworthy, and of such details as the entablatures of the Basilica Aemilia (77) and the temple of Castor (85).

The value and usefulness of this book are enhanced by copious references and by three indices, and its publication will now make it easy for students of Roman topography and architecture to supplement their material in a way hitherto practically impossible.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER

A Study of the Case Construction of Words of Time. By LESTER DORMAN BROWN. Yale dissertation. New Haven: privately printed. 1904. Pp. 141.

This dissertation is made doubly welcome because of its selection by Professor Morris as a representative example of work based upon his methods (cf. *Harvard Studies*, Vol. XVI, p. 116). The material for the work was gathered from Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides, and parts of Xenophon.

In the first part, Dr. Brown endeavors to prove that a "classification according to inflectional endings does not result in a functional classification." He does this by presenting comparative lists of genitives and datives of time (as, e. g., τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας, Hdt. vii. 166, and τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ, Thuc. i. 29. 5) that seem to him to perform practically the same function. His array of material in support of this contention seems at first sight very formidable. However, it appears that even in this notable instance of case-rivalry he can find "overlapping of function" in less than 12 per cent. of the genitives and datives.

In the second part of the study Dr. Brown points out what elements in the context aid in determining the case-meaning. He finds, for instance, that the accusative case is usually aided in the expression of duration by the meaning of the noun denoting time, by a modifying adjective of measure, e. g., πᾶς, by the presence of a verb like μένω expressing continued state or act, etc. He then feels justified in drawing the inference (p. 136) that these elements "through constant association with the cases were powerful factors in attaching to the cases the meanings for which they in general stand."

The writer deserves high praise for the great labor and care with which he has gathered his material, for the lucid order in which he has presented it, as well as for the attitude of fairness he maintains when giving facts that do not support his theory. It is to be hoped that the methods of Professor Morris may be illustrated in all their aspects by dissertations of this quality. Unfortunately the present work covers a peculiarly limited field, and that too a field seemingly not well chosen for the application of this particular method, so that a careful perusal of the work rather weakens than strengthens the faith one may have acquired in the method from a reading of Professor Morris' presentation. I can here indicate only in the briefest way to what I refer.

In the first place some of the case-constructions of time in Greek are obviously quite far from representing the most normal and primitive usages of their respective cases. For instance, the Greeks, by borrowing the prepositions of space-relation for the expression of time-relation, constantly betray their conception of these constructions as largely influenced by those of space. Such possibilities, and they are many, must at least

be taken into consideration. In studying the sources of the Hudson River it is not customary to begin with Spuyten Duyvil, and there are several Spuyten Duyvils in the case-constructions.

Secondly, the danger of neglecting the data of cognate languages could hardly be better illustrated than here. Much time is given, for example, to showing how the dative construction of time is indefinite in scope, overlapping other case-meanings, and hard to associate with the ordinary dative conceptions. There is no hint that the Greek datives of time may have to be explained as locatives and instrumentals. Mr. Brown simply holds that it was the "constant presence of a demonstrative word with the nouns that gave the case the function of dating precisely." What sweet charms possessed this dative that she must thus submit to the "constant presence of this demonstrative" suitor? We used to believe that the Greek dative of time was largely a locative and in that capacity lent itself readily to expressions of "definite" time with definite modifiers. The Sanskrit and Latin datives do not permanently acquire the "function of dating precisely." Their locatives do. Such facts would seem to have some bearing upon the question.

Most readers will admit that the method illustrated by Mr. Brown will prove to be of great service in determining the semantic forces of case and modal constructions; but his work has shown that the method is not universally applicable, and that when applied without regard for the results of other methods its success is but partial.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

TENNEY FRANK

The Poetic Element in the Satires and Epistles of Horace. By PHILIP HOWARD EDWARDS. Part I, pp. 47. Johns Hopkins dissertation. Baltimore: privately printed, 1905.

The author has collected carefully the passages of Horace's satirical writings which reveal in any way a more manifest poetical treatment. Brought together thus in a single conspectus, they afford opportunity for some general observations of considerable interest, and they may serve to stimulate the reader sufficiently familiar with his Horace to some generalizations of his own. The author protests, perhaps unduly, that the point of view has received too little recognition from the interpreters of Horace; and this may be true, though it would not be difficult to find more appreciative utterances on the topic than the two or three cited on p. 18, as for example in the brief words, full of critical insight, in Mackail's *History of Roman Literature*, p. 111.

The passages are grouped under the headings: Real poetry, parody, elevated passages, poetic reminiscence. The chief criticism which is to be made on the assignment of material to this classification is the group-

ing of a large number of passages under the head of "real poetry," which belong in fact to the literature of burlesque, of which parody is one type. Like parody it is found much more abundantly in the *Sermones* than in the *Epistulae*. A study of this kind does not lend itself readily to severe methods, but more attention should have been given to the development of Horace's taste and technique in the use of thoughts and words which may be designated as poetical. Such a study, freed from conventional standards in determining what is "poetical," would reveal us the real poet, in the subtle emotion of haunting phrases, more often in the *Epistles* than elsewhere—perhaps more often even than in the *Odes*.

G. L. H.

Metaphor and Comparison in the Dialogues of Plato. By GEORGE OLAF BERG. Johns Hopkins dissertation. Berlin: Mayer & Müller, 1904. Pp. viii+57.

This monograph deals with its subject in a comprehensive way and will serve as a convenient tabulation of the more important tropes employed by Plato. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to a manuscript dissertation of Dr. E. G. Sihler on the same subject (J. H. U., 1882), and says that he follows in the main the classification of Blümner in his work, *Über Gleichniss und Metapher in der attischen Komödie*.

The arrangement of the matter is logical, and there is a fairly good English index, though there are many omissions. A Greek index might readily have been added and would have increased the value of the dissertation as a book of reference. I have not attempted to verify all the citations, but have found no occasion for criticism in this regard. There are, however, a number of points on which I am inclined to differ from the author. The limits which divide conscious personification from conventional phrases are not easy to define; but Dr. Berg appears to discover personification in many doubtful expressions. A few curious blunders occur, as where it is said (p. 6) that *πάσχειν* is used to introduce a comparison *Polit.* 303 d. The comparison lies in *ὁμοιον*. As Dr. Berg suggests that there are other instances, he may have had in mind such as *Crat.* 399 b: *τούτων τοίνυν ἐν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὄνομα πέπονθεν*, where it is *καί* that carries the comparison, as in *Aristoph. Nub.* 234: *πάσχει δὲ ταῦτ' οὗτο καὶ τὰ κάρδαμα*. We are here in the sphere, not of formal comparisons, but of the illustrative examples constantly employed by Socrates. A collection of such examples would form a valuable supplement to the study of metaphors and comparisons. The author makes occasional references to Plato's use of recurring metaphors, but does not accord them a special treatment. This is to be regretted. In this connection the absence of any reference to the work of Dr. G. B. Hussey in this field is somewhat surprising.

W. A. HEIDEL

Plutarch as a Source of Information on the Greek Theater. By ROY CASTON FLICKINGER. Chicago dissertation. University of Chicago Press, 1904. \$0.75 net.

To anyone who has followed the progress of excavation and investigation for the past twenty years it has become more and more clear not only that a broad classification of the classic theater into two branches, "Greek" and "Roman," is far from satisfactory, but also that he is sadly lacking in discrimination who, in this connection, treats all Greek literature as a unit and strives to make all references to the theater fit into one and the same structure. Before the vexed theater question can be settled in its entirety, there is still need of more excavation and study of theater ruins, and greater need of such sane and thoughtful investigations of individual classical sources as is the doctor's thesis named above.

After dividing Plutarch's allusions to the theater into "general" allusions—those which are independent of specific time, place, or occasion, or those plainly referring to Plutarch's own time—and "specific" allusions, which refer to the theater of an earlier epoch, the writer proceeds in an excellent chapter to discuss Plutarch's method of dealing with his sources. By comparing (1) Plutarch with his sources, (2) his treatment of the same subject in different portions of his writings, (3) Plutarch with another user of the same source, (4) Plutarch with other witnesses on the same subject, the writer comes to the conclusion that Plutarch certainly "modernized" in many of his allusions to *Theaterwesen*. The following chapter is devoted to "Theatrical Terms in Plutarch." Here all "general" and "specific" allusions in the author are treated and, in most instances, compared with similar allusions in other portions of classical literature. The writer has excellent command over the material and shows much discrimination in assigning the various statements to their proper period in theater development. The *λογεῖον* of the Delian inscription staggers him, as it has many another. With reference to the passage *Demetr.* 34, he makes a suggestion which is decidedly clever, i. e., that *καταβάς* of this passage is a condensation of *κατέβαινε εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκρας*, found in *Aratus* 23. The conclusions reached in the paper are that Plutarch modernizes most of his allusions to all matters pertaining to the theater to fit the theater of his own day; that his conscious aim was not historic accuracy in the facts and in the sequence of events, but the portrayal of the praiseworthy qualities of his heroes; that the theater he had in mind was of the class of the "Nero" theater of Athens, and consequently arguments can not be drawn from Plutarch concerning the theater of an earlier or of a later time.

JOHN PICKARD

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Die Interpolationen in der Odyssee. Eine Untersuchung von
FRIEDRICH BLASS. Halle: Niemeyer, 1904. Pp. 308. M. 8.

To be really familiar with a great work of literature is always better than to know what is said about it, and this principle is particularly applicable to Homer and the Homeric question, as it is called. Before a man has a right to an opinion of his own in this matter, he must know the poems very well, but he need not have read all that has been written on the subject. He must make a selection, not only that he may have time for some other work, but also that he may preserve his sanity of judgment and clearness of literary perception. The book before us is one of those which may be read to advantage, although only those who are specially interested in Homer will follow the discussion with regard to every interpolation. The author speaks as one having authority, as indeed he may, but is never offensively dogmatic; his style is attractive.

The term "interpolations" is not used so frequently now as a generation ago, in relation to the Homeric poems. If the development not only of epic poetry, but also of these poems, continued for two or three hundred years, who should say that a passage was "interpolated" because it was later of composition than most of the rest? Some would say that it belonged to the Aeolic or the Ionic strata, but would apply the term "interpolation" to nothing which was inserted during the age of free epic composition. Blass, however, holds that the *Odyssey* is a true work of art, and that its unity is due in no wise to any commission of Pisis-tratus, but solely to its poet. He declares it to be high time that scholars should treat the Homeric poems as they do other great works of literature, and he shows that the unity of plan is as perfect as in any other work of Greek literature of like extent, and that the inconsistencies of the action are no greater than are accepted in tragedies of Sophocles. Unquestionably, however, not merely single verses, but longer sections of the poems, are due to diasceuaists and interpolators, and he would examine these additions to the *Odyssey*, choosing this as simpler than the *Iliad*, and as having suffered less from later changes, being far less popular in ancient times, as is indicated by the number and quality of the manuscripts of the two poems.

In the first six books of the *Odyssey* Blass finds no additions made by a diasceuaist, but only the ordinary kind of interpolations. These interpolations are tested so far as possible by ancient authority, and the subjective element of taste is kept aloof. They vary in frequency, naturally, in different parts of the poem. E. g., only eleven verses of the sixth book are rejected: 120 f., 134, 222, 313-15, 328-31; while in the first book forty-six verses are marked as interpolations. But, following the view of Aristarchus that the poem ended with ψ 296, the close of that book

and the whole of ω are assigned to a diasceuaast, with the exception of the "Second Nekyia," which is considered a separate interpolation; and considerable additions are thought to have been made in the preceding books in order to prepare the way for the present state of the poem. In all, Blass excludes 543 verses (more than a third of these being in λ) from the first twelve books, and 1,370 from the last twelve, or a total of 1,913 out of 12,110 lines. More than half of these excisions, however, are made up from the close of the poem, the loves of Ares and Aphrodite in θ , and parts of the Nekyia in λ .

The introduction occupies 25 pages, the discussion of interpolations 195 pages, and of the diasceuaast's extension 67 pages. An appendix discusses the Trojan myth in Homer, and the relations between the last two books of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, without showing familiarity with Geddes' theory of Ulyssean books of the *Iliad*.

This work by Blass has special importance because of his well-earned reputation for being one of the broadest, sanest, and most incisive scholars of Germany. That a philologist of such standing should maintain the essential unity of the Homeric poems, is not only highly significant for the change which has taken place in philological sentiment, but also certain to influence the Homeric studies of the future. Doubtless Blass does not expect to convert to his views any scholars of the extreme left, but his first pages will have weight with fair-minded persons, and his later pages afford for the discussion of such questions a model which throws into high relief the absurdity of many previous rejections of Homeric verses and passages. The time is not likely to return when a scholar can present rhetorically his Homeric creed like an American of the last preceding generation: "I believe that Homer composed the *Iliad*, the whole *Iliad*, and the *Iliad* as a whole; the *Odyssey*, the whole *Odyssey*, and the *Odyssey* as a whole." But while men smiled at that creed a third of a century ago, they did not dream that by this year of grace scholars would be quite as far from holding the views of Lachmann in the form in which they were presented by many scholars half a century ago. The belief that the world was produced by "a fortuitous concourse of atoms" was no more difficult than what was accepted almost greedily by many German philologists for the poems of Homer. Fortunately, in recent years we hear less of *Liederjäger* and *Einheitshirten*. We are at least more moderate than the preceding generation. The pendulum of thought has swung back so far that the influence of a great poetic mind in the composition of the poems, is better appreciated. The better scholars are less captious of minor discrepancies than they were, and more ready to admit that Homer's audiences may not have required such a degree of consistency that no flaw could be found by a student with a concordance, turning backward and forward to detect some mark of suture or some indication of oscitancy. For one,

the present writer confesses that each time he reads the poems anew, he is more struck by their essential harmony than by the inconsistencies in the action and the other indications of different authorship of different parts.

Σ

Roman Historical Sources and Institutions. University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, Vol. I. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1904. Pp. vi + 402. \$2.50.

An increasing interest in inscriptions and in the history of the Later Roman Empire, a period hitherto generally neglected in our universities, may perhaps be inferred from the title-page of this volume; for of the six authors five use epigraphical material and four deal chiefly with institutions and events of the third century A. D. The book as a whole forms an auspicious beginning for a new series.

The editor, Professor Henry A. Sanders, contributes two interesting studies in sources. In "The Myth about Tarpeia" he shows that, although in point of fact the Tarpeian Rock was named from a family which once lived in the vicinity, the custom of punishing traitors by hurling them from the cliff gave rise to an aetiological story of the treason and execution of a Tarpeius (Festus, p. 343 M; Prop. iv. 4. 93, etc.). Another member of this branch of the *gens Tarpeia* was one of the first Vestal virgins; at her grave on the Capitoline the pontifex and the chief Vestal made annual libation on February 15, the beginning of the public *Parentalia* (see Hor. *Carm.* iii. 30. 9). In time, however, the desire to account for the presence of this grave within the city walls produced the later and commoner form of the myth, which substituted for Tarpeius the maiden Tarpeia as the traitor (Fabius in Dion. Hal. ii. 38 ff.; Antigonus in Plut. *Romul.* 17). A misinterpretation of the adjacent Porta Pandana was responsible for some details of the story, while the fact that the Sabines figure in it merely points to a belief in Sabine settlers on the Capitoline. One slight logical inconsistency in the above explanation may be noted: since the name of the Tarpeian Rock was derived from the family dwelling there (p. 44, cf. p. 33), that name can not be used as a proof of their residence (p. 46, l. 15).

In "The Lost Epitome of Livy" Sanders presents an exhaustive treatment of an extremely complicated subject. After reviewing recent articles by Reinhold, Wölfflin, and Drescher, he discusses variant forms of the *Periochae* and the *Epitome*, and the relation to the latter work of some of its descendants, particularly Auct. *De vir. ill.*, Appian, Lucan, Ampelius, Dio, and Suetonius. Passages are cited in full and used sanely, though occasionally one feels that the possibility of purely accidental resemblances is not sufficiently regarded, e. g., in two cases (p. 195, No. 7, end; p. 196, ll. 11 ff.), the theory of an interpolation rests upon the

presence or absence of a single word. In the latter part of the paper Sanders concludes an analysis of the epitomator's use of non-Livian sources with the suggestion that this nameless historian may have been Livy's son, and finds confirmation for his conjecture in the agreement of Plin. *N. H.* v. 148, for which Livius filius is a possible source, with a fragment of the *Epitome* (Eutrop. iv. 5. 2; *De vir. ill.* 42. 6).

Walter Dennison, "The Movements of the Chorus Chanting the *Car-men saeculare* of Horace," rejects Mommsen's theory of a processional. His brief summary of the evidence on both sides will be convenient to all students of Horace.

Mary Gilmore Williams continues her admirable "Studies in the Lives of Roman Empresses" from *Am. Jour. Arch.* VI (1902), pp. 259 ff. This chapter describes Julia Mamaea, the mother of Alexander Severus.

"The Attitude of Dio Cassius toward Epigraphic Sources" by Duane Reed Stuart proves that Dio did not consult the Monumentum Ancyranum, the Fasti Capitolini, or other accessible monuments. At the most, four unimportant references reveal a possible knowledge of inscriptions. Incidentally, Stuart defends at some length the Augustan authorship of the Monumentum Ancyranum.

The greater part of Joseph A. Drake's paper on the "*Principales* of the Early Empire" seems of doubtful value, chiefly because it is based on Cauer's lists (*Eph. Ep.* IV, pp. 355 ff.), which were published in 1881, and even then were far from complete. An epigraphist can not ignore the discoveries of the last quarter-century, especially if his results are negative. To give but one example, the list of *beneficiarii* under Hadrian (p. 287) could be more than doubled by first-hand work with the *Corpus*. We are not surprised, therefore, that the conclusion (p. 328) that "*principales* as military subalterns disappear about the time of Diocletian" is disproved by cases like *CIL.* III. 4803; IX. 4787; VI. 3637, from the army of but one province. Moreover, many inscriptions whose date could not be determined were discarded (p. 263), and more than two hundred others only approximately dated as before 337 are contained in the table on p. 314. May not some part of these two classes belong after Diocletian? We must remember that for the Late Empire few chronological tests are available. If, then, the *tituli* of *principales* do not disappear, but only diminish in number, they are on exactly the same plane as civil inscriptions; the "general barbarization of the state" certainly did not operate on the army alone (p. 328, bottom). Of chronological errors, the two following affect a large number of examples: (1) The author's tests L and Ma (pp. 269 f.) wrongly assume that the absence of an epithet implies its non-existence in the period in question; but see *CIL.* III. 3126, 5449; VIII. 2529, 2586. (2) *Antoniniana* and *Severiana* do not always indicate the reigns of Caracalla and Septimius (pp. 281 ff.), but often refer to Elagabalus and Alexander Severus respec-

tively. The defects in method which have been enumerated happily do not vitiate the entire article; the statements (pp. 317 ff.) about the use in legal Latin of military titles for civil officials, and (pp. 272 ff.) on the meaning of *vexillarius* , are apparently sound and useful.

George H. Allen, in his dissertation entitled "Centurions as Substitute Commanders of Auxiliary Corps," tries to show that in each auxiliary camp was stationed a legionary centurion, who in an emergency sometimes took command with the title *curator* , and in the case of certain small cohorts, *alae* and *numeri* , regularly replaced a prefect or tribune as *praepositus* . The relation between such a *curator* or *praepositus* and his troops was also expressed by phrases like *sub cura* , *curam agente* , etc., but these same formulas were at other times applied to a centurion who only directed the labor of soldiers not under his command. Unfortunately, the existing evidence, scanty at best, has been so perverted in this paper by inaccurate citation and rash inference that the distinctions made between these three functions can not be accepted. A few points only can be given by way of illustration. P. 334, l. 26: why is not the double title *cura(m) agente . . . curatore* mere tautology rather than an indication of two separate offices? P. 336, 4 (cf. pp. 345, 380): the number of the cohort in *CIL. III. 5613* is missing and should not be restored [I]. P. 341, n. 1: no other case is known of the centurion of a cohort commanding a cohort or *ala* . P. 344, l. 24: this inference contradicts the author's conclusion on p. 350; the difference in date of Nos. 5 and 15 is also an argument against his theory. P. 350, l. 8: if in No. 1, besides *curam agente* , *curator* was needed to denote a temporary command (p. 334), then *curam agente* alone in Nos. 18 and 20 of the same cohort does not indicate another emergency officer, but rather the regular *praepositus* . No reason for the inclusion of No. 22 is given. P. 352, l. 8 begs the question. P. 355, ll. 3 ff.: as these centurions were the titular commanders, the mention of them here is irrelevant. Pp. 363 f.: both examples from Raetia are invalidated, No. 1 by a mistake in reporting the location of the stone, No. 2 by the lack of evidence that auxiliaries occupied Lauingen. P. 354: how can the author of p. 345 on substitute officers maintain that a particular corps was never commanded by a centurion solely because three tribunes of it are known? But if *praepositus* here (*CIL. III. 25*) means mere technical oversight (*curam agente*), while in No. 14 (pp. 345 f.) it was equivalent to *curator* , then the whole attempt fails to improve on Mommsen's view (p. 333) that the three terms were interchangeable.

The book deserves more frequent chapter headings and fuller indices, including one of inscriptions. One hopes, too, that the custom here adopted of citing Greek in translation may not become general.

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Der illustrierte lateinische Aesop in der Handschrift des Ademar. Einleitung und Beschreibung von DR. GEORG THIELE. Leiden: Sizthoff, 1905. Pp. 68.

The Codex Vossianus 8° 15, now found in the Leyden University library, contains in its last folios (195-205) a collection of fables generally cited under the title of Anonymus Ademari. These were first published by Nilant in 1709 and have hitherto been regarded as representing a tradition of Aesop's fables, connected neither with Phaedrus nor the Romulus collection. Dr. Thiele, already known through his work *De antiquorum libris pictis*, presents a new text of these fables and discusses in considerable detail their relation to Phaedrus and Romulus. The sixty-seven fables of the text are divided into two groups. The twenty-nine fables of the first group seem to show a close connection with Phaedrus and are sometimes known as the "prose-Phaedrus;" in Thiele's view, however, they are not a paraphrase of Phaedrus, as Zander has recently assumed, but are the result of an interpolation of Romulus through a prose version of Phaedrus. In the second group are thirty-eight fables, of which all but seven are found in other Romulus collections. These are discussed from the point of view of the position of the "moral," legal phrases employed, the Latinity, and the characteristics of the illustrations which accompany the text. Of this last topic Thiele speaks with especial confidence, and his treatment is full and instructive, particularly in the parallels drawn from the illustrations in the manuscripts of other Latin authors. A few additions might be made to his discussion of the Latinity: e. g., *quanti* = *quot* is as early as Tertullian. The conclusion reached is that the Romulus fables of Ademar represent a text-recension, not so far removed as has been supposed from the other Romulus collections, not necessarily of a better tradition, but important mainly as giving an addition to the Romulus fables already known.

The last folios (203-5) contain also, in addition to a few riddles, a number of mathematical problems with their solutions. Some of these are particularly interesting and arouse our admiration for the genius of the mathematician who first worked them out by the use of the cumbersome Roman numerals.

Thiele constantly refers to the earlier literature on the subject; it might have been desirable, however, for the benefit of the classical scholar not familiar with this particular field, to give in some cases in a fuller form the titles of books cited. Those interested in the history of the transmission of fables from the classical period to later times will welcome Thiele's announcement of his intention soon to issue an edition of the Romulus collections.

EDWARD A. BECHTEL

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Menander: A Study of the Chronology of His Life	<i>By Walter Eugene Clark</i>	313
The Oscan and Umbrian Pumperias	<i>By A. G. Laird</i>	329
The Extent of Strabo's Travel in Greece	<i>By Charles Heald Weller</i>	339
The Syntax of the Imperfect Indicative in Early Latin	<i>By Arthur L. Wheeler</i>	357
Aristotles' Νίκαι Διονυσιακαί	<i>By Alfred Körte</i>	391
Notes on the Scholia of Cod. Vat. 886 (Codex Theodosianus)	<i>By E. O. Winstedt</i>	399
Cretan λός	<i>By Carl Darling Buck</i>	409
Notes and Discussions		412
G. L. HENDRICKSON: <i>Seneca Epp. Mor.</i> 82, 20.		
CHARLES N. SMILEY: <i>Dionysius Epistula ad Pompeium</i> 775 R.		
NORMAN DEWITT: <i>The Eituns Inscriptions at Pompeii.</i>		
PAUL SHOREY: <i>Himerius Oration i and Horace Ars poetica</i> 128.		

Book Reviews 416

VOSSLER, *Sprache als Schöpfung und Entwicklung* (Oertel).—VAN LEEUWEN, *Aristophanis Ecclesiazusae* (Cary).—OLCOTT, *A Dictionary of the Latin Inscriptions*, Vol. I, fasc. 1-5 (Dennison).—*Studi italiani di filologia classica*, Vol. XII (Kirk).—BOURGUET, *L'administration financière du sanctuaire pythique au iv^e siècle avant J.-C.* (Capps).—WATZINGER, *Griechische Holzsarkophage aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen* (Tarbell).—HÜLSEN, *Das Forum Romanum, seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler*, 2te Ausg. (Platner).—HÜLSEN-CARTER, *The Roman Forum, its History and its Monuments* (Platner).—TRAUBE, *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, Bd. I, 1: *Sedulius Scottus*, von HELLMANN (Rand).—WRIGHT, *The Campaign of Plataea* (Westermann).—GUNNERSON, *History of U-Stems in Greek* (Bishop).—MISENER, *The Meaning of γὰρ* (Forinán).—SVORONOS, *Das athenen Nationalmuseum* (Ransom).—JONES, *Case Constructions with Similis and its Compounds* (Bennett).—FERGUSON, *The Priests of Asklepios: A New Method of Dating Athenian Archons* (Capps).—BLASS, *Aischylos' Choephoren* (Shorey).

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MENANDER: A STUDY OF THE CHRONOLOGY OF HIS LIFE

BY WALTER EUGENE CLARK

The commonly received date for the birth of Menander of Athens, the poet of the New Comedy, is the year 342-41 B. C., which was also the birth-year of Epicurus. The length of Menander's life is given as fifty-two years; so that, by reckoning inclusively both terminal years of his life-period, his death would fall in the year 291-90 B. C.¹ The only express statement as to the poet's birth and death is contained in *I. G. Sic. et Ital.* 1184 (to be cited in the sequel as "the inscription"), which says that Menander was born in the archonship of Sosigenes (which is fixed beyond question in the year 342-41), that he lived fifty-two years, and died in the archonship of Philippus and the thirty-second year of Ptolemy Soter's reign. The words are:

Μένανδρος Διοπεΐθους Κηφισιεύς ἐγεννήθη ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Σωσιγένης· ἐτελεύτησεν ἐτῶν ὃ καὶ β' ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Φιλίππου, κατὰ τὸ β' καὶ λ' ἔτος τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Σωτῆρος βασιλείας.

In giving fifty-two as the number of years of Menander's life, the inscription is confirmed by a citation in Aulus Gellius xvii. 4, from the *Chronica* of Apollodorus, which reads:

¹ These dates 342-41 and 291-90 are the ones given by Christ *Griech. Literaturgesch.*⁴ (1905), p. 322.

Κηφισιεύς ὃν ἐκ Διοπείδους [τοῦ] πατρός
πρὸς τοῖσιν ἑκατον πέντε γράφας δράματα
ἐξέλιπε πενήκοντα καὶ δύο ἐν ἔτῳ.¹

The archonship of Philippus has been variously assigned to the years 293-92 B. C., or 292-91, or 291-90, and as a result some have been led to consider the birth-date given by the inscription as erroneous. Moreover, our other primary sources of information about Menander's life involve inconsistencies which can hardly be explained away save by assumption of error in one source or another. Since it has not yet been satisfactorily determined where these errors lie, a re-examination of all the sources is not uncalled for. As the result of a careful consideration of established facts, of previous arguments, and of certain new data, I believe that Menander was born in the year 343-42 B. C. and died in the year 292-91.

The first important discussion of the chronology of Menander's life is that of Meineke, and is to be found in his *Menandri et Philemonis reliquiae* (1823), pp. xxiii-xxxvii. Of recent discussions it will be convenient to cite here the following: Capps *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI (1900), pp. 60 f.; Jacoby *Apollodors Chronik* (1902), pp. 358-61; Bethe *Hermes* XXXVII (1902), pp. 278-82; Legrand *Revue des études grecques* XVI (1903), pp. 349-58; Jacoby *Das marmor Parium* (1904), p. 199; Busolt *Griech. Geschichte* III. 2, pp. 33 ff. (1904); Kolbe *Ath. Mitth.* XXX (1905), pp. 78-84; compare also Kirchner *Prosopographia Attica* (1903) under Μένανδρος. It is to be said in general of those who discuss the dates of Menander's birth and death, that they all follow one or the other of two lines of argument: either, on the one hand, they accept the inscription as correct in all details, and, starting with 342-41 (Sosigenes) and reckoning with a life-period of fifty-two years, place the death of Menander and the archonship of Philippus in the year 291-90, thus leaving a gap of two names in the archon-list between Philippus and Olympiodorus (294-93); or else, on the other hand, they en-

¹ As given by Hertz-Hosius, excepting τοῦ of the first line, which is the correction of Meineke. The MSS of Anon. *De com.*, in Kaibel *Com. Graec. Frag.* I, p. 9, give ςτ' as the number of life-years; but this has been corrected to ςβ' to agree with the more certain evidence of the above passages.

deavor, by help of a synchronism which depends on the assumption of 324-23 or 323-22 as the initial year of Ptolemy Soter's reign and by help of a corrupt passage of Dionysius Hal. *De Dein.* and of certain historical arguments, to establish the year 293-92 or 292-91 as the year of Philippus, and accordingly declare that the inscription is in error in respect of the birth-date of Menander. These arguments are, in their details, to a large extent mutually destructive.

Disregarding for the present the passage of Dionysius Hal. and the conflicting opinions as to the year of Philippus and the initial year of Ptolemy, we propose in the present discussion to show by passages from Strabo and Diogenes Laertius and Anon. *De com.* and the versions of Eusebius that the most probable year for Menander's birth is 343-42 B. C., that the inscription is in error as to the birth-year, and that the error is due to a synchronism with Epicurus. We shall then be in a position to elucidate the statements of Dionysius Hal., to determine the year of Philippus (and of Menander's death) as 292-91, and to take advantage, for the last-named determination, of the cumulative value of the evidence adduced by Capps *Am. Jour. Arch.* IV (1900), p. 90, from a fragment of *CIA.* II. 975.

It has long been supposed that the first victory won by Menander at the City Dionysia took place in the year 321-20 as recorded in our versions of the *Chronica* of Eusebius; but this view is now shown to be erroneous by a newly discovered fragment of the Parian Chronicle, published and commented on by Crispi and Wilhelm in *Ath. Mitth.* XXII (1897), pp. 188, 200, and by Jacoby *Das marmor Parium* (1904), p. 23. In this fragment, under the year 316-15 B. C. occur the words: *ἐνίκα δὲ καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ κωμοειδοποιὸς Ἀθήνησιν τότε πρῶτον.* This evidence makes it certain that the first City victory of Menander took place in the year 316-15. Yet in our versions of Eusebius, Hieronymus has under the year of Abraham 1696 = O. L. 114' = 321-20 the words, *Menander primam fabulam cognomento Orgen docens superat*, to which correspond the words of Syncellus, *Μένανδρος ὁ κωμικὸς ποιητὴς πρῶτον δράμα διδάξας Ὀργὴν ἐνίκα.* Hieronymus seems to have falsely construed *πρῶτον* with *δράμα*. The

Armenian version has under the year of Abraham 1695 = 322–21 the curiously corrupt notice: *Ieandrus primus virtutem ostendit, superabat enim ὀργήν (iracundiam)*. It would seem natural to conclude that these notices must refer to a first Lenaeian victory won in 321–20, especially since the data given in the list of poets who were victorious at the Lenaea (*CIA*. II. 977) make it certain that the first Lenaeian victory of Menander took place about the year 321.¹ But, on the other hand, it would be quite without parallel for the chronographers to preserve for us records of first victories at both the Lenaea and City Dionysia, for they seem to have employed only the records of the City Dionysia.² Moreover, although under the year of Abraham 1701 = Ol. 116¹ = 316–15 Hieronymus has the notice, *Menedemus et Speusippus philosophi insignes habentur* (with which agree the words of Syncellus, *Μενέδημος καὶ Σπείσιππος φιλόσοφοι ἐγνωρίζοντο*), yet the Armenian version under this same year of Abraham 1701 has the notice, *Menander et Speusippos philosophi cognoscebantur*. Before the discovery of the new fragment of the Parian Chronicle it was natural to regard the word *Menander* as a corruption of *Menedemus*, but it now seems probable that there was originally under the year 321–20 a notice of Menander's first appearance at the City Dionysia, with the words *πρῶτον ἐδίδαξε*, while under 316–15 was a notice of his first victory—for Eusebius would surely not have passed over this important event in silence. Capps in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI (1900), p. 61, restores this second notice as follows: *Μένανδρος <κωμικὸς πρῶτον, δρᾶμα διδάξας Ὀργήν, ἐνίκα, καὶ Μενέδημος> καὶ Σπείσιππος οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἐγνωρίζοντο*. When *πρῶτον* was wrongly construed with *δρᾶμα* or *διδάξας* in this second notice, confusion with the notice under the year 321–20 was most natural.

Closely connected with the notice in our versions of Eusebius, under the years 322–21 and 321–20, is the important notice given by an anonymous writer in the tractate *περὶ κωμωδίας*,³

¹ See Capps *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXI (1900), p. 60.

² See Capps *ibid.* XX (1899), pp. 395 ff.

³ The treatise is evidently derived from good Alexandrine sources and is of great value. It is given by Kaibel *Com. Graec. Frag.* I, pp. 8 f.

which says of Menander: ἐδίδαξε δὲ πρῶτον¹ ἔφηβος ὦν ἐπὶ Διοκλέους (sic) ἀρχοντος. Since there is no archon Diocles during this period, Clinton (*F. H.*³ II, p. 181 [1841]) emended to Φιλοκλέους, who was in fact archon in the year 322-21, and Clinton's conjecture has long been accepted without demur. The two considerations which appear to have induced Clinton to make the change would seem to be as follows: In the first place, the consideration that our versions of Eusebius ascribe to Menander a victory in 321-20, according to Hieronymus, or, according to the Armenian version, in 322-21; and that Philocles was archon in the year 322-21. The change was plausible and brought the statement of Anon. *De com.* into partial agreement with those of our versions of Eusebius.²

The second consideration would appear to be that, as Clinton thought, a closely analogous confusion of the names Diocles (archon in 409) and Philocles (archon in 392) was to be found in a scholium to Aristophanes *Plutus* 179. The scholium reads:

ἐστι δὲ ἔως Διοκλέους ἔτη ιδ', ὥστε ἄλογον διὰ ὀνόματος αὐτὴν ἐπαίρειν. ἐμφαίνει δὲ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῷ Φάωνι ἐπτακαίδεκάτῃ ἔτει ὑστερον διδαχθέντι ἐπὶ Διοκλέους (sic), ὡς μηκέτι αὐτῆς οὔσης.

In the last line Dindorf and Dübner read Φιλοκλέους, as corrected by Hemsterhuys. Clinton (*F. H.*³ II, p. 106) bids us look to the year 322-21 for a like erroneous interchange of names; but, as a matter of fact, the cases are by no means analogous. In copying the scholium, the eye of the copyist, after he had written διδαχθέντι ἐπὶ, caught the ending -κλέους of the next word, and, since the name Διοκλέους (occurring just above) had but just passed through his mind and been written by him, he very naturally wrote it again, thus making a Διο-κλέους out of Φιλο-

¹ So Bekker emends the πρῶτος of the MSS.

² Kirchner, accepting the year under which he finds the notice placed by the Armenian version (because it agrees with the emended notice of Clinton), gives, in his *Prosopographia Attica* II, p. 67, as the date of Menander's first victory the year 322-21. In so doing he tacitly ignores the date under which the notice is found in Hieronymus. The discrepancy of a year between Clinton's emended notice and the date 321-20 as given by Hieronymus troubles Bethe *Hermes* XXXVII (1902), p. 281, and he refuses to pass over it lightly. Yet so many are the dislocations of notices in Hieronymus that this discrepancy could hardly of itself invalidate Clinton's emendation.

κλέους of his original. This is no substitution at all, but one of the most common kind of scribal errors and easily to be corrected.

The only reason, then, for emending Διοκλέους to Φιλοκλέους in the notice of Anon. *De com.*, is that the notice is thus brought into partial agreement with the data of our versions of Eusebius under the years 322-21 and 321-20. If we can show that the notice of Anon. *De com.* can not refer to a year as late as 322-21, then Clinton's conjecture must be abandoned.

We have already seen that some scholars have found reason to suspect the data given by the inscription. It must therefore be used with great caution, and we must beware of using any part of it as a basis for conclusions until we have made certain whether it contains an error or not, and wherein the error, if any there be, may lie. Yet even if we admit the correctness of the inscription in assigning Menander's birth to the archonship of Sosigenes 342-41 B. C. (and, for our present argument, such a proceeding is permissible, because, since no one accepts a date posterior to 291-90 for Philippus, the birth date can not be *later* than 342-41), there is a grave objection to Clinton's emendation of Διοκλέους to Φιλοκλέους. If the poet was born in 342-41, and if it was in the archonship of Philocles (322-21) that he won his first victory, he must then have been in his twenty-first year, or, assuming that he was born during the concluding months of 342-41, in his twentieth year. But to call him ἔφηβος at that age involves a contradiction of terms, since the period of ἐφηβεία, properly speaking, was limited to the eighteenth and nineteenth years of a young man's life. Assuming that the inscription is right in giving 342-41 as the date of Menander's birth, he would have become ἔφηβος in 324, and could no longer be properly called ἔφηβος in 322-21.¹

¹ The age at which the enrolment of the ἔφηβοι took place has long been disputed. Since the discovery of the *Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία* of Aristotle, the locus classicus for the enrolment of the ἔφηβοι is chap. 42 of that work. There occur the words: ἐγγράφονται δ' εἰς τοὺς δημότας ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη γεγονότες. It is still, however, a matter of dispute among scholars whether by this statement is intended the completion of the seventeenth year of a young man's life, or of his eighteenth year; but to my mind it seems certain that the statement of Aristotle and our other evidence lead to the conclusion that the enrolment took place at the end of the seventeenth year. For discussion, and for corroboration of my view, see Schaefer *Demosthenes und seine Zeit*

Further, Strabo tells us at xiv. 638 that Menander and Epicurus were *συνέφηβοι*. These are his words:

'Αθηναῖοι κληρούχους ἐπεμψαν δισχιλίους ἐξ ἑαυτῶν, ὧν ἦν καὶ Νεοκλῆς ὁ Ἐπικούρου τοῦ φιλοσόφου πατήρ, γραμματοδιδάσκαλος, ὥς φασι· καὶ δὴ καὶ τραφήναί φασιν ἐνθάδε [ἐν Σάμῳ] καὶ ἐν Τέῳ καὶ ἐφηβεῦσαι Ἀθήνησι· γενέσθαι δ' αὐτῷ συνέφηβον Μένανδρον τὸν κωμικόν.¹

Now, the *Chronica* of Apollodorus² gives the birth-date of Epicurus with great precision, to wit, the seventh of Gamelion of Ol. 109³=342-41 B. C., or January of 341. The seventeenth life-year, accordingly, would have been completed in Gamelion of 325-24 B. C.=January 324, and it must have been during that year that he became *ἐφηβος*.⁴ At this time the *ἐφηβεία*, presumably, still lasted for two years⁵ and, unless the word *συνέφηβος* here has its most restricted sense, Menander must have become *ἐφηβος* in the year 325-24 (archonship of Anticles), or 324-23 (archonship of Hegesias), or 323-22 (archonship of Cephisodorus); and it is to one of these names that the *Διοκλέους* of Anon. *De com.* must be corrected. If our premises are granted, the choice is a simple one and the correction to *Ἀντικλέους* is as good as a certainty.⁶

Now, if Menander produced his first play in the spring of 324 *ἐφηβος ὢν*, he must have become *ἐφηβος* at the beginning of the year 325-24, while his comrade Epicurus became *ἐφηβος* a year later in 324-23. Assuming that Menander became *ἐφηβος*

III¹. 2, pp. 19-38; Foucart *Bull. corr. hell.* XIII (1889), p. 263; Gilbert *Griech. Staatsalt.*² I, p. 218; Wilamowitz *Arist. u. Athen* I, p. 191; Busolt *Griech. Staatsalt.*³, p. 213. Compare also Blass *Att. Beredsamkeit*⁴ III. 1, p. 9. Of course, as enrolment was held but once a year and on a fixed date, the ages might vary almost a year, and a youth might have almost completed his eighteenth year at the time of his enrolment.

¹ Compare also Diogenes Laertius x. 1, who says of Epicurus *ὀκτωκαιδεκῆτη δ' ἐλθεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας*.

² As cited by Diog. Laert. x. 14: *ἐγενήθη δέ, φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἐνάτης καὶ ἑκατοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος (342-41 B. C.) Σωσιγένοῦς ἀρχοντος μὲντος Γαμηλιῶνος ἐβδόμῃ, ὕστερον τῆς Πλάτωνος τελευτῆς ἐπτά*.

³ For discussion, see Jacoby *Apollodors Chronik*, pp. 354-58.

⁴ See Girard *L'éducation athénienne*, pp. 301, 302.

⁵ This change has already been suggested *en passant* by Legrand *Revue des études grecques* XVI (1903), p. 358; but he adduces no reasons and merely suggests it as a possibility.

at the beginning of 325-24, he must then have been entering on his eighteenth life-year, and the date of his birth would fall before the beginning of the year 342-41 (archonship of Sosigenes) and would have to be placed in the year 343-42.¹

This conclusion is flatly contradicted by the inscription, which says expressly that Menander was born in the year of Sosigenes (342-41). Yet the assumption of an error in the inscription is tolerable, if only we can find sufficient reason for its origin. Let us see.

Strabo states that Menander and Epicurus were *συνέφηβοι*; and Jacoby believes that this statement must have been based on official records, that the two names must have been found on the same tablet, and that the two youths must have been enrolled at the same time. Such a claim, however, seems unwarranted; at least there is no passage in which the word *συνέφηβος* would warrant the conclusion that the *ληξιαρχικά* of the *ἔφηβοι* had been employed as evidence. Much more likely is it that the source of Strabo (perhaps a record of the *ἐφηβεία* of Epicurus, like the record of a certain Herodotus mentioned by Diogenes Laertius x. 4) based its statement on some sentence in the works of Epicurus himself where Epicurus referred to his famous contemporary Menander.

The explanation of the discrepancy, accordingly, is not far to seek. The author of our inscription, knowing that Menander and Epicurus were called *συνέφηβοι*, interpreted the word in the sense which it had in his own later day, when the *ἔφηβοι* served only one year; and, knowing that Epicurus was born in the year of the archon Sosigenes, he ascribed the birth of Menander to the same

¹ It is not yet fully agreed as to the time of year at which the *δοκιμασία* of the *ἔφηβοι* took place. It is certain that all of our known ephebic inscriptions are dated in the third prytany, in the month Boedromion; cf. Dumont *Essai* I, p. 134. But this fact by no means leads to the conclusion that the *δοκιμασία* and enrolment took place at that time, and it is much more likely that the *δοκιμασία* and enrolment took place at the beginning of the official year; cf. Wilamowitz *Arist. u. Athen* I, p. 191; Busolt *Griech. Staatsalt.*², p. 213. If the *δοκιμασία* is to be placed at the beginning of the official year in Hecatombaeon, or at any time prior thereto, then the birth of Menander must be ascribed to the year 343-42.

Kaibel in his comments on the inscription suspects the year 342-41 as an error, but believes that it was reached by a computation based on the date of Menander's first appearance in 322-21 (which date he accepts on the authority of the emended notice of Clinton), and that twenty years (the "half *ἀκμὴ*") were added.

year. Having thus been led to substitute the name of Sosigenes for the name of the archon which he found given, and which he considered as an error, he naturally enough retained fifty-two years as the length of Menander's life, without discovering to himself the discrepancy by laboriously counting down a list of archons.¹

One more objection yet remains to the correction of *Διοκλέους* to *Ἀντικλέους* in Anon. *De com.*, to wit, the notices (as restored by Capps) in our versions of Eusebius which place the first appearance of Menander at the City Dionysia in Ol. 114^a = 321-20 (in the Armenian version Ol. 114^a = Abraham 1595 = 322-21). This notice, I believe, belonged originally to Ol. 113^a = 325-24, the year of the archonship of Anticles, and has been lowered by just one Olympiad. For similar dislocations, see Jacoby *Apollodors Chronik*, pp. 129, 132, 139, 287, 308, 313. This kind of error occurs several times in the portions of the Canon which come under Jacoby's survey, and in places where there is other evidence to make the true date certain. In this particular case we have no evidence which can make it sure that the notice has suffered a dislocation; but, if we are right in correcting to *Ἀντικλέους* in Anon. *De com.*, the assumption of a dislocation of the notice in our versions of Eusebius becomes necessary.

We must then suppose that Menander's first appearance at the City Dionysia took place in the year 324, and that his first City victory was in 315. This is just what we should expect from all that we know of his career. The apparent tradition that he was victorious with his first play in the year 321-20, or 322-21 and yet won the first prize so seldom, has always been a troublesome point to critics. He won only eight victories in all, of which four, or possibly five, were won at the City Dionysia.² It now

¹The theory just proposed necessitates the assumption that the compiler of the inscription knew the birth-date of Epicurus, and that he was aware of the fact that Menander and Epicurus were called *συνέφηβοι*. As we know nothing of the sources from which the compiler of the inscription drew, and can merely state that he used great care in the selection of his data, such an assumption can not be made into a certainty; but it seems to be the most natural explanation of the error of the inscription.

²See Aul. Gell. xvii. 4: *ex istis tamen centum et quinque omnibus eum octo vicisse*, idem Apollodorus eodem in libro scripsit. Gellius here gives the total for both festivals, while Apollodorus gave the number of victories for each festival separately: cf. Jacoby *Apollodors Chronik*, p. 359.

seems certain that it was only after repeated attempts that he won a coveted City victory; nor is it likely, in view of the small number of victories, that it was with his first play that he won a victory at the Lenaea in 322-21 or 321-20.

Bethe *Hermes* XXXVII (1902), p. 278, by an examination of two places in the *Heauton Timorumenos* of Terence, finds a new and valuable clue to the date of its prototype, Menander's play of like name; but, under the influence of older views, he does not venture to date the production of the *Ἐαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος* earlier than 321, and gives back in his conclusions all the ground which he had gained. Line 117 of the play of Terence reads:

in Asiam ad regem militatum abiit Chremes,

and Alexander is the only person who could be spoken of par excellence as "the king" at this period. In l. 194, moreover, occur the words *patriam incolumem*. After the ravages of the Lamian war this phrase would be altogether out of place. Bethe believes, therefore, that this play was written by Menander before the year 323, but that, in accordance with the notices of our versions of Eusebius, it was not produced until 321 or 320. His arguments for a date of composition prior to the death of Alexander are cogent and convincing, but we can not suppose for a moment that Menander postponed the production of his play for two years out of a desire to polish it off carefully. In view of the fact that he wrote some hundred and five plays in about thirty-three years, he must soon have learned to work much more rapidly. Or, if Bethe means to imply that the play was not produced until 321 because of the extreme youth of the poet, there are the cases of Alexis and of Eupolis and of Aristophanes, each of whom brought out a drama at as early an age as seventeen. If Terence's ll. 117 and 194 are a true reflex of the Menandrian original, we must assuredly suppose that Menander brought out the play before the year 321; for, had the production been as late as that, the references to "Alexander" and to "a fatherland still safe and unimpaired" would no longer be pertinent. Clearly, if Bethe's arguments are of any weight, we must assume that the *Ἐαυτὸν τιμωρούμενος* was brought out as early as 323. This conclusion

affords strong corroboration of the correctness of the change to *Ἀντικλέους* in the notice of Anon. *De com.*

Legrand *Revue des études grecques* XVI (1903), p. 357, perceiving the error of Bethe, carries back the production of the play to the period of its composition (that is, to a time prior to the death of Alexander) by endeavoring to show that it was produced at the festival of the Attic deme Aixone by the youthful Menander at eighteen years of age, who thus started his career before venturing on a more ambitious attempt at the Lenaea or the City Dionysia in Athens. But new plays were not, in general, presented at demotic festivals; at these the performances were confined to the reproduction of old pieces, and there are but two instances known to us of new plays having been brought out at demotic festivals. Once, indeed, we find a record¹ of a new play at Salamis, if the inscription, which dates in the Christian era, has been correctly restored; and there is a second record² which tells us that Euripides brought out a new tragedy at the Peiraeus. At Aixone, to be sure, we know³ that there was a theater in which plays were produced—all comedies apparently; but we are not warranted in assuming that this deme formed an exception to the general rule. Moreover, if Legrand follows out the suggestion which he tentatively makes, that is to emend to *Ἀντικλέους* in the notice of Anon. *De com.*, he can not connect this notice with an assumed production of a play at the deme Aixone; for it would be absolutely without parallel for the chronographers to record a first victory or any victory at a demotic festival. Legrand's hypothesis is based on the fact that the scene of the play is laid in the deme Aixone; but even if the scene is laid at Aixone, it is not safe to conclude that it was produced there. For such a conclusion there is as little warrant as there would be for concluding that Menander's play the *Ἀλαεῖς* was brought out at the deme *Ἀλαῖ* *Ἀραφηνίδες* because, as we know, its action takes place in that deme. Legrand's arguments relating to the inconsistencies of the play, however, have weight; and, together with Bethe's suggestion, afford convincing proof of the early date of Menander's drama.

¹ CIA. II. 470.

² See Haigh *Attic Theatre*², p. 43.

³ CIA. II. 585.

Jacoby would solve the problem by attacking the death-date given in the inscription, namely the year of the archonship of Philippus and the thirty-second year of Ptolemy Soter's reign, and by arguing for the year 291-90 as the date of Menander's death. He believes that there has been a corruption from $\delta \kappa \alpha \iota \bar{\lambda}$ to $\beta \kappa \alpha \iota \bar{\lambda}$, that is to say, from 34 to 32. The year of Ptolemy Soter's accession is variously given by the Greek chronographers¹ as 324-23 or 323-22, of which the latter year is the one generally accepted. Jacoby, arbitrarily assuming that the author of our inscription reckoned from the year 324-23, arrives at the year 291-90 as the thirty-fourth year of Ptolemy, and thinks that the name of the archon as originally given was that of this year, 291-90. He further claims that when, through the corruption of δ to β , the statement was taken as referring to the year 293-92, the name of the archon was changed and the name Philippus substituted. If, however, the compiler of the inscription was careful enough to do this, he would have been much more likely, I conceive, to change the numeral than the name of the archon. Jacoby's conclusions are reached only by extreme means. The birth-date he feels must be right; and he accepts the number of years given as the length of Menander's life, because it agrees with a passage of the *Chronica* of Apollodorus as cited by Gellius xvii. 4, where the metre preserves the number. Therefore the error must be in the death-date, and he is willing to employ any means to bring the date given by the inscription into agreement with his theory that Philippus was archon in the year 293-92. Yet such arbitrary treatment of the inscription can not be a positive argument for placing Philippus in the year 293-92. If, on other grounds, it could be proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, as has not yet been done, that Philippus was archon in 293-92, then it would be allowable to apply to our inscription a critique like that of Jacoby.

Our chief difficulty lies in the fact that there is no general agreement as to the archonship of Philippus. Older scholars²

¹See Beloch *Beitr. zur alt. Gesch.* III, p. 313; Jacoby *Das marmor Parium*, p. 195. Beloch in his *Geschichte* III. 2, p. 33, claims that even the year 322-21 may be probable.

²So Droysen *Hellen.* II. 2, p. 397.

placed it in the year 292-91, and this is the date which Beloch¹ once accepted; but Unger,² Kirchner,³ Ferguson,⁴ Jacoby,⁵ and Kolbe⁶ insist upon assigning it to the year 293-92. Very recently, however, Beloch has abandoned his former position and maintains⁷ the date as 291-90.

Inasmuch as our conclusion that the birth of Menander is to be ascribed to the year 343-42 B. C. makes it necessary to assign the archonship of Philippus to the year 292-91, it is necessary to consider here certain points in the arguments of Kolbe and of Bethe, the most recent exponents of the dates 293-92 and 291-90, and to determine whether their methods of procedure are fully justified. Kolbe seeks to show that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in his account of the life of Deinarchus, must have reckoned the two fifteen-year periods which he mentions, as running from 322-21 to 308-7 and from 307-6 to 293-92. By thus reckoning inclusively he arrives at the year 293-92 as the archonship of Philippus. The passage *De Dein.* 2 reads as follows:

Καὶ διατετέλεκεν ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα χρόνον λόγους συγγράφων τοῖς βουλομένοις ἕως Κάσσανδρος τὴν πόλιν κάτεσχεν. ἐπὶ δὲ Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντος (307-6), ἐφ' οὗ κατέλυσαν τὴν ἐν τῇ Μουνυχίᾳ φρουρὰν ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου κατασταθείσαν οἱ περὶ Ἀντίγονον καὶ Δημήτριον . . . εἰσελθεῖν μὲν εἰς δικαστήριον οὐχ ὑπέμειναν . . . ἐξελθὼν δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς Χαλκίδα . . . τὸν ἀπ' Ἀναξικράτους χρόνον ἕως Φιλίππου πεντεκαίδεκέτῃ γενόμενον ἐκεῖ διέτριψεν.

But this statement of Dionysius is not specific enough to make this conclusion of Kolbe's the only possible one, and it seems to me not at all improbable that by the words τὸν ἀπ' Ἀναξικράτους χρόνον ἕως Φιλίππου πεντεκαίδεκέτῃ γενόμενον Dionysius meant the period from 306-5 to 292-91 reckoned inclusively; especially in view of the data found in *De Dein.* 9. Here occur the words τοὺς Ἀθήνησιν ἄρξαντας . . . γενομένους ἑβδομήκοντα προθήσομεν; but our manu-

¹ "Die attischen Archonten im dritten Jahrhundert," *Beitr. zur alt. Gesch.* (1902), and in *Hermes* XXXVII (1903), p. 130.

² *Philol.* XXXVIII (1879), p. 447.

³ *Hermes* XXXVII (1902), p. 438.

⁴ *The Athenian Archons*, pp. 11 ff. — Ferguson's latest discussion, *The Priests of Asklepios*, was received after this article was in pages and his results unfortunately can not be referred to here.

⁵ *Apollodorus Chronik*, p. 360.

⁶ *Ath. Mitth.* XXX (1906), pp. 78-84. So too Schoeffer in *P.-W.* II, p. 588; Dittenberger *Syll.*², p. 192, n. 18. Wilamowitz *Antigonos*, p. 240, gives a doubting assent.

⁷ *Griechische Geschichte* III. 2, p. 33 (1904).

scripts contain only sixty-eight names. Inasmuch as Dionysius states distinctly that he is going to give the names of seventy archons, we can not do otherwise than accept his statement at precisely its face value; and, in the absence of any statement to the contrary, we must assume that they cover a period of seventy years. We have from other sources proof for Hegesias, archon in 324-23, whose name is missing from the list. It is not therefore unreasonable, in view of the explicit statement of the number seventy, to assume that the list originally contained yet another name, now lost; and, since the list is complete through Olympiodorus (294-93), and it follows from *De Dein.* 2 that Philippus is the last archon during this period of seventy years, it must be the archon of 293-92 whose name has been lost. By looking at the matter from a slightly different point of view we arrive at this same conclusion; and, in addition, we are forced to admit that Dionysius must have reckoned the second fifteen-year period as extending from 306-5 to 292-91. For, after an enumeration of the names of forty archons and a sentence in explanation, Dionysius gives the names of fifteen archons, beginning with Archippus and ending with Anaxicrates (307-6); then occur the following words: ἐπὶ τούτου ἡ κατασταθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κασσάνδρου ὀλιγαρχία κατελύθη, καὶ οἱ εἰσαγγελθέντες ἔφυγον, ἐν οἷς καὶ Δελιναρχὸς ἦν; followed by a list of fourteen names beginning with Coroebus and ending with Philippus. A comparison of the phraseology of this passage and of chap. 2 makes it certain to my mind that the list of archons here is meant to cover the period ἀπ' Ἀναξικράτους . . . ἕως Φιλίππου, and that there were fifteen names in the original list, and that Dionysius reckoned from 306-5 to 292-91. All those who place Philippus in 293-92 resort to the most extreme devices of argumentation to discredit the explicit statement of Dionysius.

Again, Kolbe maintains that, inasmuch as the Parian Chronicle reckoned the reign of Ptolemy from the year 324-23, we must needs do so in the case of our inscription. This, too, would place Philippus in the year 293-92. But, on the other hand, we know that the date from which many chronographers¹ reckoned was the year 323-22; and it is possible that the author of our inscrip-

¹ See Jacoby *Das marmor Parium*, p. 196.

tion may have followed this system. To assume that Ptolemy's reign began in the year 323-22 involves no distortion of the evidence; and on this point, at least, the Parian Chronicle may not be infallible.¹ Having thus arrived at the date 293-92 as the year of the archonship of Philippus, Kolbe counts back fifty-two years and says that Menander must have been born in the year 344-43. This year, however, can not be brought into relation with the statement of Strabo that Menander and Epicurus were *συνέφηβοι*, and so must be rejected.

Beloch² has taken the other horn of the dilemma in his arguments for the year 291-90 as the date of the archonship of Philippus. Assuming that the birth-date given by the inscription is correct, he counts down fifty-two years and arrives at the year 291-90 as the year of Philippus, which year he proceeds to defend by the use of *CIA.* II. 5. 614 b. But there are weighty reasons for believing that the Cimon there mentioned does not belong to this period,³ but to a much later date; and there is no sufficient reason for supposing that the name to be supplied is that of Philippus. Besides, in order to make room for two archons, Cimon and Lysias, between Olympiodorus and Philippus, he is obliged to treat the text of Dionysius *De Dein.* 9 in a most arbitrary manner. For either Dionysius deliberately falsified in his statement as to the number of archons, or he himself, by an omission in the list which he obtained from his sources, believed that Philippus was archon in the year 292-91. For inasmuch as he gives the archon for 261-60 as the first and Philippus as the last in the list and states that he is going to give seventy names, if Philippus is to be placed in the year 291-90, there must have been seventy-one names in the original list. We are not in a position to impeach the sincerity of Dionysius in this matter and his language precludes any theory of exclusive reckoning by years, as suggested by Beloch. The only possibility to support Beloch's view is that one name may have dropped out of the original list, that Dionysius may have had only seventy names, and placed Philippus in 292-91. Such a possibility has no

¹See Beloch *Gr. Gesch.* III. 2, pp. 33, 34.

²*Gr. Gesch.* III. 2, p. 33.

³See Kolbe *Ath. Mitth.* XXX (1906), pp. 76, 103 ff.

authority except the doubtful and fragmentary inscription adduced and emended by Beloch. Therefore, as the case now stands, any conservative criticism must needs maintain that Dionysius is historically correct in stating that there were seventy archons from Nicophemus through Philippus, and conclude that the name of the archon for the year 293-92 has been lost.¹ It seems to me that argumentation based on the inscription *I. G. Sic. et Ital.* 1184 is bound to be faulty; we must work from other facts to the inscription, and not vice versa.

My line of argument is briefly as follows: We know that Menander and Epicurus were *συνέφηβοι*. Epicurus must have become *ἔφηβος* at the beginning of the year 324-23. Menander must have become *ἔφηβος* in 325-24 (archonship of Anticles) or 324-23 (archonship of Hegesias and year of Alexander's death) or 323-22 (archonship of Cephisodorus). From Anon. *De com.* we know that Menander as *ἔφηβος* won a victory in the archonship "of Diocles"—a name which we know to be corrupt. Bethe has shown that Menander must have composed a play before the death of Alexander. There is thus a double reason for rejecting Clinton's emendation to Philocles (322-21) and for emending to Anticles (325-24). If Menander became *ἔφηβος* at the beginning of 325-24, his birth must fall in the year 343-42. The most natural explanation of the error of the inscription is that it is due to a synchronism with Epicurus. Reckoning from 343-42, we arrive at the year 292-91 as the date of Menander's death and of the archonship of Philippus and of the thirty-second year of the reign of Ptolemy.

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¹Perhaps we shall never find the material to determine what was the full name of the missing archon of the year 293-92. That it ended in *-oos* (or perhaps *-pos*) would seem to have been established by Capps *Am. Jour. Arch.* IV (1900), pp. 89, 90. The fragment on which Capps bases this partial determination certainly refers to a year prior to Menander's death and subsequent to the introduction of the contest of comic actors at the City Dionysia—an innovation which, in all probability, took place between 307 B. C. and Menander's death. But, in the period extending from the poet's death back as far as 307, we know of no archon-name ending in *-oos* or *-pos*. There seems, therefore, to be good reason for assuming a gap of a year in the list between Philippus and his next known predecessor, Olympiodorus, archon for the year 294-93.—Wilhelm *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*, pp. 63 ff., argues against so early a date for the inscription under consideration.

THE OSCAN AND UMBRIAN PUMPERIAS

By A. G. LAIRD

The word *pumperias* occurs eight times¹ in the Oscan Iovilae inscriptions and *pumperias* once in the Iguvian Tables (II. B. 2). In origin it is related to *pompe 'quinque' as *decuria* is to *decem*, and meant, originally at least, a group of five. On its meaning in the inscriptions opinions differ. Bücheler *Rhein. Mus.* XLIV, p. 324, is uncertain whether *Fisfais pumperiais* in nos. 27, 28 (C. 115, 116; P. 131, 132) is a dative or an ablative plural. If it is a dative, he thinks that the *pumperias* are a body of men, who received the iovila when it was dedicated and are to be compared, probably, to the *Decuriae* of a sacred college; if it is an ablative, the phrase gives the date of the dedication of the iovila, namely, at the meeting of the group of five. On the basis of *pruftis pumperias* 'probaverunt *quincuriae' in no. 33 (C. 107, P. 137) Bücheler is fairly positive that the *pumperias* are a body of men, and he thinks (p. 327) the dative the more natural construction in nos. 27, 28; consequently he is led to the conclusion, from the parallelism of *Fisfais eiduis* (no. 21; C. 101; P. 130) with *Fisfais pumperiais*, that *eiduis* also denotes a body of men, likewise interested in the iovilae. Von Planta II, p. 632, agrees with Bücheler in associating *eiduis* and *pumperiais* in meaning, but prefers to take both as ablatives, giving the time of meeting of the bodies. Conway, who defines (p. 650) *pumperias* as "denoting some group of families and also the days of their solemn assemblies (? on the nones as the fifth day of the month)," takes *Fisfais pumperiais* as an ablative of time, but separates *eiduis* and *pumperiais* in meaning to the extent of making the former purely temporal, corresponding to Latin *idibus*. Buck (p. 247) thinks that *pum-*

¹Buck *Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, nos. 24, 27, 28, 30, 32, 33; Conway *Italic Dialects*, nos. 105-7, 114-16, 123; von Planta *Gram. d. oskisch-umbrischen Dialekte*, nos. 131, 132, 134, 136, 137, 141, 148a. The numbers cited in the article refer to Buck's *Grammar*; C. and P. refer to Conway and von Planta.

periais and eiduis denote festivals, called Fisian or Martian "apparently from the divinity in whose honor they were held;" and he would explain Físfais púmperiais as the festival or period at which the iovilae were dedicated.

It seems to me that the prófts púmperias 'probaverunt *quincuriae' of no. 33 (C. 107; P. 137) can be explained only on the assumption that the pomperias were bodies of men, and that its use here (cf. also the related no. 32; C. 106; P. 136) justifies us in taking Físfais púmperiais in nos. 27, 28 (C. 115, 116; P. 131, 132) as a dative, which is decidedly the most natural construction with the est. On the other hand, it is very tempting to interpret eiduis Mamerttiais by 'idibus Martiis,' and the ablative is just as natural a construction as the dative in nos. 21 and 29 (C. 101, 113; P. 130, 133). It must be admitted that Fisiais eiduis and Físfais púmperiais are in appearance parallel constructions, and seem to be either both datives or both ablatives. It also seems to be a fair conclusion, from the parallelism of their use, that eiduis and pumperiais are similar in sense; that if one is a body of men or a festival, so also is the other. But this reasoning is shown to be defective by the assumption that the pomperias were bodies of men that changed from month to month. Otherwise we might reason from a sentence like *hanc iovilam prytanibus Martiis dedit; sacrata est idibus Juliis* that *prytanibus* and *idibus* must be in the same case and be like in meaning. That the pomperias were in fact monthly bodies receives strong support from the following passage in the Iguvian Table II. B. 1 ff.: *semenies tekuries sim kaprum upetu. tekvias famer'ias pumper'ias XII, i. e., 'semenies (?) decuriis suem, caprum deligito. tekvias (?) familiae *quincuriae XII.'* Following this passage we have the names of ten *gentes*, eight of which are divided into two parts (the Atiedii, the second Atiedii, etc.), one, the Casili, into three parts, while there is but one branch of the Perasnani. The ten *gentes*, accordingly, were made up of twenty *familiae*, but no plausible connection of the XII that follows pumper'ias with either the ten or the twenty has been suggested (cf. Bâche-ler *Umbrica*, p. 140). Conway had an inkling of the true meaning when he remarked: "the case of the following numeral is

doubtful, possibly XII means *mensis duodecimi*" (p. 650, s. *pumperias*). Since *pumperias* in Oscan is defined by *Mamertius*, which is not only the name of a month in Latin, but in Oscan is an attribute of *eiduis* 'idibus,' since there are also Fisian *pumperias* and Fisian *ides*; and since *pumperias* in Umbrian is associated with XII, the number of months in a year (the XII having no apparent connection with other numbers in the context), it seems to be a plausible conclusion that the *pumperias*, proved by no. 33 to be bodies of men, were bodies that changed from month to month.

From this conclusion we get at least a little light upon the *iovilae* inscriptions. On previous hypotheses there was no explanation for the application of *pustmas* 'postremae' to *pumperias* (no. 23; C. 105; P. 141), but, if the *pumperias* were monthly, *pustmas* would signify the last month of the year. The use of the plural here and in nos. 27, 28 (C. 115, 116; P. 131, 132) may imply that the *Clovatii* and *Calovii* were divided into two or more families like the Iguvinian *gentes*, though in nos. 27, 28 it would also be possible that the *iovila* was dedicated for all the *pumperias* (of a number of federated *gentes*) that held office in the month *Fisius*. In no. 33 (C. 107; P. 137) *Falenias*, since it agrees with *pumperias* instead of being in the genitive like 'Clovatorium' in no. 23, seems to be the name of a month rather than of a *gens*. In no. 30 (C. 114; P. 134) the word still follows *pumperias*; this may mean that the *iovilae* are to be dedicated for all the Tanterneian *pumperias* of a year. The dedication is to be made on the Martian *ides* (no. 29), which would be a natural date with reference to all the *pumperias* if *Martius* was the first month as at Rome. In no. 21 there is a dedication of a *iovila* of all the *Terentii Magii* (*pumperias* are not mentioned here) to take place on the Fisian *ides*. Since the month *Fisius* seems to have been the one before *Martius* (cf. nos. 27, 28), it may have been the last of the year, which again would be a natural month for a dedication to all the *pumperias*, supposing that the *pumperias* had anything to do with this *iovila*. The phrase in nos. 27, 28, from which we learn that the Fisian *pumperias* were before the Martian, is not easy to explain on the assumption

that *Fisius* and *Martius* are names of months, for it would not seem to be necessary in that case to state that the Fisian pomperias precede the Martian. The suggestion of Conway (p. 68), that this may be intended to cover the case of an intercalary month, is perhaps the best solution of the difficulty.

It has hitherto been supposed that the Oscan pomperias denoted a group of *families*, or the festival of a family group. The connection of families with the pomperias is certain from pumperias Kluvatiium in no. 23 as well as from the Umbrian passage; but the latter makes it very probable that the pumperias were groups of five *individuals* rather than of families. Certainly we can hardly suppose that each of the twenty Iguvinian families was divided into twelve groups of five sub-families, and that each of these groups had some duty or office for a month. It is much more likely that each family was represented in some kind of body by sixty individuals divided into twelve groups of five, each group performing some duty for a month. In this connection should be cited a passage in Table III. 1 ff., where we are told that at a meeting, called the *sextantariae* **urnariae*, an *Auctor* is elected and sacrificial offerings chosen by a rising vote of the *puntes*. This word is best referred to **pompe* 'quinque,' though the distinction between it and pomperias is not clear. Unless the members voted in "blocks of five," we may perhaps assume that the *puntes* were the individual members of a pomperia.

At the beginning of Table II. B we are told that a pig and a goat are to be selected for or at the time of the *semenies tekuries*. Immediately following this there is a reference, unfortunately obscure, to the pomperias of the families, and after this comes "let him say for the Atiedii, for the second Atiedii, for the Clavernii, for the second Clavernii—for the Casili, for the second Casili, for the third Casili, etc." Then in V. B. 8 ff. we are told that, in return for regular contributions of grain from the Clavernii and Casili, the Atiedii are to give for or at the time of the *sehmenier dequrier* ten portions of swine's flesh and five of goat's flesh to the Clavernii, and fifteen and seven and half portions respectively to the Casili. The proportion of fifteen to ten

depends upon the division of the Casili into three families and of the Clavernii into two. This fact has long been recognized, but apparently no one has seen the connection of the pomperias with the numbers of portions of flesh. The Casili are represented, since they are divided into three families, by three pomperias, i. e., probably by fifteen men monthly, and the Casili receive fifteen portions of swine's flesh; the Clavernii are represented by two pomperias or ten men, and receive ten portions of swine's flesh. It is probable, therefore, that the flesh distributed to the different *gentes* went to their representatives. We are reminded of the fact that the Attic Prytanes dined at the public expense during their term of office, and there is also a parallel in the way the Prytanes and pomperias take turns in office, though the Prytanes are from one tribe, and the pomperias from all the *gentes*. We are also reminded of the Oscan inscription no. 27, in which *kerssnasias* '*cenariae' if not used substantively, must refer to pomperias; in either case there is evidence for the conclusion that the Oscan pomperias like the Iguvinian partook of a public banquet during their month of office.

As to the functions of the pomperias it is uncertain whether they were simply religious, or possibly also legislative. *Sakra-sias* '*sacrariae' in no. 28 would seem to point to the former conclusion; the presence of the *Meddix* in nos. 29, 30 suggests the latter. It is also not clear, whether there was a joint meeting of the pomperias of the ten Iguvinian *gentes*, or whether the pomperias of each *gens* managed the affairs of that *gens* separately. The *Atiedii*, at least, had some separate meetings (V. A), and their acts, as those of the *puntes* in III and IV, are of a religious nature.

Semenies in II. B. 1 is generally referred to *semen*, and the sacrifice, indicated by the selection of a pig and a goat, is taken to be in connection with a seed-festival. It is difficult to decide whether *semenies* or *tekuries* is the adjective. Buck translates '*sementivis decuriis*,' and understands *decuriis* to be the festival of the *decuriae* (Glossary, s. v.), corresponding to his interpretation of pomperias in Oscan. The probability of *decuriis* being so used here is of course lessened if pomperias

does not mean a festival. Others would translate *semenies tekuries* 'at the seed-festival of the decury' (i. e., the federation of ten families). Then *tekuries* must be an adjective, though we have *dekkviarim* in Oscan (no. 3. 8). The most natural construction for *tekuries* is the dative, *for the decuries*; and the plural would imply that the word does not refer directly to the federation of the ten *gentes*, but, since most of the *gentes* are divided into two *familiae* and two *pomperias* make a *decuria*, we may assume that the *decuries* are the representatives of the *gentes* and that they are subdivided into *pomperias*. In that case *semenies* could hardly have anything to do with a seed-festival. We should rather expect that the sacrifice in question was preliminary to the regular meetings of the representatives. The fact that the flesh is distributed to the *pomperias* would bear this out. Further, the sacrifice is to be offered to *Ar'mune Iuve* (II. B. 7), and apart from the question whether a seed-festival would be in honor of Jupiter, it may be of significance that *Ar'mune* is probably connected with *arsmor*, 'ritus,' 'institutions,' and that *Jupiter Ar'mun* would thus be a suitable deity to whom to sacrifice preliminary to the meeting of a legislative or religious body. If the *decuriae* are the undivided *pomperias*, *semenies* may be the adjective from a word signifying *gens*, and could be referred either to *semen* in the sense 'stock,' 'race,' or be cognate with Prussian *seimins*; cf. *κρίσις*, *situs*, and Rhod. *κτοίνα* 'community.' The use of *sehemieniar* (VII. A. 52) of a forum would not be against the interpretation suggested, but it might be objected that in passages like Table III. 28 ff. we should expect to meet the word. *Tekvias* in the next line is rendered by '*decurialis*;' but, aside from the fact that in Oscan we have *dekkviarim*, the sense is not satisfactory. The sentence has no verb. To take *decuriales* as predicate and supply *let them be* means nothing. To supply *upetuta* (cf. III. 11) from the preceding *upetu* and make *tekvias famer'ias* a genitive dependent upon *pumper'ias* is also unsatisfactory. If the *pumper'ias* did the choosing, why not have a single sentence with *upetuta* instead of *upetu*? In III. 11 where *upetuta* is used of the *puntes*, the *auctor* beforehand merely *names* it (*teitu*). Our sentence

needs something like *accept* or *receive*, and a connection with *δέχομαι* suggests itself; but the formation is difficult.

In the distribution of grain and meat in V. B. certain quantities of each are said to be given *posti acnu*. *Acnu* has been interpreted by 'fundus,' 'sacrificium,' and 'annus.' In my opinion 'fundus' is impossible, because there is no reason why the Casili should contribute more per piece of land than the Clavernii; to assume that they did would destroy the proportions of the shares, which so evidently depend upon the number of families. 'Sacrificium,' also, aside from the phonetic question of *kn* for *gn*, seems to me ill-suited to the context. In the case of the distribution of meat *posti acnu* is limited by *sehmenier dequrier*, which, whatever be its meaning, has the sacrifice of a pig and goat connected with it, so that *acnu* in this connection, if a sacrifice, must refer to that particular sacrifice. In the case of the distribution of grain *posti acnu* is not thus limited; and, if *acnu* is a sacrifice, we should take it to refer to all of the numerous Atiedian offerings. Yet it certainly would be more natural if *posti acnu* had the same scope in both cases. The argument is not conclusive, but has some weight. Unfortunately we do not know what amount is denoted by a *vef* of meat. It is at least more definite than *portion*, because we have reference to half a *vef*. Nor do we know definitely that the ten *vef* of swine's flesh and five of goat's are intended to be a fair exchange for four p. of grain. Such an assumption is not more than plausible, and can not therefore be strongly urged in settling the meaning of *acnu*. On the whole, however, it may be claimed that in the Umbrian passage some measure of time would be the most suitable meaning. A temporal meaning for *acnu* is strongly supported by the probable reading *acunum VI nesimum* in the *Tabula Bantina* (l. 31), which when compared with *zicolom XXX nesimum* (l. 17) can hardly be taken otherwise than as a temporal phrase. Unfortunately the context is lost, so that we get no help here for determining the measure of time. 'Month' would be suggested by VI, simply as a natural term to be mentioned in a law, but Umbrian *menzne* and *antermenzaru* and Sabine *mesene* show that the word for month corresponded with Latin

mensis. 'Day' is impossible for *acunum* because of *zicolom* in l. 17. In no. 13 (C. 59; P. 62) occurs the dative of a name followed by *akun*. CXII. *Akun* has been thought to be some measure of land. Buck thinks we have to do with an epitaph and takes *akun* here (as elsewhere) in the sense of 'year.' The form, however, implies a genitive plural, and, if the inscription is an epitaph, we should expect the age of the deceased; *cxii* 'years' is improbable in that case, though of course not out of the question; cf. *vixit anis* CLV in *CIL*. VIII. i. 541. On the tablet of Agnone we twice have the sentence *aasaí purasiaí saahtúm tefúrúm alttreí pútereípid akeneí sakahíter*; i. e., 'in ara igniaria sancta crematio in altero quoque akenei (?) sacrificetur.' On the one side of the tablet the phrase is followed by *Fiususasiaís az húrúm sakarater* 'Floralibus ad lucum sacratur;' on the other, by *húrz Dekmanniúís staít* 'lucus *Decumaniis stat.' "Corresponding to the Floralia mentioned in l. 20," says Buck, p. 255, "we probably have in *Dekmanniúís* of l. 48 the name of a December festival like the Roman Consualia or Saturnalia. The phrase *alttreí pútereípid akeneí*, in case *akeneí* is 'year,' must mean 'in every other year.' Otherwise it is 'at each of the two festivals,' referring to the Floralia and the Decumania." If this passage is to be used in determining the meaning of *akeneí*, we must give to *alttreí pútereípid* its natural meaning; and that is, if *alttreí* has any force at all, not 'on each of two,' but 'on one of two,' or, in a series, 'on every other' (cf. *ἐτερήμερος*). For *pútúrúspíd* without *alter* in its natural sense 'each of two' see the Cippus Abellanus. If *akeneí* means 'sacrifice' or 'festival,' and there was an offering at each of the two festivals mentioned, *alttreí* seems to have no point. If *akeneí* is 'year,' one wonders why there should be a special sacrifice only once in two years, when the grove is intended for two festivals, which, judging from their names, should be yearly. A further reason against connecting *acnu* and *annus* is, of course the *kn* for *tn*. But if 'day,' 'month,' and 'year' be shut out, and yet the most natural meaning for *acnu* is a space of time, the only other unit of time that can reasonably be assumed for the ancients is a *quarter of a year*. The Arcadians counted by *quarters*, as we learn from

Pliny 7. 48, 49: *annum—determinabant—alii quadripartitis temporibus, sicut Arcades quorum anni trimestres fuere.* *Akno, a 'point,' might easily be used of the equinoctial and solstitial points (*Jahrespunkt*), and hence pass into the meaning 'a quarter of a year.' The meaning 'quarter' would suit admirably in the tablet of Agnone, because a sacrifice in every other quarter would give two sacrifices a year, one for the Floralia and one for the Decumania; and, if we may assume that the Floralia was in April as at Rome, and the Decumania, from its name, in December, the festivals would fall in the second and fourth; i. e., in alternate quarters. If we apply this meaning to the passage in the *Tabula Bantina*, we might conjecture that the missing words enacted that a man could not be elected praetor within a year and a half after he had been quaestor. This would correspond to the Roman rule for aedile, praetor, and consul, since two full years would elapse, except when a vacancy was to be filled. Further, if inscription no. 13 is an epitaph, akun. CXII would be a natural age for the deceased. Finally, for the Umbrian passage it may be contended that 'quarter' is more suitable than 'year;' for if p. means pound and 4 p. of grain corresponded at all in value to 15 vef of meat, a vef could at least be no greater than a pound; and fifteen pounds a year would have to be divided among the twelve pomperias of both Atiedian families, i. e., among one hundred and twenty men, making one-eighth of a pound per man. If acnu is a 'quarter' each man would get a half pound, a reasonable amount, at least for a single banquet. There is even a suggestion of the distribution of halves of a vef in the VII s of l. 18. Umbrian seu-acni and per-acni are satisfactorily accounted for on this hypothesis, whether they be referred to *ak- in the sense of 'fine,' or to *akno- a 'quarter.'

Since twelve months to a year have been assumed in the previous part of the paper, a counting by quarters could only be considered a survival of earlier customs. The argument of silence on the part of Pliny may of course be used against the suggestion that the Oscans and Umbrians ever counted in this way. On the assumption that they did, a point may be brought up in connection with *sestentasiaru* in III. 2. This has been inter-

puted, doubtfully, as 'bi-monthly.' On this basis, if a quarter rather than a year were the unit, it would mean bi-weekly. In that case *semenies*, for which Bücheler and Conway give '*semenstribus*,' might be 'semi-monthly' rather than 'half-yearly,' and the two *pomperias* of each *gens* (the ordinary division being into two families) may have each held office for half a month. The "Fisian *pomperias* which are before the Martian" (nos. 27, 28) might then be the *pomperias* of the last half of the month, and Conway's suggestion of the intercalary month be rendered unnecessary. That *Fisius* was the name of an ordinary month might be inferred from no. 21. But any connection of *semenies* with *mensis* is difficult in view of *menzue* and *antermenzaru*.

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THE EXTENT OF STRABO'S TRAVEL IN GREECE

BY CHARLES HEALD WELLES

The two writers to whom we are most indebted for our knowledge of the geography and topography of ancient Greece are Strabo and Pausanias; the importance of our learning as much as possible of the extent of their travels and autopsy is, therefore, obvious. Pausanias' personal acquaintance with the country has been proved by the excavations and researches of the last half-century. The question as to that of Strabo is still debatable.

A few of the divergent opinions on the subject may properly be quoted, though, since one finds no thorough discussion of the evidence, a complete list need not be given. The earlier scholars (for example, Heeren, who is mentioned below) took more or less for granted the geographer's visitation of the places that he described; increasing doubt has been shown by later investigators. Leake says (*Athens and the Demi of Attica* I, p. 32): "As his account of the sea-coast is generally more accurate and detailed than that of the inland districts, we are tempted to believe that few parts of the interior were visited by him, but that his travels were principally performed by sea." Curtius remarks (*Peloponnesos* I, p. 120): "Denn ausser Korinth . . . wird man schwerlich einen peloponnesischen Ort ausfindig machen, welchen er nachweislich aus eigener Anschauung beschrieben hat." But elsewhere he declares (*ibid.* II, p. 114, n. 75; cf. *Zeitschr. f. d. Alterthumswiss.* X [1852], cols. 5 f., where his view is given with more detail): "Die folgende Beschreibung der Gemälde (Str., p. 343 Cas.) macht mir wahrscheinlich, dass Strabon selbst diese Küste (i. e., of Elis) bereiste und Olympia besuchte." Bursian (*Geographie von Griechenland*) does not express explicitly his estimate of our author's testimony; he sometimes mentions a lack of autopsy (as II, p. 258), but in general he seems to admit Strabo's personal knowledge (cf. *ibid.*, p. 322: "Strabon fand zwischen den Trümmern der Stadt noch ein Heiligthum des Asklepios," etc.). Schröter (*De Strabonis itineribus*, as quoted by [CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY I, October, 1906] 339

Vogel, *Philologus* XLI (1882), p. 516) maintains: "vix credibile est Strabonem non plura visitasse Graeciae loca quam Corinthum et Athenas." Niese affirms (*Rhein. Mus.* N. F. XXXII [1877], p. 281; cf. *Hermes* XIII [1878], p. 48): "Aus eigener Anschauung kennt Strabo in Hellas nur Korinth," his view being approved by Vogel (*loc. cit.*). Bunbury's view (*History of Ancient Geography* II, p. 266, n. 9) is: "Athens, Megara and Corinth are the only points in continental Greece, which he can be proved to have actually visited. Groskurd adds Argos, but I can see no evidence of this." Falconer (*Hamilton and Falconer Geography of Strabo* III, pp. xiv f.) states: "Athens, Corinth, Argos, and their neighbourhood, were the only parts of Greece our author saw. Heeren, indeed, maintains that he had seen the whole of it, . . . but satisfactory proof of this is altogether wanting." Elsewhere (*ibid.*, p. viii) he adds Megara to his list. Tozer (*History of Ancient Geography*, p. 241) says: "In Greece there is no clear proof that he stopped at any place except Corinth." Frazer remarks (*Pausanias* I, p. xci): "In fact it is generally recognized that Strabo visited very few parts of Greece, perhaps none but Corinth;" and he expresses *passim* the same view.

In consideration of such varying opinions, it seems worth while to examine the subject anew, in order to discover, if possible, evidence sufficient for the decision of the question. The material available — which is entirely "internal" — must be gleaned principally from books viii, ix, and x of Strabo's *Geographica*. These books form a somewhat independent section, for which our author's appellation would be the *Helladica*, or the *Helladic Geography* (p. 332). In this he treats of all the mainland of Greece except Epirus and of the adjacent islands (including Crete) of the Ionian and Aegean seas.

In his introduction to this section Strabo gives a résumé of the sources which he has found useful in its compilation (*loc. cit.*):

ἀποδώσομεν νυνὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Ἑλλαδικῆς γεωγραφίας, ἅπερ Ὅμηρος μὲν πρῶτος, ἔπειτα καὶ ἄλλοι πλείους ἐπραγματεύσαντο, οἱ μὲν ἰδίᾳ λιμένας ἢ περίπλους ἢ περιόδους γῆς ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο ἐπιγράψαντες, ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ Ἑλλαδικὰ περιέχεται, οἱ δ' ἐν τῇ κοινῇ τῆς ἱστορίας γραφῇ χωρὶς ἀποδείξαντες τὴν τῶν ἡπείρων τοπογραφίαν, καθάπερ Ἐφορός τε ἐποίησε καὶ Πολύβιος· ἄλλοι

δ' εἰς τὸν φυσικὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν μαθηματικὸν προσέλαβόν τινα τῶν τοιούτων, καθάπερ Ποσειδώνιος τε καὶ Ἱππαρχος.

This is a wide range of authorities, but Strabo's execution is more than equal to his promises. In 215 Teubner pages he quotes by name upward of sixty authors some 260 times. Many of these references are purely literary and have no bearing on our question. In other instances, notably from Ephorus (who is quoted by name some twenty-five times), extracts of several pages are made. Homer, Strabo's geographer *par excellence*, is quoted by name some fifty times; as "the poet," "the catalogue," etc., much oftener. Still more frequent are *τινὲς φασιν*, *οἱ δὲ φασιν*, *ἄλλοι φασίν*, *ἀκολουθοῦντες τῷ δέειν*, and the like, such references occurring, on the average, several times to the page.

Niese has examined (*Rhein. Mus.* N. F. XXXII [1877], pp. 267 ff., "Apollodors Commentar zum Schiffskataloge als Quelle Strabo's") Strabo's dependence on Apollodorus' commentary on the Catalogue of the ships, and summarizes his discussion with the remark (*ibid.*, p. 281), "Das Facit der Rechnung ist, dass Apollodor in den Büchern viii-x Strabo's nicht nur bedeutend benutzt ist, sondern die Hauptquelle genannt werden muss; und die Aufgabe, die uns noch übrig bleibt, ist nicht so sehr das Apollodorische darin zu ermitteln, als das Nichtapollodorische auszuschneiden." This statement seems exaggerated; a detailed study of all our author's sources for the *Helladica* would probably indicate, as already suggested, that Strabo may still have the credit of using most of his authorities at first hand (cf. pp. 339, 422). But that Apollodorus is much employed, is indisputable. Whole sections—notably the chapter on Thessaly—are little more than a commentary on the Catalogue, Strabo's chief concern being to verify and illustrate Homer: his interest, to determine whether this or that town was under the sway of Nestor or Menelaus or Achilles, rather than to portray the condition of the country in his own day. This may be said fairly, notwithstanding such remarks of our author as (p. 337):

λέγω δὲ ταῦτα συμβάλλων τά τε νῦν καὶ τὰ ὑφ' Ὁμήρου λεγόμενα
δεῖ δὴ τά τε ὄντα λέγειν καὶ τὰ τοῦ ποιητοῦ παρατιθέντας ἐφ' ὅσον προσήκει
προσσκοπεῖν (cf. Curtius *Peloponnesos* I, pp. 119 f.).

The general plan of Strabo's work is suggested by Ephorus (cf. Bursian *Geog.* I, p. 3). Following this author he starts from Acarnania, since (p. 334) "Εφορος μὲν οὖν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν φησὶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐσπερίων μερῶν. Thence he proceeds along the southern coast around Peloponnesus, and then through central and northern Greece; for οὕτω καὶ ἡμῖν προσήκει, he explains (*loc. cit.*), ἀκολουθοῦσι τῇ φύσει τῶν τόπων σύμβουλον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν θάλατταν (cf. Leake, quoted above). Occasionally he deviates from this mode of procedure, only to recall himself as soon as possible; so, for example, p. 391: ταύτας οὖν διέξιμεν ἀναλα[βόντες πάλιν ἀπὸ τῆς π]αραλλίας ἀφ' ἧσπερ ἀπελίπομεν.

In each successive state which he reaches in his narrative he branches off to follow the order indicated by Homer. An extended list of passages which show this method might be given; a few will suffice:

p. 377: ἐξῆς δὲ λέγωμεν περὶ τῶν τόπων ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ.—p. 408: τῷ ποιητῇ ἀκολουθοῦντες.—p. 411: ὁ δὲ ποιητῆς ἐφεξῆς ταῖς Κώκαις Εὐτρησιν τίθησι.—*ibid.*: ἐξῆς δὲ Κορώνειαν καταλέγει.—p. 416: οἱ τὰ περὶ τῶν νεῶν συγγράψαντες, οἷς ἀκολουθοῦμεν.

For his time Strabo was undoubtedly an extensive traveler. Indeed, he boasts of the wide area covered by his visits, and of his consequent fitness to write a geographical treatise (pp. 117 f.). The most satisfactory outline of his itinerary is that of Niese in his "Beiträge zur Biographie Strabo's" (*Hermes* XIII [1878], pp. 33 ff.). A sketch of this survey may be convenient. Born in Amasia in Pontus (pp. 547 ff., 561), he naturally traveled first in Asia Minor. We find him in Cappadocian Comana (p. 535), then follow him through the "Cilician Gates" into Cilicia (p. 536). Farther west he visited Hierapolis (p. 630), Nysa (p. 650), Ephesus (p. 641), and perhaps Magnesia (p. 648). In the Aegean he saw Chios (p. 645), perhaps Cos (p. 657), surely Gyarus (p. 485), as we shall see below. Corinth (pp. 377, 379) and Brundisium (p. 282) were visited on the way to Rome (pp. 234 ff.; 282 ff.; cf. p. 381). Niese thinks that he wrote at Rome, but this is not certain (cf. Schröter *Bemerkungen zu Strabo*, Leipzig, 1887). He lived a long time at Alexandria (p. 101), visited Heliopolis (p. 806), the Sphinxes at Memphis (p. 807),

the Labyrinth (pp. 810 f.), the statues of Memnon (p. 816), Philae (p. 818), and went up the Nile to Syene (p. 118). Cyrene he saw only from the sea (p. 837). In Italy he visited also Puteoli (p. 793) and Baiae and Naples (pp. 242 ff.). Populonia in Etruria (p. 223; cf. p. 117) was the most northern and western spot that he saw.

Niese confines his list too closely to places that Strabo actually tells us he has seen (cf. Vogel *loc. cit.*), but the catalogue probably can not be greatly lengthened. So far as we are informed, Strabo traveled, at least in Asia and Greece, during the earlier part of his life, perhaps before he conceived the plan of writing even his *History*, almost surely before he contemplated his *Geography*, which was to be a sort of appendix to the former work. Indeed, the *Geography* seems to have been composed some forty years later than the general period of his travels, which, therefore, can scarcely have been made, as were those of Pausanias, in anticipation of such a production (cf. Niese, *loc. cit.*).

In 29 B. C., as will appear from the following passage, Strabo anchored off the small island of Gyarus on his way to Corinth:

τῇ Γυάρῳ, he says (p. 485), προσορμισθεὶς ἔγνω κωμίων ὑπὸ ἀλιέων συνοικύμενον ἀπαίροντες δ' ἐδεξάμεθα πρεσβυτὴν ἐνθένδε ὡς Καίσαρα προκεχειρισμένον τῶν ἀλιέων τινά (ἦν δ' ἐν Κορίνθῳ Καῖσαρ βαδίζων ἐπὶ τὸν θρίαμβον τὸν Ἀκτιακόν). συμπλέων δὴ ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς πυθομένους ὅτι πρεσβεῖοι περὶ κουνφισμοῦ τοῦ φόρου· τελοῖεν γὰρ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν πενήνκοντα καὶ τὰς ἑκατὸν χαλεπῶς ἀν' τελούντες.

Immediately thereafter Strabo visited Corinth, which he describes (p. 379) as νεωστὶ ἀναληφθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων. He does not tell us the duration of his stay, which, however, would seem to have been brief. He saw the city and climbed the Acrocorinthus—the usual procedure of the casual visitor of today. He describes the splendid view from the summit of the mountain and (p. 377) particularly mentions seeing Cleonae, καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου κατωπτεύσαμεν τὸ κτίσμα—doubtless his only view of that city, which was on the route that he describes from Argos. Since he says that Parnassus and Helicon were snow-capped (p. 379; cf. p. 410), we may gather that his visit was in the early spring.

From here he probably proceeded on his way to Rome, his next stopping-place being Brundisium (p. 282).

His description of Corinth is accurate and vivid, if not detailed, and has added much to our knowledge of the city. No other portion of the *Helladica*, however, shows a positive trace of his personal examination of places that he mentions. He does not tell us directly of other visits, and his work contains no other description that could not have been made from the study of previous authors.

General dependence on the writings of others is not, to be sure, a necessary indication of incompetence or of the lack of personal observation. Strabo himself in his description of Corinth mentions as his sources Hieronymus, Eudoxus, καὶ ἄλλοι, before he adds, καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ εἶδομεν (p. 379). In a thoroughly scientific manner he verifies and supplements the statements of his authorities. But when to an author's general literary dependence are added quotations from others concerning matters which an eye-witness must know personally, or when an author makes palpable blunders regarding things that a visitor must have seen, belief in his autopsy becomes doubtful. If such quotations and strange statements are frequent, doubt approaches certainty.

In Pausanias' description of Greece, four times as long as Strabo's, no instances of this sort, as Frazer remarks (*Paus.* I, p. lxxxii) are "so clear as to amount to a proof of borrowing." In the *Helladica* of Strabo we find some fifty such cases. These must now be discussed, following in general in each class Strabo's order of treatment, which has been outlined above.

In the course of his description of Elis, Strabo argues stoutly for the Triphyliac Pylus as the Pylus of Nestor. Certainly, if he had seen the place, he would know as to the appropriateness of Homer's epithet ἡμαθόεις. But he is driven to declare (p. 344), καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀμαθώδη τὸν ποταμὸν ἢ τὴν χώραν εἶναι ψεῦδος φασι, elsewhere (p. 336; cf. p. 344) deriving the epithet from the name of the contiguous river Ἀμαθος (cf. Bursian *Geog.* II, p. 279, n. 1). In relation to the same region Strabo is about to discuss the question as to the portion of the country occupied by

the Caucones, and he remarks (p. 345): *φασὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Λεπρεάτιδι καὶ Καύκωνος εἶναι μνῆμα.*

In his narrative he has pursued the seacoast around to Laconia. On reaching Gytheum, where the traveler would disembark for Sparta, he says of the port (p. 363), *ἔχει δ' ὡς φασι, τὸ ναύσταθμον ὀρυκτόν*, a condition which we might expect even a casual visitor to have learned for himself. A few lines farther on Strabo remarks (p. 364), *τῶν δ' ὑφ' Ὀμήρου καταλεγόμενων τὴν μὲν Μέσσην οὐδαμῶς δείκνυσθαι φασι*, and then he adds, on the same authority, *Μεσσοῖαν δ' οὐ τῆς χώρας εἶναι μέρος [ἀλλὰ] τῆς Σπάρτης, καθάπερ καὶ τὸ Λιμναῖον*, implying that at least two of the four quarters or wards of Sparta (cf. Frazer *Paus.* III, p. 341) are beyond his personal knowledge.

Nor is the familiar passage relating to the sources of the river Eridanus in Athens the product of Strabo's own experience. Of these he declares (p. 397), *εἰσὶ μὲν νῦν αἱ πηγαὶ καθαροῦ καὶ ποτίμου ὕδατος, ὡς φασιν, ἐκτὸς τῶν Διοχάρους καλουμένων πυλῶν πλησίον τοῦ Λυκείου*, and the inference is clear that Strabo was not personally acquainted with this portion of the city—though he mentions the Lyceum (p. 396) as a point of interest in Athens.

"They say" is apparently all that Strabo knows of the Euripus also:

περὶ δὲ τῆς παλιρροίας τοῦ Εὐρίπου τοσούτον μόνον εἰπεῖν ἱκανόν, ὅτι ἐπτάκις μεταβάλλειν φασὶ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐκάστην καὶ νύκτα· τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἐν ἄλλοις σκεπτέον (p. 403; cf. pp. 10, 36, 55).

That this was the current opinion is shown by Livy's words:

et fretum ipsum Euripi non septies die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statis reciprocatur sed temere in modum venti (xxviii. 6).

But Strabo probably took the statement directly from Ephorus (p. 400), together with the account of the bridge and of the execution of Salgameus, *ὃν φασι ἀναιρεθῆναι . . . ὑπὸ τοῦ ναυάρχου Μεγαβάτου* (p. 403). Likewise of Aegae in Euboea he says (p. 405): *κατὰ δὲ τὴν παραλίαν ταύτην [i. e., of Boeotia] κείσθαι φασιν Αἰγὰς τὰς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ . . . ἣν δέ ποτε καὶ πόλις.*

But more striking than the cases thus far mentioned is the fact that he has information of Delphi only at second hand. In beginning his description of the oracle he says (p. 419):

φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον ἄντρον κοῖλον κατὰ βάθους οὐ μάλα εὐρύστομον, ἀναφέρεσθαι δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικόν, ὑπερκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ στομίου τρίποδα ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' ὃν τὴν Πυθίαν ἀναβαίνουσιν δεχομένην τὸ πνεῦμα ἀποθεσπίζων ἑμμετρά τε καὶ ἄμετρα.

Passing over the question as to the archaeological accuracy of such a description, Strabo's complete borrowing is manifest. After this beginning we scarcely need to add his anachronistic account (p. 420) of the two eagles (Strabo, "crows") upon the omphalos. Strabo says: *δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ὀμφαλός τις ἐν τῷ ναφ̄ τειναιωμένος καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ αἱ δύο εἰκόνες τοῦ μύθου*, though "we are expressly told that the golden eagles had been carried off in the Sacred War, that is, about three hundred years before Strabo's time" (Frazer *Paus.* V, p. 315; and the ancient authorities there).

In the instances thus far noted Strabo has quoted his sources only in general terms; we find also numerous places in which he mentions his authorities by name. Such is his method in speaking of the size of the chryselephantine statue in the temple of Zeus at Olympia (p. 354): *ἀνέγραψαν δὲ τινες τὰ μέτρα τοῦ ξοάνου, καὶ Καλλιμαχος ἐν ἰάμβῳ τινὶ ἐξείπε*. But an appeal to another's authority in such a matter is, perhaps, not strange, and this point, while of interest cumulatively, is not especially significant of itself.

Only a degree more important is our author's quotation (p. 366):

περὶ δὲ τῆς φύσεως τῶν τόπων καὶ τούτων [i. e., Λακωνικῶν] καὶ τῶν Μεσσηνιακῶν ταῦτα μὲν ἀποδεκτίον λέγοντος Εὐριπίδου· τὴν γὰρ Λακωνικὴν φησιν ἔχειν "πολὺν μὲν ἄροτον, ἐκπονεῖν δ' οὐ ῥᾶδιον· κοίλῃ γὰρ, ὅρεσι περιδρομος, τραχεῖά τε δυσείσβολός τε πολεμίοις," τὴν δὲ Μεσσηνιακὴν "καλλίκαρπον κατάρτυτόν τε μυρίοισι νάμασι, καὶ βουσί καὶ ποίμναισιν εὐβοτωτάτην οὗτ' ἐν πνοαῖσι χεΐματος δυσχείμερον, οὗτ' αὖ τεθρίπποις ἡλίου θερμὴν ἄγαν."

Strabo may be permitted to borrow a poetic description, but one more than suspects that he does so here because of his own lack of knowledge. The remainder of the page should also be taken into consideration, together with the mention of Tyrtæus.

For the location of Thyrea (cf. Frazer's *Paus.* III, p. 308; V, p. 605) Strabo makes use (p. 376) of Thucydides:

Θυρέας δὲ Ὅμηρος μὲν οὐκ ὠνόμασεν, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι θρυλοῦσι· . . . εἶναι δὲ φησι τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο Θουκυδίδης (ii. 27; iv. 56) ἐν τῇ Κυνουρία κατὰ τὴν μεθορίαν τῆς Ἀργείας καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς.

If Bursian is correct (*Geog.* II, p. 71), the city was never rebuilt after its destruction by the Athenians in 424 B. C., and Thucydides mentions its site for this reason. Pausanias does not describe it.

Of Helice, the submerged city of Achaea, Strabo says (p. 384):

Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἰδεῖν φησι τὸν τόπον, καὶ τοὺς πορθμῆας λέγειν ὡς ἐν τῷ πόρῳ ὀρθὸς ἐστὶ κεῖ Ποσειδῶν χάλκεος, ἔχων ἱππόκαμπον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ κίνδυνον φέροντα τοῖς δακτυεῦσιν.

The inference is clear that Strabo himself had not visited the site. In Arcadia he appeals again to the same author (p. 389):

Ἐρατοσθένης δὲ φησι περὶ Φενεὸν μὲν τὸν Ἀνίαν καλούμενον ποταμὸν λιμνάζειν τὰ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, καταδύεσθαι δ' εἰς τινας ἡθμούς οὓς καλεῖσθαι ζέρεθρα.

Parapotamii in Phocis is described at some length by Strabo on the authority of Theopompus (p. 424):

Παραποτάμιοι δ' εἰσὶ κατοικία τις ἐπὶ τῷ Κηφισῷ ἰδρυμένη . . . φησὶ δὲ Θεόπομπος τὸν τόπον τοῦτον διέχειν τῆς μὲν Χαϊρωνείας ὅσον τετταράκοντα σταδίους, . . . κείσθαι δ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἐμβολῆς τῆς ἐκ Βοιωτίας εἰς Φωκίας ἐν λόφῳ μετρίως ὑψηλῷ, κ. τ. λ.

But the site in reality was deserted before Strabo's time (Plut. *Sulla* 16), and Pausanias was able to say (x. 33. 8) οὔτε ἔνθα τῆς χώρας ᾤκισθη ἡ πόλις μνημονεύουσιν.

Of Halus in Thessaly Strabo declares (p. 433), Ἀρτεμίδωρος δὲ τὴν Ἄλωνα ἐν τῇ παραλλῇ τίθησι—but probably no one would venture to claim that Strabo saw any part of Thessaly.

In yet another group of places Strabo's want of autopsy is evidenced by his apparent or confessed perplexity as to the interpretation of his authorities. This is sometimes shown by his confusion of tenses. Touching Lepreum he says (p. 344):

τοῦ δὲ Πύλου πρὸς νότον ἐστὶ τὸ Λέπρειον. ἦν δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἡ πόλις ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης ἐν τετταράκοντα σταδίοις.

The case is identical in his description of Olympia (pp. 353 f.).

ἐστὶ δ' ἐν τῇ Πισάτιδι τὸ ἱερὸν . . . πρόκειται δ' ἄλσος . . . τὴν αὐξήσιν ὅσην ἴσμεν ἔλαβε διὰ τε τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα . . . ἐκοσμήθη δ' ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἀπερ ἐκ πάσης ἀνετίθετο Ἑλλάδος, ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατος Ζεὺς, . . . ὑπῆρξε τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ξόανον . . . δεικνυνται δὲ καὶ γραφαὶ πολλαὶ κ. τ. λ.

A significant instance is (p. 350): *αὐτοῦ δέ που καὶ ἡ Οἶχα-
λία ἐστὶν ἢ τοῦ Εὐρύτου ἢ νῦν Ἀνδανία.*

Of Pisa Strabo asserts (p. 356):

*τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἰδρυμένην ἐφ' ὕψους δεικνύουσι μεταξύ δυεῖν ὄροιν, Ὅσσης καὶ
Ὀλύμπου, ὁμωνύμων τοῖς ἐν Θετταλία.*

But after so definite a location, implying someone's recent autopsy, if not his own, he adds in the next words:

*ταῦς δὲ πόλιν μὲν οὐδεμίαν γεγονέναι Πισάν φασιν . . . κρήνην δὲ μόνον
ἦν νῦν καλεῖσθαι Βῖσαν, . . . Σησίχορον δὲ καλεῖν πόλιν τὴν χώραν Πισαν
λεγομένην.*

A less important example of such doubt is found in Strabo's mention of Sicyon (p. 382):

*ἀνέκτισε δ' αὐτὴν ἀπὸ θαλάττης ὅσον εἴκοσι σταδίους (οἱ δὲ δώδεκά φασιν)
ἐπὶ λόφον ἐρυμνὸν Δημήτριος.*

But the next three examples of this sort make it impossible to suppose that Strabo visited the sites in question, and accordingly, may be quoted without comment:

(p. 368) *τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα τοῦ Ἀργολικοῦ (i. e., κάλπου) Λάκωνες ἔχουσι, τὰ
δὲ λοιπὰ Ἀργεῖοι· ἐν οἷς ἐστὶ τῶν μὲν Λακῶνων τὸ Δῆλιον ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος
. . . . καὶ Μινῶα . . . καὶ ἡ λιμὴρὰ Ἐπίδαυρος, ὡς Ἀρτεμίδωρος φησιν.
Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ Κυθήρων πλησίον ἱστορεῖ ταύτην.—(p. 456) μεταξύ δὲ τῆς
Ἰθάκης καὶ τῆς Κεφαλληνίας ἡ Ἀστερία νησίον . . . ἦν ὁ μὲν Σκῆψιος μὴ
μένειν τοιαύτην οἶαν φησὶν ὁ ποιητής . . . ὁ δὲ Ἀπολλόδωρος μένειν καὶ νῦν,
καὶ πολίχρινον λέγει ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀλαλκομενάς.—(p. 460) Ἀρτεμίδωρος μὲν [οὐχ]
οὕτω περὶ τῆς εἴτε Χαλκίδος εἴτε Χαλκίας τοῦ ὄρους, μεταξύ τοῦ Ἀχελώου καὶ
τῆς Πλευρώνας ἰδρύων αὐτήν, Ἀπολλόδωρος δὲ, ὡς πρότερον εἶπον, ὑπὲρ τῆς
Μολικρείας καὶ τὴν Χαλκίδα καὶ τὸν Ταφιασσόν· κ. τ. λ.*

But still more important for our present purpose are Strabo's misstatements. Whether his comment on the stadium at Olympia is to be put under this category perhaps can not be determined with certainty. He says (p. 353): *πρόκειται δ' ἄλσος ἀγριε-
λαίων, ἐν ᾧ τὸ στάδιον.* One may venture to express a doubt whether this is an accurate description of the conditions existing in Strabo's time, and not rather an inference drawn from the derivation of the word ἄλτις from ἄλσος (an original grove) and the knowledge that the wreath of wild olive was awarded as a

prize. Pindar (*Ol.* 3. 18; 8. 9; cf. Curtius, in Curtius and Adler *Olympia, Text* I, p. 21) indeed speaks of the *ἄλσος* at Olympia, but as Strabo himself elsewhere remarks (p. 412), οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ κοσμοῦσιν, ἄλση καλοῦντες τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα κἂν ἢ ψιλὰ. A similar comment is made by the scholiast on the first passage quoted from Pindar. By Strabo's time the Altis had received practically its final form, and one finds difficulty in seeing a place for the grove in front of the temple—for "temple" is what Strabo usually means by *ἱερὸν*. Pausanias uses the word *ἄλσος* (v. 101) in a very general sense. The wreath was taken from a single sacred tree (Paus. v. 7. 7; 15. 3).

However this may be, another passage seems to show conclusively that Strabo had not seen the precinct of Olympia. After speaking of the aid rendered Phidias by his nephew Panaenus in decorating the great statue, Strabo adds (p. 354), δέικνυνται δὲ καὶ γραφαὶ πολλαὶ τε καὶ θαυμασταὶ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκείνου ἔργα. Unless the word *περὶ* is used with astounding inaccuracy, Strabo's ignorance of the true location is certain; the paintings of Panaenus were surely *in* the temple, whether beneath or around the throne (Paus. v. 11. 5). We have already commented on Strabo's authority for the measurements of the great *ξόανον* and his confusion of tenses in his description of Olympia. His silence regarding the other temples and buildings is also significant.

Another error is the statement (p. 359): κοινὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἀμφοῖν (i. e., Triphylia and Messenia) ἄκρα. Elsewhere he says, presumably correctly (p. 348): νυνὶ μὲν οὖν τῇ Τριφυλίᾳ πρὸς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν ὁρίον ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς Νέδας ρεῦμα. The Neda empties into the sea through a plain; no promontory is near (Curtius *Pelop.* II, p. 130)—nor is any other considerable promontory along this coast. Platamodes (p. 348) is undoubtedly in Messenia.

Strabo states of the Pamisus River in Messenia (p. 361) μέγιστος δ' ἐστὶ ποταμῶν τῶν ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ. It is, of course, markedly inferior in size to both the Alpheus and the Eurotas.

He is also in error regarding the range of Taygetus (p. 363):

συνάπτον κατὰ τὰ προσάρκτια μέρη ταῖς Ἀρκαδικαῖς ὑψικρατείαις, ὥστε καταλείπεσθαι μεταξὺ αὐλῶνα, καθ' ὃν ἡ Μεσσηνία συνεχὴς ἐστὶ τῇ Λακωνικῇ.

The nearest approach to such a defile is the celebrated Langada Pass, but this is not situated so far north as the spot Strabo apparently has in mind, nor can it properly be described as an αὐλὸν καθ' ὃν ἡ Μεσσηνία κ. τ. λ. (cf. Frazer *Paus.* III, p. 437).

A difficult question to decide from the evidence submitted either by Strabo or Pausanias is with respect to the location of Scyllaeum promontory (p. 368). The present space will not permit a discussion of the point; enough to say is that Strabo is probably wrong (cf. Frazer *Paus.* III, p. 290: "It seems more likely that all three writers, Strabo, Pliny, and Pausanias, were misinformed"). The same may be said of the limits set by Strabo for the Hermionic Gulf (p. 369; cf. Frazer. *Paus.* III, pp. 290 ff.).

Strabo is again wrong in his view of the watering of Argolis (p. 370). His maps showed him several rivers in this district, and he is, accordingly, impelled to emend Homer's πολυδίψιον Ἄργος (Δ 171) to πολὺ δ' ἵψιον Ἄργος. He did not know that the rivers are, and doubtless were, usually dry, and Homer's epithet is apt (cf. Bursian *Geog.* II, p. 40; Frazer *Paus.* III, p. 96).

One may query, in passing, if, in his statement (p. 372), ἄργος δὲ καὶ τὸ πεδίον λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς νεωτέροις, παρ' Ὀμήρῳ δ' οὐδ' ἄπαξ, Strabo does not confuse the Argive plain with the ἀργὸν plain in Arcadia (*Paus.* viii. 7. 1).

In the case of Mycenae Strabo's inaccuracy is well known. His (p. 372) ὥστε νῦν μὴδ' ἔχνος εὐρίσκεισθαι τῆς Μυκηναίων πόλεως and his (p. 377) αἱ μὲν οὖν Μυκῆναι νῦν οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν correspond ill with the brief but accurate description of Pausanias, or with the remains as they still were before Schliemann's work began.

In his description of Arcadia Strabo is least satisfactory. Knowing that inhabitants from many towns had been brought by the advice of Epaminondas into Megalopolis, he assumes that (p. 388) τὴν τε χώραν οἱ γεωργήσαντες ἐκλελοίπασιν. This can never have been completely true. So the hyperbolical remark of a comic poet (*ibid.*; cf. p. 738), ἐρημία μεγάλη 'στὶν ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις, Strabo takes as a statement of fact. But coins, remains, and at least one inscription testify to the existence of a more or less flourishing community in Megalopolis at the time of which Strabo writes. The theater was just undergoing extensive repairs (Frazer

Paus. IV, pp. 347, 352). Of the other Arcadian cities which our author says (p. 388), *ἡ οὐκέτ' εἰσὶν ἢ μόλις αὐτῶν ἵχνη φαίνεται καὶ σημεῖα*, at least six (Caphyae, Clitor, Heraea, Mantinea, Orchomenus, and Pheneus) are proven by coins to have been "still inhabited and doing business long after the agreeable, but not too scrupulously accurate, geographer had been gathered to his fathers" (Frazer *Paus.* I, p. xcii). In the case of Mantinea, as Frazer notes (*loc. cit.*), Strabo's ignorance of true conditions is especially evident. Pausanias found these cities still flourishing.

Our author's quotation from Eratosthenes regarding Pheneus has been mentioned. One may question, too, whether the statement (p. 389), *περὶ Φενεὸν δ' ἔστι καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ*, is not somewhat inaccurate.

When he comes, in his discussion, to Piraeus, where the traveler must disembark for Athens, Strabo says (p. 395 f.; cf. p. 654):

οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ πόλεμοι . . . τὸν τε Πειραιᾶ συνέστειλαν εἰς ὀλίγην κατοικίαν τὴν περὶ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ σωτήρος,

and then he mentions the paintings and colonnades of this sanctuary. But Pausanias was able, generations later, to name not only the temple of Zeus, but also (i. 1) the Long Colonnade, two markets, the ship-sheds, sanctuaries of Artemis, Demeter, Athena, and Zeus, together with various altars and images; and the evidence of coins, inscriptions, and ruins testifies to his correctness. Indeed, a well-known inscription ('*Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1884, cols. 165 ff.; cf. Frazer *Paus.* II, pp. 14f; Judeich *Topographie von Athen*, p. 97, n. 15) indicates that not even Pausanias named all the buildings left in Piraeus from ancient times. It is hard, therefore, to believe that Strabo saw the city at all—and if not Piraeus, not Athens.

That the last inference is correct we have been led to think also from our author's remark on the Lyceum and the Diochares gate. To this we may now add his apparent blunder in the quotation or interpretation of a passage from the Asian Hegesias—a strange authority withal for Athenian topography! Hegesias is quoted as saying (p. 396):

ὁρῶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὸ περιττὴς τριαίνης ἐκείθι σημεῖον, ὁρῶ τὴν Ἑλευσῖνα, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν γέγονα μύστης· ἐκείνο Λευκόριον, τοῦτο Θεσηεῖον· κ. τ. λ.

That is, in the midst of an enumeration of Athenian places of note, Hegesias is made to speak of a deme seventeen miles away and not visible from any part of Athens. That this is Strabo's understanding of the passage is shown by his words a little farther on, 'Ελευσινά τε εἰπὼν ἓνα τῶν . . . δήμων κ. τ. λ. (cf. Richards *Class. Rev.* X (1896), pp. 383 f.). With little doubt, however, Hegesias meant—or should have meant; we have no evidence respecting his personal knowledge of Athens—the *Eleusinium*. The exact location of this precinct is not certain, but it was close to the Acropolis, and with the interpretation suggested, the passage becomes more consistent. Of course, Strabo could not have meant to bring Eleusis into so close proximity with Athens, and the probability is that he was unacquainted with the *Eleusinium*.

Again, the remark (p. 399), μαρμάρου δ' ἐστὶ τῆς τε Ἑμμετίας καὶ τῆς Πεντελικῆς κάλλιστα μέταλλα πλησίον τῆς πόλεως, may be due to the same misunderstanding of the true conditions. *πλησίον* is a relative term, and its interpretation is partly a matter of personal opinion; but while entirely applicable to Hymettus, which sometimes seems very near to Athens, the use of the term with reference to Pentelicus, appears a little strange. Furthermore, we have an expression of Strabo's in regard to the distance of Onchestus from Helicon—which is much less than the distance of Athens from Pentelicus—that favors the view just expressed. The passage is as follows (p. 412):

οὕτω καὶ τοῦ Ὀρχηστοῦ κατέψευσται [i. e., Ἀλκαῖος] πρὸς ταῖς ἐσχατιαῖς τοῦ Ἑλικῶνος αὐτὸν τιθεῖς· ὁ δ' ἐστὶν ἄπωθεν ἱκανῶς τούτου τοῦ ὄρους.

As a matter of fact, the opinion of Alcaeus is not far from the truth. The site of Onchestus is on the summit of "a low ridge which connects the Sphinx Mountain (*Phaga*) with the roots of Helicon" (Frazer *Paus.* V, p. 139).

Strabo's description of other parts of Attica is also unsatisfactory. In his enumeration of the demes he makes at least two serious errors. *περὶ δὲ Ἀνάφλυστόν ἐστι*, he says (p. 398), *καὶ τὸ Πανεῖον καὶ τὸ τῆς Κωλιάδος Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν*. This means a distortion of twenty-five or thirty kilometers in the location either of Cape Colias or of Anaphlystus, as well as a mistake in the order

of mention (cf. *Amer. Jour. Arch.* VII [1903], p. 286). On the other side of Attica he names (p. 399) Myrrhinus between Halae Araphenides and Probalinthus. Instead of Myrrhinus he should have said Myrrhinutte (Frazer *Paus.* II, p. 413). Respecting the demes in central Attica he says (p. 399), τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ δήμους τῆς Ἀττικῆς μακρὸν εἰπεῖν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος. But some of the largest and most important are thus omitted and one may fairly suspect that here οἱ τοὺς περιπλοῦς . . . ἐπιγράψαντες failed him, and he did not deem it worth while to investigate further—as he seems to have done in the case of the Elean Samos (p. 347). Of the Cephissus he says (p. 400), χειμαρρῶδης τὸ πλεόν, θέρους δὲ μειοῦται τελέως. But the Cephissus is never wholly dry “even in the most scorching heat of summer” (Frazer *Paus.* II, p. 492; Plut. *Sulla* 16), and, as we have seen, Strabo was in Corinth in the spring.

In his description of Boeotia Strabo speaks of the Melas River as (p. 407) ῥέοντα διὰ τῆς Ἀλιαρτίας; which is manifestly impossible, since it courses the opposite side of the Copaic plain. He uses better authorities when he declares (p. 415) that the Melas is between Orchomenus and Aspledon. Of the same stream Strabo declares (p. 407) that now ἡφάνισται τελέως; in reality the Melas “is the only one which, after the lake has been drained, continues to flow across the whole width of the plain in a deep bed of its own” (Frazer *Paus.* V, p. 111).

Strabo further declares (p. 410):

νυνὶ δὲ μόνῃ (Thespia) συνέστηκε τῶν Βοιωτικῶν πόλεων καὶ Τάναγρα· τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἐρείπια καὶ ὀνόματα λείπεται.

In his own description of the individual towns he seems to forget this extravagant assertion, as will be seen, for example, in the following expressions: of Thebes (p. 403), οὐδὲ κώμης ἀξιολόγου τύπον σώζουσι; Graea (p. 404) ἐστὶ τόπος Ὀρωποῦ πλησίον; (*ibid.*) Mycalessus κεῖται δὲ παρ' ὁδόν; (*ibid.*) ὅπου νῦν ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ (Amphiaraus); (*ibid.*) Hyria τῆς Ταναγραίας νῦν ἐστὶ; (*ibid.*) Heleum ἐστὶ κώμη Ταναγρικῆ; (*ibid.*) Anthedon πόλις λιμένα ἔχουσα; (p. 408) Scolus ἐστὶ κώμη τῆς Παρασωπίας; (p. 411) Thisbe Θίσβαι νῦν λέγονται, οἰκεῖται δὲ μικρὸν ὑπὲρ

τῆς θαλάττης; (*ibid.*) Coronea ἐγγὺς τοῦ Ἑλικῶνός ἐστιν; (p. 413) Acraephium κεῖται ἐν ὕψει; (p. 414) Chaeronea ἐστὶν Ὀρχομενοῦ πλησίον, δέικνυται δὲ κἀνταῦθα ταφή; (*ibid.*) Lebadea ἐστίν, ὅπου μαντεῖον ἱδρυται, καταβαίνει δ' αὐτὸς ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος· κεῖται δὲ κ. τ. λ.; (*ibid.*) Leuctra ἐστίν, δέικνυται δὲ ὁ τόπος οὗτος κ. τ. λ. In part of these instances the author may be referring to the site in general without regard to present habitation. Yet in a few cases he specifies sites which he supposes to be deserted, as, Harma (p. 404), κώμη ἔρημος; Isus (p. 405), ἔχνη πόλεως; Haliartus (p. 411), νῦν οὐκέτι ἐστί; Onchestus (p. 412), ψιλός and ἱερὸν καὶ αὐτὸ ψιλόν.

On the whole, there is probably much error in Strabo's views on the desolation of Boeotian towns. Pausanias found most of the towns which Strabo names more or less inhabited. In the hundred and fifty years between the times of the two men some towns may have sprung up again, but this is not to be expected to any considerable extent. Furthermore, we have ample evidence as to the existence of cities which Strabo thinks deserted. On the authority of the Pseudo-Dicaearchus, in a work written not long before Strabo's day, we learn of flourishing settlements at Oropus, Tanagra, Plataea, Thebes, and Anthedon—probably also at Coronea, Onchestus, and Haliartus (*Müller Frag. Hist. Graec.* II, pp. 254 ff.; *Fuhr Dicaearchi Frag.*, pp. 140 ff.; cf. *Frazer Paus.* I, pp. xliii ff.). Again in the case of Haliartus, where, in addition to his general statement (see above), Strabo specifically declares (p. 411) νῦν οὐκέτι ἐστί, we have inscriptional evidence to the contrary (*Frazer Paus.* V, p. 166). Of the grove of Onchestus, which Strabo says was bare in his time, Pausanias declares (ix. 26. 5): ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ναός τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ποσειδῶνος ἐλείπετο Ὀρχηστίου καὶ τὸ ἄλσος δὲ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐπήνεσε. *Frazer* suggests (*Paus.* I, p. xciii) that the trees might have sprung up again between the times of Strabo and Pausanias. But in view of Strabo's many mistakes, we may reasonably suppose him in error here also (cf. also *Plut. Sulla, passim*).

In regard to Phocis the situation is similar—the treatment of Delphi has been discussed. Strabo's description, in the first place, omits several important cities, which were flourishing in

in Pausanias' time and probably earlier. Of these are Tithorea, a small but growing town in Sulla's day (Plut. *Sulla* 15) and able to set up a statue to Nerva in 98 A. D. (Frazer *Paus.* V, p. 405); Amphiclea (*ibid.*, pp. 420 ff.); and Stiris, shown by an inscription to have been prosperous as late as the first half of the second century B. C. (*ibid.*, pp. 446 ff.).

Strabo gives Medeum (p. 410) a location inconsistent with that of Pausanias and with the known union between this town and Stiris (Frazer *Paus.* V, p. 453). Crisa is located on the coast (pp. 416, 418) between Cirrha and Anticyra, instead of near *Chryso* on the mountain-side (Frazer *Paus.* V, pp. 459 ff.). Abae (p. 423) is placed not far from Medeum, Ambrysus, Pharygium, and sites on the Bay of *Aspra Spitia*, while, in fact, it is far across the state near the boundary of Locris—and all these places are set near Ascra, which is farther away than Abae. Elatea is supposed (p. 418) ἐπικεῖσθαι τοῖς στενοῖς καὶ τὸν ἔχοντα ταύτην ἔχειν τὰς εἰσβολὰς τὰς εἰς τὴν Φωκίδα καὶ τὴν Βοιωτίαν, while it really lies at the head of a narrow glen on the edge of a large plain and not in the pass at all (Frazer *Paus.* V, p. 428). The discrepancy between Strabo's statement (p. 418; cf. pp. 407, 424) that this city is πασῶν μεγίστη τῶν ἐνταῦθα πόλεων, and that of Pausanias (x. 34. 1), μεγίστη πόλεων ἐστὶ τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ γε τοὺς Δελφοὺς, must be noted. As Frazer remarks (*loc. cit.*): "The relative sizes of the two cities may have altered between the time of Strabo and the time of Pausanias." The fact that Strabo agrees with such writers as Harpocration, Suidas, and Stephanus Byzantius is of little moment.

Quite as important as the quotations and errors that have been discussed is the fact that Strabo's entire description of Greece lacks the touch of the first-hand observer. Paucity of detail and dryness of expression betray everywhere the lack of personal knowledge, in marked contrast with the account of Pausanias and with Strabo's own narrative of places that he had visited, as, for example, Rome and Egypt. This might be illustrated by numerous comparisons, but one will suffice—the parallel accounts of Pausanias and Strabo touching the oracle of Trophonius at

Lebadea. The picture of the former (portrayed in three Teubner pages, ix, chap. 39) is most vivid. The story of the preliminary sacrifices, the baths, the anointings, the draughts of holy water, the difficult descent on one's back through the opening, and one's memorable feelings when within the cavern, makes almost needless the remarks with which he closes, *γράφω δὲ οὐκ ἀκουήν, ἀλλὰ ἐτέρους τε ἰδὼν καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ Τροφωνίῳ χρησάμενος*. With this compare the meager account of Strabo (p. 414):

Λεβάδεια δ' ἐστίν, ὅπου Διὸς Τροφωνίων μαντεῖον ἴδρυται, χάσματος ὑπονόμου κατάβασιν ἔχον, καταβαίνει δ' αὐτὸς ὁ χρηστηριζόμενος.

And to heighten the contrast one may read Strabo's excellent description of the Plutonium at Hierapolis in Phrygia (pp. 629 f.), a natural phenomenon somewhat comparable with the Lebadean oracle.

Tozer remarks (*History of Ancient Geography*, p. 241) in this connection that "the fulness of detail with which he has delineated that town [Corinth] contrasts strangely with his notices of the rest of the country." Even a casual reading of the *Helladica* will show this to be true. Strabo's complete narrative of Corinth mentions a number of interesting sites and fills six Teubner pages. Argos is treated in as many lines. The topography of Athens requires less than a page—most of this borrowed from Hegesias and Polemo. Megara is hardly more than mentioned. A single line suffices for Sparta. The inference is evident.

The conclusion to which we are led by the facts here outlined has already been stated, and corresponds with the theory of Niese. Strabo's *Helladica* is essentially literary in plan and in execution. No claim for the author's personal observation is made by him, except in the case of Corinth, and the evidence indicates that Corinth is the only site that he visited. The bearing of this conclusion on our use of Strabo's unsupported testimony in archaeological and topographical investigation is sufficiently obvious.

IOWA CITY, IOWA

THE SYNTAX OF THE IMPERFECT INDICATIVE IN EARLY LATIN

BY ARTHUR LESLIE WHEELER

In his *Studien und Kritiken zur lateinischen Syntax*, I. Teil, Mainz, 1904, Dr. Heinrich Blase has devoted considerable space to my article, "The Imperfect Indicative in Early Latin" (*American Journal of Philology* XXIV [1903], pp. 163 ff.). Since Blase professes to present the substance of my article, except to the 'relatively few' German scholars who have access to the American periodical, and since he makes a number of errors in mere citation and statement, it becomes necessary for me in self-defense to make some corrections.¹ But apart from these errors of detail, which will be pointed out at the proper places, Blase disagrees with some of the more important conclusions of my paper and it is with the purpose of elucidating these views in the light of his criticism and contributing something more, if possible, to a better understanding of the problem that I offer the present discussion.

The functions of the imperfect indicative in early Latin may be summarized as follows:

I. The Progressive² or True Imperfect, comprising several types or varieties:

A. Simple Progressive.

1. *dicebat* = "he was saying."

¹That such corrections are justifiable is proved by the fact that R. Wimmerer, who knows my article only through Blase's presentation, reproduces several of Blase's incorrect statements. I regret the unavoidable delay in the publication of this paper the less because it has enabled me to use Wimmerer's article, "Zum Indikativ im Hauptsätze irrealen Bedingungsperioden," *Wiener Studien* XXVII (1906, publ. Feb. 10, 1906), pp. 260 ff. The first four pages of his article are devoted to a general discussion of Blase's critique of my views.

²In this paper technical terms will be used as follows: progressive = German *vor sich gehendes* (less exactly *fortschreitendes*); continuative or durative = *währendes*; nature or kind of action = *Aktionsart*; shifted = *verschobenes*; descriptive = *schilderndes*; reminiscent = *erzählendes* (see p. 365); relation (relative, etc.) = *Beziehung*, etc. Other terms are, it is hoped, intelligible or will be defined as they occur.

The nature of the action may be either 'progressive' or continuative (durative). The time is past, but the period covered by the action of the tense may vary with the circumstances described from an instantaneous point to any required length. The time is contemporaneous with, usually more extensive than, the time of some other act or state expressed or implied. When the tense-action is continuative and extends into the immediate past or, by inference, the present of the speaker, I would distinguish a sub-class:

a) The Imperfect of the Immediate Past:

dicebat = "he was saying" or "he's been saying."

The action may or may not be interrupted by something in the context. If interrupted, it ends sharply and we may term the tense the "interrupted" type of this immediate past.

2. The Descriptive Imperfect (better, the imperfect used in description).

dicebat = "he was saying" (in English often rendered by "said").

This is in its purest form a simple progressive imperfect employed in the vivid presentation of past actions or states.

3. The Reminiscent Imperfect (better, the imperfect used in reminiscence).

dicebat = "he was saying" (as I remember, or as you will remember).

In this usage the imperfect is a simple progressive implying an appeal to the recollection of the speaker or hearer.

B. Customary Past Type.

dicebat = "he used to say, would say, was in the habit of saying, etc."

The nature of the action is the same as in A except that with the aid of the context there is an implication that the act or state recurred on more than one (usually many) occasions. These recurrences are usually at some considerable distance in the past and contrasted with the present, but cases of the immediate past usage (A 1 a) with customary coloring occur.

¹Hoffmann *Zeitpartikeln*², p. 185, characterizes excellently this feature of the imperfect: "die *actio infecta, pendens*, die Handlung in der Phase ihres Vollzuges, ein Geschehenes im Verlaufe seines Geschehens, ein Vergangenes Sein noch während seines Bestehens."

C. The Frequentative or Iterative Type.

dicebat = "he kept saying" (at intervals very close together).

This type is like B, except that it has no customary element and the repetitions refer to one situation within comparatively narrow limits of time.

The link connecting all these varieties with one another is the progressive function.¹

II. The Aoristic Imperfect.

aībat = "he said" (equivalent to *dixit*, aoristic perfect).

The time is still past, but the progressive force is lost.

III. The Shifted Imperfect.

debebat = "he ought" (now).

The time is shifted to the present and the progressive force is very much weakened, in some cases wholly lost, because of the auxiliary character of the verbs involved.

For a more detailed treatment of the foregoing classes (except the imperfect in reminiscence) I must refer to *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, pp. 163 ff. In what follows I shall select certain points for discussion by way of elucidation and supplement to what was said there.

THE IMPERFECT OF THE IMMEDIATE PAST

The simplest progressive usage is well enough understood, but the usage termed by me the imperfect of the immediate past or interrupted imperfect² calls for some remarks. As a type of this imperfect in its interrupted form cf. Plautus *Cas.* 178: *nam ego ibam ad te.—et hercle ego istuc ad te.* Here the action is conceived as continuing until interrupted by the meeting of the speakers. The fact of the interruption does not, of course, inhere in the tense but is inferred from the context. Indeed, the interruption may not occur at all, as will be seen by comparing the second type, e. g., *Stich.* 328 f.: *ego quid me velles visebam. nam mequidem harum miserebat.* Here *visebam* is interrupted like *ibam* above,

¹The nature of the action seems to me the most distinctive feature of the tenses. In this I differ radically from Cauer, who considers contemporaneousness the essential feature of the imperfect, cf. *Grammatica militans*, 1903, pp. 93, 94, against Methner, whose *Untersuchungen zur lat. Tempus- und Moduslehre*, Berlin, 1901, I have not seen.

²R. Wimmerer *Wien. Stud.*, 1905, p. 262, Anm. 2, calls attention to the fact that this imperfect of the immediate past in its interrupted form is still common in Italian.

but the action of *miserebat* is conceived as continuing not only up to the immediate past, but into and in the present of the speaker. But again this continuance *in the present* is not inherent in the tense; it is inferred from the context. The nature of the action is in both these types still progressive, or more exactly, continuative, but temporally stress is laid on that period of time immediately preceding or even extending into the present.¹

In this usage the Romans possessed a somewhat inexact substitute for the English progressive perfect definite, e. g., *mequidem . . . harum miserebat* = (practically) "I've been pitying," a form which, like the Latin, may be used in the proper context to indicate that the pity still continues in the present.² On the other hand, the English "I was pitying," superficially a more exact rendering, does not so clearly indicate this continuance in the present, though "I was going to your house, etc." is an exact rendering of *Cas. 178*.

Blase himself has collected some exactly similar cases,³ of which he says:

Das Imperf. wird gelegentlich auch von Zuständen gebraucht die zwar in der Gegenwart des Redenden noch fortdauern aber nur mit Beziehung auf die Vergangenheit genannt worden: Plaut. As. 392 quid quaeritas? Demaenetum volebam . . . Das Wollen dauert fort, aber hier ist es nur in Beziehung auf die in Gedanken vorschwebende vorausgehende Zeit bis zur Ankunft vor dem Hause gebraucht.

¹ Blase (*Kritik*, p. 6) misrepresents my statement concerning this usage. He cites from my paper *Stich. 328*, apparently as given by me in illustration of both the progressive use in its simplest form and of this immediate past usage, although it was used as an illustration of the immediate past usage only. Again he quotes me as believing that in the immediate past usage the action takes place within exactly defined limits ("genau bestimmten Gränzen"). Here is a twofold error. My statement (*Am. Jour. Phil. XXIV*, p. 168) is "fairly definite limits" and refers to the simple progressive usage, not to the immediate past usage. Blase's critique confuses the two usages.

² There are traces of a tendency on the part of the Romans to express these shades of thought with greater exactness, e. g., by the combination of a present participle with the copula, Plautus *Capt. 925*: quae adhuc te carens dum hic fui sustentabam. Here *carens . . . fui* is exactly equivalent to the English "I've been lacking," whereas *sustentabam* is inexactly equivalent to "I've been supporting." But Latin did not develop such expressions as *carens . . . fui* into real tenses, and remained content with the less exact imperfect, cf. also *iam diu*, etc., with the present. See *Am. Jour. Phil. XXIV*, p. 185, and Blase *Hist. Syntax*, p. 256. A complete collection of such cases would be interesting. I would add here *Amph. 132*: cupiens est, *Rud. 943*: sum indigens, and cf. the verse-close *ut tu sis sciens* (*Poen. 1038*), etc.

³ *Hist. Syntax III*, 1903, *Tempora und Modi*, p. 148, Anm. This book had not reached me when my article in *Am. Jour. Phil. XXIV* was written.

With the first part of this statement I fully agree, but is it true that in *As.* 395 the imperfect is used "nur mit Beziehung auf die Vergangenheit, etc." ? If, as Blase says, "das Wollen dauert fort," then we are forced to say that the imperfect is used not merely with reference to the past, but with reference to the present.¹ The speaker really has in mind both past and present, and uses the imperfect to express this double temporal sense, the action continuing from the past into the present, because at the moment of speaking the past is somewhat more prominent. The tense is, therefore, as explained above, only an approximate expression of the thought. Had the present been more prominent, other elements being equal, some expression like *iam diu volo* would have been employed.

Blase asserts (*Kritik*, p. 6) that my statement that the speaker has in mind both beginning and end of the action is not capable of proof. It is true, I think, that the speaker has usually no definite point in mind at which the action began. He simply indicates the action as beginning somewhere in the past and continuing in the present. But in the very numerous "interrupted" cases he has in mind a sharply defined end of the action.² Blase's criticism seems justified, then, only with reference to those cases of which *Stich.* 328, *harum miserebat* is a type.

But Blase classifies cases of this usage under no less than three different heads in his *Tempora und Modi*. In addition to the case cited above, *As.* 392 *volebam*, which he interprets, as I have tried to show, almost correctly, he cites (p. 146) *Trin.* 400: *sed*

¹ Cf. also the use of *nunc*, etc., with some of the cases: Plautus *Merc.* 884; quo *nunc ibas?* *ibid.* 197, Ter. *Andr.* 657 f.: *iam censebam*.

² R. Wimmerer *Wien. Stud.*, 1906, p. 262, says: "So halte ich . . . die Konstatierung eines." imperfect of the immediate past or the interrupted imperfect, "für einen glücklichen Gedanken," though he would not make a special type of this use. It seems to me so common (about 200 cases) as to deserve the degree of special notice which I have given it (*Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, pp. 168 f.). He adds in a note: "Hier tut Blase m. E. Wheeler einigermassen unrecht, wenn er dessen Behauptung, dass der Sprecher in diesen Fällen Anfang und Ende der Handlung überschaue, unerweislich nennt. Wheeler kann dies mit Recht behaupten, wenn es sich um einen Gedanken handelt, der einen beherrschte bis zu dem Augenblick, wo man ihn konstatiert," pointing out also that Blase would be justified only in criticizing the form of my expression so far as I wished to apply it to the cursive "Aktionsart" (i. e., those cases where there is no interruption?).

aperiuntur aedes, quo *ibam*¹ as "erzählendes" (p. 148), *Merc.* 885: quo nunc *ibas* as "sogenannt. Conatus." The function of the tense is essentially the same in all these cases, the only variant being the presence or absence of interruption which is inferred in all cases from the context.

Since Blase classifies so many of these cases under the head of the conative imperfect, a consideration of that usage seems here in place.

A "conative" imperfect ought to mean an imperfect which expresses attempted action, but since there is no trace, at least in early Latin (cf. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, pp. 179, 180), of such a function, the term is a bad one.² Why then retain it, as Blase does, for those imperfects which express "den währenden, aber nicht zu Ende, geführten Handlung?" These imperfects are chiefly of the type which I have termed "interrupted," where the context implies it, or imperfects of the "immediate past," where there is no interruption.³ In neither case is there anything more than a simple variation of the progressive (here more exactly continuative) imperfect.

But most of Blase's cases are not even of this idiomatic interrupted or immediate past variety. They are simple progressives in contexts which imply that the action was interrupted⁴ or not

¹*ibam* occurs often in this use: *Truc.* 921, *Cas.* 178, 594, *Merc.* 885, *Tri.* 400, etc.; cf. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, pp. 168-70.

²Blase *Syntax*, p. 148, recognizes the inexactness of the term by his expression, "sogenannten Conatus." In Greek its unfitness is well expressed by Mutzbauer (cited by Blase *Kritik*, p. 10, and Delbrück, *Vergl. Syntax* II, p. 306): "Ungenau werden solche Imperfekta conatus bezeichnet, von einem Versuch liegt in der Form nichts" (*Grundlagen der griech. Tempuslehre*, p. 45); cf. now Wimmerer *Wien. Stud.*, 1906, p. 264: "In der Form liegt allerdings von einem Versuche nichts."

³Wimmerer *Wien. Stud.*, 1906, pp. 263, 264, remarks that he does not see why Blase appears to think that there is a difference between his conception of the imperfect *de conatu* and mine. Blase says (*Kritik*, p. 11), after defining these imperfects as above: "Die hier vertretene Anschauung scheint mehr auf die Imperfekta zu passen, die Wheeler," the interrupted imperfect "nennt." This is the case, so far as Blase confines his citations to instances of the interrupted type. There is, then, no essential difference in our interpretation of the function of the tense in these cases. Blase clings, apparently against his will, to the old terminology to which everybody seems to object, whereas I would group these cases under a new term which seems to me more exact. But Blase does not, as it seems to me, group together all the cases that belong together.

⁴I use interrupted here not of what has been termed the "interrupted" usage, whose distinctive feature lies in the fact that the time is in the immediate past, but as

completed: *Men.* 564 *pallam ad phrygionem deferebat* (Peniculus simply depicts Menaechmus as he had last seen him; cf. 469: *pallam ad phrygionem fert*); Cic. *Sulla* 49 *consulatus vobis pariebatur* (just like all the other imperfects in the passage—progressive of the descriptive variety); *id. Milo* 9: *interfectus ab eo est, cui vim afferebat* (simple progressive, the interruption being expressed by *interfectus est*); *id. Ligar.* 24: *veniebatis in Africam* (progressive, the interruption being implied in *prohibiti*¹ five lines below); Caesar *B. G.* v. 9. 6: *ipsi ex silvis rari propugnabant nostrosque intra munitiones ingredi prohibebant* (but *prohibebant* is exactly like *propugnabant*—both were interrupted by the act expressed by *ceperunt* in the next sentence, and note the verb-meaning); Sallust *Jug.* 27. 1: *atrocitatem facti leniebant. at ni, etc.* (progressive—they were in the act of mitigating, but, etc.); *ibid.* 29. 3 *redimebat* (progressive); Livy xxi. 17. 7: *mittebatur* (progressive); Florus 1. 10. 1: *nam Porsenna . . . aderat et Tarquinius manu reducebat. hunc reppulit* (progressive in description—that the act did not succeed is shown by *reppulit*); Curtius vi. 7. 11: *alias . . . effeminatum et muliebrieter timidum appellans, nunc ingentia promittens . . . versabat animo tanto facinore procul abhorrentem* (again graphic description: there is here nothing in the immediate context to show that an effect was or was not produced. In fact *versare animum* does not mean necessarily *to succeed in turning one's mind*, but merely *to work on one's mind*; cf. Livy i. 58. 3: *Tarquinius . . . versare muliebrem animum in omnes partes*, where *versare* sums up the preceding infinitives, but no effect is produced. So in Curtius, *loc. cit.*, *versabat* has the same kind of action as is indicated by the participles *appellans . . . promittens*, which are summed up in *versabat*); Ammianus xvi. 12. 29: *his et similibus notos pariter et ignotos ad faciendum fortiter accendebat* (again graphic description, cf. *ibid.* xvi. 32: *his exhortationibus adiuwabat*).

referring to interruptions in the more distant past. Where the interruption belongs to the immediate past I have so indicated in the following criticism.

¹ Surely the hearer in such a case as this would not have connected even the idea of "nicht zu Ende geführten Handlung" with *veniebatis* until he heard *prohibiti*, i. e., the interruption belongs purely to the context and not the immediate context at that. This is true of many other so-called conative imperfects.

Vergil *Aen.* i. 31: *arcebat* longe Latio, cf. *errabant* (graphic description=what Juno "was doing" at the time, and only the outcome of the story proves that she did not succeed). *Ibid.* 239: hoc equidem occasum Troiae tristisque ruinas *solabar*, fatis contraria fata rependens; *nunc* eadem fortuna viros *insequitur* (immediate past with customary coloring, cf. contrast in *nunc*=I have been in the habit of comforting but now, etc. This is one of the transitional cases between the pure customary part and the pure immediate past; cf. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, p. 186, where Plautus, *Rud.* 1123: *dudum* dimidiam *petebas* partem. immo *nunc* peto; *Men.* 729: at mihi *negabas* *dudum* surripuisse te, *nunc* ea<n>dem ante oculos, attines, are cited. In both of these passages, though there is no customary coloring, there is the same contrast between continuance in the past and the present as in Vergil *loc. cit.* Blase would probably term both of the Plautus passages "erzählende"). Tacitus *Ann.* i. 6. 3 *trudebantur* in paludem ni Caesar, etc. (a very common form of graphic description in Tacitus=the soldiers were being crowded into but (*ni*) i. e., the effect was partly produced, but was prevented, cf. Sallust *Jug.* 27. 1 above).

In all these cases, then, I can see no essential alteration in the function of the tense. The idea "der nicht zu Ende geführten Handlung" is derived in each case wholly from the context and there is no reason for making a special category of imperfects which happen to occur in contexts of this kind. Moreover, the meaning of the verb has often been overlooked, e. g., *prohibebant* (Caesar *B. G. loc. cit.*) may easily, with but slight aid from the context, express "die nicht zu Ende geführte Handlung;" cf. *redimebat*, *mittebatur*, *versabat*, etc.

Whether the idea of real attempted action ever became connected functionally with the imperfect remains to be investigated. Certainly this did not occur in early Latin, and I doubt whether it ever occurred. Among the cases cited by Blase are two which more closely approximate this idea than any others. These are Sallust *Jug.* 29. 3: sed Jugurtha primo tantummodo belli moram *redimebat*, existumans sese aliquid interim Romae pretio aut gratia effecturum; postea vero quam, etc.; cf. Florus i. 10. 1: *reducebat*.

It is hard for us to feel the progressive force as the more prominent in such cases. We regard as more important the attempt which is implied in the context, but the Romans preferred to represent the act graphically as in progress, leaving the idea that it was not successful to be inferred. When a Roman wished clearly to express attempt (real *conatus*), he chose a clear conative expression,¹ e. g., *conari* with infinitive.

THE IMPERFECT IN DESCRIPTION AND REMINISCENCE²

In strict accuracy we ought not to speak of a "descriptive" imperfect, but of the progressive imperfect in description. The term "descriptive" imperfect would be justified only in case we could distinguish from the simple progressives those cases in which the tense is used purely for graphic presentation of actions which might more naturally have been indicated by the perfect. Such a distinction may often be drawn, especially after the development of a consciously artistic style, but the separation would be worth little since the progressive function is equally characteristic of both. The tense was chosen for graphic purposes because its progressive function made it the most vivid of the past tenses.

The chief difference between Blase's treatment here and my own will become evident from a consideration of his definition (*Hist. Syntax*, p. 147):

Aber seiner Hauptverwendung nach ist das Imperf. im latein. ein Tempus der Schilderung geworden welches einmal im Nebensatz seine Stelle hat zur Bezeichnung von Zuständen und Handlungen, die während anderer genannter Zuständen und Handlungen dauerten, und dann im Hauptsatz bei Schilderungen von Zuständen, Sitten, Gebräuchen, welche in Beziehung stehen zu irgend einer vorher oder nachher genannten praeteritalen Handlung.

¹This whole question needs investigation. All the forms of expression of real *conatus* should be collected and compared with the tenses as has been done for "custom" by Miss E. M. Perkins *The Expression of Customary Past Action or State in Early Latin*, Bryn Mawr dissertation, 1904.

²"Reminiscence, reminiscent" are here proposed as equivalents for the German "Erzählung, erzählendes, etc.," since the English "narrative," whether noun or adjective, does not, as may the German "Erzählung," etc., imply an appeal to the memory or recollection. Blase points out (*Kritik*, p. 12) that I misunderstood the Latin equivalents *narratio*, etc., as employed by Rodenbusch (*De temporum usu Plautino*, Strassburg, 1888) who thus translates this peculiar German "Erzählung" into Latin. My error may seem pardonable under the circumstances.

This elevates the descriptive power of the imperfect to a higher position than seems to me justified, unless one defines all cases having the progressive function as descriptive which Blase evidently does not do, for he makes separate categories of the "erzählendes" (reminiscent) function and, as has been seen, of the conative,¹ in all of which he recognizes the nature of the action as progressive.

Again it is to be noted that he speaks of the 'description of customs,' etc., i. e., he does not regard the use of the imperfect to indicate customary action as important enough even for a subclass, although he makes at least varieties of the reminiscent and conative uses. I shall take up this point more fully below,² merely remarking here that the cases usually termed customary are fully as peculiar as those termed by Blase conative and far more numerous, at least in early Latin.

I would, then, understand as an imperfect used in description one which is used in a descriptive passage to present any act or state vividly to the hearer or reader. What Blase's conception is, I can not discover. He appears to make a distinction (*Kritik*, p. 7) between "Erzählung"³ (=here "narrative"?) and "Schildierung" (=description), e. g., in Plautus *Bacch.* 258-307, *Capt.* 497-515, Terence *Andr.* 48ff., 74-102—passages which I had cited as descriptive,⁴ he sees "reine Erzählung, keine Schildierung." On the other hand, in Terence *Phorm.* 60-135, which I had also cited, he sees "eine Erzählung mit einzelnen Situationsmalereien." Without quibbling over our characterization of the

¹ "Conative" is used in this passage merely as representing Blase's classification.

² With regard to Blase's peculiar distinction between imperfects in dependent and independent clauses I would remark that in the study of probably two or three thousand cases of the tense I have never been able to see any essential difference in function due to the presence of a case in a dependent clause, cf. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, p. 166, n. 1. And certainly customs, etc. ("Sitten, Gebrauchen") may be described in a subordinate clause as well as in an independent clause.

³ If "Erzählung" is here used by Blase in its technical sense as explained on p. 365, note, my objections are strengthened, for there is certainly no special "appeal to recollection" in the imperfects of these passages. One might as well say that the descriptive presents and infinitives (so-called historical) in the *Bacchides* passage, etc., are different from the same usages in, say, Livy, because here the speaker is supposed to be telling of personal experiences, which is chronologically impossible in Livy's case.

⁴ Some of the imperfects are primarily customary.

passages in question let us consider the main point, so far as it can be discerned in Blase's discussion; that there is to him some difference between the imperfects in the first group of passages and those in the *Phorm.* 60-135. With his characterization of the latter passage I agree, and I had classified the imperfects in it as imperfects used in description ("Situationsmalereien").¹ But what is the difference in the effect of imperfects in this passage and those in the *Bacchides* or those, to take a typical passage from Blase's *Tempora und Modi*, in Caesar *Bell. civ. i. 62. 3*? I give the essential parts of the three passages:

Phorm. 80 ff.: hic Phaedia continuo quandam nactus est puellulam hanc amare coepit ea *serviebat* lenoni neque quod daretur quicquam *restabat* aliud nil nisi oculos pascere, nos otiosi *operam dabamus*² in quo *discebat* ludo exadvorsum ilico tonstrina erat quaedam, etc.

Bacch. 279 ff.: dum circumspecto, atque ego lembun conspicio is *erat* communis cum hospite et praedonibus is nostrae navi *insidias dabat*. ocepi ego opservare interea nostra navis solvitur homines remigio sequi, navem extemplo statuimus

Caesar *Bell. civ. i. 62. 3* (in which Blase expressly characterizes *nuntiabatur*, etc., *reperiebat* as "schildernde," cf. *Syntax* III, p. 147): Caesar huc iam reduxerat rem, ut equites, etsi difficultate, fiebat, possent tamen flumen transire, pedites vero ad transeundum impediuntur. sed tamen eodem fere tempore pons in Hiberno prope effectus *nuntiabatur*, etc.

To me there is no difference between the imperfects in the passages of the *Phormio* and *Bellum civile*, on the one hand, and those of the *Bacchides*, *Captivi*, and *Andria* on the other. All seem to me to be progressive imperfects in description, some are also customary (see the collection) and have been classified under that head as the more important element. Is it not better to separate such cases as *Phorm.* 87 *operam dabamus*, 90 *solebamus* from the progressive-descriptive types than to group all together,³ as is done by Blase?⁴

¹This term refers to the imperfects, I suppose, though Blase does not specify exactly what he means.

²Primarily customary.

³Blase apparently takes a similar view of the frequentative imperfect; cf. *Kritik*, p. 7 and see below.

⁴In his *Kritik*, p. 7 Blase attempts to refute my assertion that the words of Quadrigarius are not exactly given by Gellius ix. 11 by pointing to the words of Gellius: ea res

The usage termed by Blase "erzählendes," for which I have proposed in English the term "reminiscent," seems to me to be closely related to the so-called descriptive imperfect. Blase not only considers this an important variety (*Syn.* III, pp. 145-47), but is inclined to regard it as perhaps an original function.¹ According to his definition (*Syn.*, *loc. cit.* after Delbrück) the imperfect is thus used "wenn der Sprechende etwas aus seiner persönlichen Erinnerung mitteilt oder an die persönliche Erinnerung des Angeredeten appelliert." Both the descriptive and reminiscent uses, therefore, result from the use of the progressive function to represent a past act vividly. The reminiscent effect is due to the fact that in this usage the past acts are restricted to those which concern the *personal experience* of the speaker or hearer; it is a more intimate usage. As clear cases I cite from Blase's list: Cicero *Rep.* iii. 43; ergo ubi tyrannus est, ibi non vitiosam, ut heri *dicebam*, sed ut nunc ratio cogit, dicendum est plane nullam esse rem publicam. Here Cicero clearly indicates that he is repeating the substance of his own words of the day before—"as I was saying yesterday, let me remind you."² So Catullus 30. 7: eheu quid faciant, dic, homines, cuive habeant fidem? certo tute *iubebas* animam tradere, inique, me idem nunc retrahis te, etc., where the poet reminds his friend (?) of the latter's advice. In both cases the progressive force is clear, and, as Blase says, the tenses stand in no clear temporal relation to any preterite in their context. Now since the peculiar

. . . . sic *profecto* est in libris annalibus memorata. But *profecto* refers to the *content*, not to the *exact words* of the passage in the *libri annales*. And when Gellius gives a word-for-word citation, he introduces it by more definite language, cf. ix. 13. 6 *verba* Q. Claudii *adscripti*. In ix. 11 he is almost certainly paraphrasing, cf. *haut quisquam est nobilium scriptorum*, and *in libris annalibus*. This is the opinion of Hertz, who prints this passage in ordinary type. The name of Quadrigarius is not given, but Gellius was probably taking the substance of the account from him. I have excluded this passage from the certain remains of early Latin.

¹ *Kritik*, p. 15: "War die vorliterarische Periode des Lateinischen ähnlich der des Alt-Indischen (vgl. Delbrück, p. 272) und des Alt-Griechischen (Brugmann *Gr. Gr.* 3, § 539. 2), so haben wir in den Resten des erzählenden Gebrauchs ebenfalls eine uralte Verwendung zu sehen;" cf. pp. 49 f.

² The English imperfect is employed in the same way, e. g., "The facts are as follows, as I was saying yesterday," or in vulgar expressions like "Warn't I tellin' ye?" Usually the time is defined by some adverb as by *heri* in Cicero. Notice, too, the contrast between past and present as expressed in both passages by *nunc*.

appeal to recollection is the distinguishing feature of this reminiscent imperfect, it would seem proper to confine the usage to those cases in which such an appeal is clear. Without discussing doubtful cases I content myself with indicating those found in Blase's lists which seem to me clearly *not* reminiscent. Plautus *Tri.* 400: *sed aperiuntur aedes quo ibam*¹ (an immediate past of the interrupted type). In the same category I would place Cicero *Att.* i. 10. 2: *quod ego etsi mea sponte ante faciebam, eo nunc tamen et agam studiosius et contendam*—except that here the action of *faciebam* is not interrupted, but is continued in the present, cf. *agam et contendam*. Other immediate pasts are Ovid *Fasti* i. 50: *qui iam fastus erit, mane nefastus erat*; *ibid.* 718: *si qua parum Romam terra timebat, amet*; *ibid.* ii. 79: *quem modo caelatum stellis Delphina videbas, is fugiet visus nocte sequente tuos (notice modo)*; *ibid.* 147: *en etiam si quis Borean horrere solebat, gaudeat; a zephyris mollior aura venit*. Varro *R. r.* iii. 2. 14: *libertus eius, qui apparuit Varroni et me absente patrono accipiebat, in annos singulos plus quinquagena milia e villa capere dicebat*. Here *accipiebat* seems simply progressive and (also against Blase) contemporaneous with *vidi* just above. *dicebat* is difficult and may, as Blase says, be reminiscent; cf. the exact details given by the speaker; or did the phrase *in annos singulos* influence the choice of the tense? So in Cic. *Off.* i. 108: *erat* in L. Crasso, . . . multus lepos . . . ; 109: *sunt* his alii multi multum dispaes . . . qui nihil ex occulto, nihil de insidiis agendum putant . . . ut Sullam et M. Crassum *videbamus*, the imperfect seems to be progressive used in description. In Ovid *Fast.* viii. 331: *et pecus antiquus dicebat* 'Agonio' sermo, the imperfect seems to be customary; cf. *antiquus* and Paulus s. v. Agonium: Agonium dies *appellabatur* quo rex hostiam *immolabat*; hostiam enim antiqui agoniam *vocabant*.

But however much the interpretation of single cases may vary, this is clear: the progressive force is discernible in all these cases. It would be better, therefore, to content ourselves with this and not to discover an additional appeal to recollection, unless such force is perfectly clear, since the real imperfect function is not altered whether the reminiscent force be present or absent.

¹ Cf. p. 359.

One more remark needs to be made concerning the reminiscent imperfect. This category has served as a convenient catch-all for many cases of the imperfect which are difficult to classify and especially for those in which it is difficult or impossible to discern any progressive force, many of which I have classified as aoristic. To classify these last cases as reminiscent is doubly wrong; first, because it usually involves a *petitio principii*, i. e., an effort to discover imperfect function because the form is imperfect; secondly, because the reminiscent coloring is connected only with instances in which the imperfect (progressive) function is clear. The shadowy appeal to memory does not exist as a separate function.¹

THE IMPERFECT OF CUSTOMARY PAST ACTION

It has already been pointed out that Blase would not elevate this variety of the progressive imperfect to the dignity of a subclass. The tense, however, occurs so often in the expression of custom, habit, method, etc., that it seems to me worthy of separation from other varieties of the progressive. In early Latin I have counted about 450 instances in which the customary coloring seems to me the most prominent element (see the table).

Blase (*Kritik*, p. 9) has objected to my statement (*Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, p. 176) that verbs whose meaning implies repetition (*vocito*) or even custom (*soleo*) are especially well adapted to the expression of the customary past function. He gives no reason with regard to the first group, *vocito*, etc., where the meaning is connected with the form. With regard to *soleo*, etc., he says only that the reciprocal influence of verb-meaning and tense-function appears "nicht nachweisbar, da doch der Verfasser selbst ihr seltenes Vorkommen im Imperfekt natürlich findet, weil sie in jedem Tempus der Vergangenheit 'the customary past function' ausdrücken." There appears here to be some misunderstanding on Blase's part and perhaps my statement was too brief. I did not mean by reciprocal influence of verb-meaning and tense-function that the tense *borrow*s anything, as Blase seems to understand me, from the meaning of the verb, but that when a verb whose meaning implies repetition or custom occurs

¹ See p. 378 for further remarks.

in the imperfect tense, the expression of custom becomes especially clear. The meaning of the verb and the function of the tense are mutually helpful to the expression of the thought.¹ Verbs like *appello, voco, vocito, dico* (= "name") imply not merely a single act of naming, but usually many acts at intervals.² There are numerous instances of such verbs in the imperfect (see the collection) and nothing seems to me to be clearer than that these verbs are especially well adapted to the expression of custom—past, present, or future. If we compare Varro, *R. r. i.* 17. 2: *iique quos obaeratos nostri vocitarunt* with *id. L. L. v.* 162: *ubi cenabant, cenaculum vocitabant*, etc., we see that in the first case the tense merely states, while the verb-meaning, together with the context, gives the idea of custom or habit; in the second (*vocitabant*) the verb-meaning is reinforced by the imperfect tense—both aid in the expression of custom. This does not mean that a Roman more often used the imperfect tense of such verbs when he wished to express custom, but that when the imperfect was used, a clearer expression of customary past action resulted.³

As to *soleo, consuesco*, etc., the same principle holds, for custom and repetition are inseparably connected; but since these verbs imply by their meaning the very function (custom) in question, it is clear that the imperfect tense would occur more rarely. When, however, the imperfect was used, there was, just as in *vocito*, etc., a more emphatic expression of the customary idea; cf. *Phorm.* 90: *Tonstrina erat quaedam: hic solebamus fere plerumque eam opperiri . . .* Here tense, verb, and particles all lend their aid to the expression of the idea of custom or habit. The same idea would have been expressed less clearly by *hic fere plerumque opperiebamur*, or by *hic fere plerumque soliti sumus opperiri*, or by *hic opperiebamur*. In the last form only does the

¹Of. *Trans. Am. Philolog. Ass.* XXX (1899), p. 19, where I first expressed this view. That verbs like *soleo* "dominate the tense" (*ibid.*) I no longer believe; they aid the tense, but it is impossible to say whether the tense or the verb-meaning is more influential in the total effect. Of. also Morris, *Principles and Methods in Syntax*, 1901, p. 72.

²If the intervals are very close together without the implication of custom, I would classify as frequentative; see below.

³*Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, p. 177, n. 3, and the dissertation of Miss Perkins cited above, p. 365.

tense-form become entirely dissevered from the influence of verb-meaning and accompanying particles, and even here context is operative.¹

THE IMPERFECT OF FREQUENTATIVE OR ITERATIVE ACTION

The progressive function inherent in all true imperfects renders the tense well fitted to express repetition in the past. The repeated acts may naturally occur at wider or narrower intervals, as the case may require. All expressions of custom, for example, involve an idea of repetition, but it is only to cases of the imperfect which indicate an act as repeated insistently, usually at intervals very close together, that I would give the title "frequentative" or "iterative," i. e., imperfects in which this element of repetition becomes more prominent than any other. It seems to me that the existence of a few such cases in early Latin is not fanciful. In Plautus' *Captivi*, line 917: *aulas omnis confregit nisi quae modiales erant: cocum percontabatur, possentne seriae fervere,*² a single situation is described wherein the parasite repeatedly and insistently asked, kept asking, whether, etc. There is something more than mere progressive force, on the one hand, and there is no idea of habit or custom, on the other. The primary element of the tense is here repetition. When, therefore, Blase sees in *As.* 207 ff. repetition, he is right, for repetition in a general way is present in all cases of the customary imperfect; but he is wrong in viewing repetition as the more important element. The more important element seems to me custom and in accordance with this we ought to classify these cases as customary.³

¹ In a review of Miss Perkins' dissertation *Woch. f. kl. Phil.*, 1904, cols. 1277-80, Blase has since admitted the truth of my assertion with regard to the influence of verb-meaning: "Die Verbalbedeutung ist massgebend z. B. bei allen Verben, die 'nennen,' 'benennen,' bezeichnen, wie *appellare dicere vocare*, denn der Name entsteht durch ein gewohnheitsmässiges Nennen. Damit ist der Grund gegeben (by Miss Perkins) für eine Behauptung, die ich . . . bei Wheeler bezweifelt habe."

² Blase (*Kritik*, p. 10) misses among my cases *Rud.* 540, which was nevertheless cited, but escaped him because by a misprint the imperfect was not italicized. On the same page he cites ten passages and says that I "hier überall gewohnheitsmässige Handlungen erkenne." This is very inaccurate, unless "hier" refers to the last two passages, *As.* 207 ff., *Bacch.* 424—the only two of the list which I have classified as customary. My classification of the other eight passages may be seen by referring to the collection at the end of this paper.

³ Blase (*Kritik*, pp. 9, 10) seems to imply that I have said that the frequentative imperfect is commoner in later Latin. I have nowhere said this and my statement,

THE AORISTIC IMPERFECT

Excessive deference to the principle that a difference of form implies a difference of meaning and the well-known tendency of investigators to abhor an exception are chiefly responsible for the unwillingness of some scholars to admit that the imperfect occurs in Latin with no progressive force, i. e., as an aorist. While I can not pretend to criticize this method as applied to Sanskrit and Greek by Delbrück,¹ it seems to me that there are reasons against its application, in the same degree at least, to Latin. The situation in early Latin differs essentially from that in Sanskrit and in Greek. In the first place there is no 'great mass' of cases of the imperfect in which real progressive force is not discernible, and the cases (about sixty) are restricted almost entirely to two verbs, *aibam* and *eram*. This seems to indicate that the phenomenon arose on Latin ground alone and has its explanation in some peculiarity of the few verbs concerned. Again the greater wealth of tenses in Sanskrit and Greek would lead us *a priori* to expect

Am. Jour. Phil. XXIV, pp. 186, 187, "Latin seems . . . to have been unwilling to take that step," implies the opposite belief. When I added (*ibid.*, p. 187), "If the frequentative imperfect in early Latin is still in its infancy, etc.," it was naturally not implied that it ever passed out of its infancy! The facts in later Latin are not known because they are not collected. Wimmerer naturally repeats from Blase's *Kritik* both these errors (*Wien. Stud.*, 1906, p. 263). He, too, is of the opinion that it is of no advantage to separate so-called iterative imperfects from those of customary nature: "wenn doch in jedem Falle erst auf Grund des gewählten Tempus aus dem Zusammenhange erkannt wird, dass es sich um eine Gewohnheit handelt." To this it must be answered, first, that it is by no means always, and often not at all, on the basis of the tense that we recognize the presence of customary action. Such action may be expressed in many ways, the tense being but one element; and, secondly, if the cases interpreted by me as frequentative are really essentially different from any other variety of the progressive, then they should be classified separately, at least until it can be proved that they belong elsewhere.

¹ It will suffice to quote two of Delbrück's statements. He says of the Greek tenses: "Man muss sich eben mit der Erwägung begnügen, dass es einem Schriftsteller bald gut schien, zu konstatieren, bald zu erzählen, ohne dass wir uns seine Motive immer klar machen könnten" (*Vergl. Syn.* II, p. 304, cf. pp. 302, 303). A saner method is evinced *ibid.*, p. 304: "Den Unterschied zwischen Perfekt und Imperfekt (of Sanskrit) in den einzelnen Stellen nachzuweisen, sind wir nicht mehr im Stande." This is at least safe agnosticism, biding its time until the lost distinctions shall be found. Blase is in entire agreement even as regards Latin with the first statement of Delbrück, cf. *Kritik*, p. 12.

² Delbrück (*ibid.*, p. 304, of Greek): "Aber . . . bleibt doch auch eine grosse Menge von Stellen übrig, bei denen wir einen Grund für die Wahl des Tempus nicht ausfindig machen können."

in those languages a larger number of instances in which it is hard to differentiate similar tenses, whereas the much narrower tense-system of Latin exhibits a tendency to merge the functions of similar tenses, cf. the perfect in *-v-* with the reduplicated perfect and the formally aoristic perfect in *-s-*. In accordance with this preliterate development we should expect indications of the same tendency in the literary period. The aoristic imperfect *is*, I believe, an illustration of this tendency, resulting from the merging of the functions of imperfect and preterite (aorist) in certain verbs. The restricted range of the phenomenon and its probable explanation (see below) would make it unlikely that we are here dealing with a survival of an Indo-European confusion.

As illustrations of the aoristic usage I will cite: Plautus *Poen.* 1069: *nam mihi sobrina Ampsigura tua mater fuit* (cf. *fecit* 1071), *pater tuos is erat frater patruelis meus*. Here there seems to be no difference between *erat* and *fuit*. *Ibid.* 900: *et ille qui eas vendebat dixit se furtivas vendere: iugenuos Carthagine aibat esse*, where *aibat* and *dixit* seem to be equivalent. For other cases see the collection.

It is quite possible that others may be able to detect true imperfect force in some of the cases which I have classified as aoristic. Blase, though not quite certain of his own classification, has convinced me that I may have been wrong with regard to Varro *R. r.* ii. 4. 11: *in Hispania ulteriore in Lusitania . . . sus cum esset occisus, Atilius Hispaniensis minime mendax . . . dicebat . . . L. Volumnio senatori missam esse offulam cum duobus costis, etc.* There are so many exact details here that we suspect Scrofa of reminiscing. So possibly Varro *ibid.* iii. 17. 4 *dicebat*.¹ But though perhaps a dozen² cases might be taken from the total of those which seem to me aoristic, enough remain to establish this category on a firm basis.

The exact process by which the progressive function became lost can not, of course, be proved. I have suggested (*Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, pp. 188, 189) that it is a weakening due to the constant

¹Blase is quite right (*Kritik*, p. 11) in classifying *As.* 208 *aibas* as customary. I neglected to exclude this from four cases cited from Rodenbusch. It was classified on my own slips as customary.

²I have indicated in the collection those which seem to me questionable.

use of certain verbs in ever-recurring similar contexts, until in the case of *aibam* the originally graphic¹ force was used out of the form and *aibam* became a mere tag to indicate an indirect discourse.² With *eram* the vagueness of the verb-meaning and the frequency of its occurrence side by side with *fui* were the chief influences. In contexts where there are many other imperfections all of a definite time, these usually colorless verbs naturally take the prevailing color³ of the context; cf. *As.* 208 *aibas*.

In his "Tempora und Modi" (*Syn.* III, p. 145) Blase expresses his belief that an aoristic imperfect as accepted by Luebbert and J. Schneider has been proven not to exist by E. Hoffmann (*Zeitpartikeln*², pp. 181 ff.). But neither Luebbert nor Schneider seems absolutely to have believed in an aoristic usage.⁴ Luebbert says (*Quom.* pp. 156 ff.) that in *Men.* 1145 and 1136 ff. we find aoristic perfect and the imperfect, etc. "promiscue gebraucht da der Unterschied zwischen beiden gering war." "Gering" indicates that there was to him some difference, even though it was slight. Schneider's statements are not consistent. In his *De temporum apud priscos scriptores latinos usu quaestiones selectae*, Glatz, 1888, pp. 14 ff., he says correctly that in many cases no difference can be seen between *aibat* and *dixit*, and that "*aibat* aoristi munere fungi," but he adds that the imperfect represents an act as "*infectam ideoque aliter intellegendam ac si perfectam.*" Hoffmann's supposed refutation is very weak. In the first place he

¹ If originally reminiscent, the explanation is the same; for the reminiscent usage is due to the speaker's effort to represent a past act graphically.

² Cf. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, p. 188, where it is stated that the indirect discourse is always present or implied (rarely) with *aibam*. Occasionally the object is represented by a pronoun. *Bacch.* 962: *quid ait?*, *Capt.* 676: *ira vosmet aiebatis itaque*, etc.

³ Cf. Blase (*Kritik*, p. 11): "*wo aibam* mitten zwischen Imperfekta der wiederholten oder gewohnheitsmässigen Handlung steht und unmöglich anders gefasst werden kann."

⁴ But cf. O. Seyffert in *Bursian's Jahresh.* LXIII, p. 32: "Das Imperf. findet sich bekanntlich bei den Scenikern mehrfach in einem so geringen Bedeutungsunterschiede vom Perf. und bisweilen unmittelbar neben demselben, dass man ohne wesentliche Änderung des Sinnes und oft auch unbeschadet des Metrums (*Rud.* 543, *Capt.* 717) das eine Tempus für das andere einsetzen kann. Es zeigt sich dies besonders bei den *verba dicendi*; das Imperf. von *aio* vertritt ja geradezu das fehlende Perfect;" cf. *ibid.* LXXX, p. 336, where Seyffert repeats the statement that *aibat*, e. g., *Ps.* 1083, represents the lost perfect of *aio*. In *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV I had overlooked this remarkable anticipation of my own conclusions.

confuses different uses of the tense, asserting, for example, that in Plautus *Tri.* 400: aedes quo *ibam*, etc., the imperfect is wholly analogous to that in Tacitus *Ann.* ii. 34: simul curiam *relinquebat*. commotus est Tiberius, etc.; cf. iv. 43 *sequebatur* Vibius Crispus, donec, etc., and that in the last two cases the imperfect jars on us because such an action is not usually presented "in der Phase ihres Vollzugs." Such an application of the tense may seem strange to a German, but to one who speaks English, it is entirely natural and could not for a moment be mistaken for anything but a simple progressive imperfect. To refute such a usage as a supposed aorist is to knock down a man of straw. The supposed analogy of these cases to *Tri.* 400 does not bear on the point, but it may be remarked that *ibam* is analogous only in the fact that its action is progressive and interrupted, but it belongs to the immediate past type.¹ Hoffmann then cites ten cases of *aibat*, six of which may be taken aoristically, and asserts that the tense is in all used "in voller Gesetzmässigkeit." This assertion rests on entirely inadequate foundation.²

THE SHIFTED IMPERFECT

Blase seems right in restricting the 'shifted' imperfect to one class (*Kritik*, pp. 13, 14) = an imperfect subjunctive with present meaning; for, as he says, there is no real shifting if the preterital sense remains. But when he adds³ that "ein sicherer derartiger Fall ist weder bei Plautus und Terenz, noch sonst im Altlatein vorhanden," I can not agree. He accepts as cases of shifting Varro, *L. L.* viii. 65: sic Graeci nostra senis casibus . . . dicere *debeant*, quod cum non faciunt, non est analogia, and ix. 85: si esset denarii in recto casu . . . tunc in patrico denariorum dici *oportebat*, and ix. 23: si enim usquequaque esset analogia, tum *sequebatur*, ut in his verbis quoque non esset, non,

¹ See above, pp. 359 ff.

² J. Ley *Vergilianar. quaestion. specimen prius de temporum usu*, Saarbrücken, 1877, apparently believes that *eram* and *fui* in Vergil are so nearly equivalent that metrical convenience often decided between them; cf. Blase *Syn.* III, p. 164 Anm. I have not seen this dissertation, but the explanation is, on its face, insufficient.

³ Cf. his *Syntax*, p. 149: "Der Indikativ des Imperfekts hat erst seit Beginn der klassischen Zeit eine allmähliche Verschiebung aus der Sphäre der Vergangenheit in die der Gegenwart erfahren."

cum esset usquequaque, ut est, non esse in verbis. If these are real cases of shifting, how do the following differ? Plautus *Merc.* 983 *e*: temperare istac aetate istis decet ted artibus vacuom esse istac ted aetate his *decebat* noxiis. itidem ut tempus anni, aetate alia aliud factum convenit; *Mil.* 755: insanivisti hercle (perf. def.): nam idem hoc hominibus *sat[a] era[n]t* decem; *ibid.* 911: bonus vatis *poteras* esse: nam quae sunt futura dicis.¹ If the passages from Varro move in the present (Blase *Kritik*, pp. 13, 14), the same is true here; cf. *Auct. ad Herenn.* ii. 22. 34: satis *erat*; iv. 41. 53 infimae (infirmas?) *erant*.² That Varro *L. L.* viii. 74 *oportebat* stands "zwischen zwei Perfekten" (Blase) is accidental.³

This peculiar shifting was explained by me *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, pp. 189, 190, as due to the unreal (contrary-to-fact) idea present in the context or in the meaning of the verb (*oportebat*, etc.) or in both; cf. Blase (*Syn.* III, p. 149) who also calls attention to the auxiliary character⁴ of the verbs involved and thinks that the shifting began with verbs of possibility and necessity which seems a probable view.

In conclusion a few words are necessary with regard to some general aspects of the subject and its method of treatment. The original function or functions⁵ of the imperfect can not, of course, be certainly inferred from a syntactical investigation of material which is relatively so late even with the aid of etymology and comparative philology. My statement (*loc. cit.*, p. 184) that the progressive function was probably original was therefore intended

¹ Cf. *Rud.* 269 *aequius erat*, *Truc.* 511 *poterat*, *Aul.* 424. For the other cases see collection.

² But not iv. 16. 23, which I now see is not shifted.

³ And both are cases of *debuerunt*! In his *Kritik*, p. 13, Blase denies my assertion (*loc. cit.*, p. 181, n. 1), that the perfect indic. and the perfect infin. of these verbs are shifted in Varro, cf. *L. L.* viii. 72-74; viii. 48; viii. 50; viii. 61, 66. I am glad to find my view supported by Wimmerer *Wien. Stud.*, 1906, p. 264: "Denn da der Grund der Verschiebung hier vor allem in der Bedeutung der Verba liegt, so kann konsequenterweise ebenso gut ein *debut* wie ein *debebat* verschoben werden."

⁴ Cf. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, p. 190.

⁵ It is uncertain whether the original meaning of the tense was vague, admitting several uses which gradually became narrowed to one (the progressive), or whether there was one original meaning which split into several related uses. The facts seem to point to the second alternative.

only as a probability based upon the existence of this force in nearly all the cases and upon the generally accepted etymology of the imperfect form. But nothing like proof was claimed for this theory. Blase is inclined, following Delbrück and Brugmann, to regard the reminiscent usage also as an original one (cf. p. 26, n. 2), but he rightly says that no statistics can prove which of these two is earlier. If my view that the reminiscent usage is rather an application of the progressive than itself a separate function is correct, then the progressive is older. The existence of the reminiscent imperfect in Sanskrit and Greek certainly makes it very probable, as Blase says, that it existed in preliterate Latin also. If this is so, I am inclined to refer it to the same general origin as the so-called descriptive imperfect—to the effort to present a past act (here a personal experience) vividly.¹

But the search for original meanings must ever remain within the realm of theory; nor can we hope even theoretically to reach any considerable degree of probability in the establishment of such meanings without the most careful collection and classification of the facts within the period of written speech. And this should precede the appeal to etymology and comparative philology. What is actually found in any given language, not what according to comparative philology ought to be found, should be our first aim. Although I would not minimize the importance in syntactical study of the comparative method, it seems to me properly applied only as a supplement, not as the controlling factor to which all else is subordinated. Indeed, a premature appeal to comparative philology may result in premature conclusions, for an investigator whose head is filled with preconceived notions drawn from Sanskrit and Greek is all too apt to imagine peculiarities in Latin phenomena which he would not have perceived at all, had he approached by a Latin route alone; and such peculiarities have little value unless they can be recognized as Latin without foreign assistance. Once recognized they may, and often do, receive much additional light from comparative philology. While it is true, then, that scholars will differ with

¹Cf. *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, pp. 185, 190, where it was surmised that the descriptive application of the tense was Indo-European.

regard to a few cases¹ in any given syntactical phenomenon and the ultimate classification must not neglect the aid of comparative philology, yet the chief basis of investigation is agreement among scholars with regard to the great majority of such cases viewed as purely Latin phenomena. If this agreement is lacking, comparative philology can rarely bring reliability to the results.

COLLECTION

The statistical table shows that this investigation is based upon a collection of 1,223 imperfects. It has been my aim to exclude from consideration (and from the table) all passages of dubious authorship, corrupt text, or insufficient context. About 170 cases have thus been excluded, a seemingly large proportion, but it must be remembered that much of the literature of the third and second centuries before Christ is fragmentary and very often there is not enough context to render classification at all certain. In so large a body of text it is probable that some cases have escaped my notice, but most of the ground has been examined at least twice and such omissions can hardly be numerous or alter essentially the results. I have subjected the material to a careful revision and the table differs slightly from that published in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XXIV, p. 183.

It would seem unnecessary nowadays for any syntactical scholar to state that he lays no stress on statistics as such, but when a reviewer² attributes to me the conviction that I have proved this and that by just so many exact figures, it seems proper for me to disclaim any such conviction. The fact that exact figures do not in themselves mean anything does not, however, excuse one from being as exact as possible.

¹ Cf. Wimmerer *Wien. Stud.*, 1906, p. 262: "die syntaktischen Einzeltatsachen sind viel zu sehr umstritten . . . als dass auf sie allein eine brauchbare Klassifikation und Erklärung der Arten eines einigermaßen verzweigten syntaktischen Gebrauches gestützt werden könnte." With this I agree, except possibly as to what is a "brauchbare Klassifikation," but when he says (p. 61), with reference to my inference that the progressive function is original: "Den Begriff aber hat die vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft längst festgestellt," I would suggest that such a conclusion could not be regarded as 'firmly established' except with several investigations like mine as chief bases.

² In *Archiv. f. lat. Lex. und Gk.* XIV, p. 289.

The method of citation adopted in the collection will doubtless seem to many inadequate. It is especially true, however, of the classification of tense functions, that very often a large body of context must be taken into consideration. For this reason very many of the citations even in Blase's "Tempora und Modi" are quite useless and misleading because of their brevity. It seemed best, therefore, to cite as fully as possible in the body of the article, but in the collection to cite only each form and the place of its occurrence. Those who are interested in examining a given usage in detail will in any case revert to the complete context, as I know by experience.

I. PROGRESSIVE IMPERFECT

A. Simple Types, including imperfects in description, reminiscence, and the "immediate" past variety.

Plautus, ed. Goetz and Schoell, ed. minor, Lipsiae, 1892-96.

Amph. prol. 22 scibat; 199 pugnabant fugiebam; 251 complectabantur; 383 aiebas; 385 sci[e]bam; 429 erat; 597 credebam; 603 stabam; 711 solebas; 1027 censebas; 1067 confulgebant; 1095 rebamur; 1096 confulgebant. 14

As. 300 scibam; 315 mirabar; 385 censebam; 392 volebam; 395 volebas; 452 volebam; 486 volebas; 888 suppilabat; 889 suspicabar cruciabam; 927 ingerebas eram; 931 dissuadebam. 13

Aul. 178 praesagibat exhibam; 179 abibam; 295 poterat; 376 erat; 424 aequom erat; 427 erat; 550 meditabar; 625 radebat croccibat; 667 censebam; 707 expectabam abstrudebat; 754 scibas; 827 apparabas. 15

Bacch. 18 (frag. x) erat; 189 volebam; 282 erat; 286 dabat; 297 dabant; 342 censebam; 563 erat; 675 sumebas; 676 nescibas; 683 suspicabar; 788 orabat; 959 restabant; 983 auscultabat loquebar. 14

Capt. 273 erat; 491 obambulabant; 504 eminebam; 561 aibat; 654 assimilabat; 407 audebas; 913 frendebat. 7

Cas. 178 ibam; 279 aiebat; 356 rebar; 432 trepidabant festinabat; 433 subsultabat; 532 erat; 578 praestolabar; 594 ibam; 674 volebam; 702 volebam; 882 erant; 913 erat erat erat. 15

Cist. 153 poteram; 187 exponebat; 566 perducebam; 569 adiurabat; 607 ai[e]bas; 623 properabas; 721 rogabat; 723 quaeritabas; 759 quaeritabam. 9

Curc. 390 quaerebam; 541 credebam. 2

- Epid. 48 amabat; 98 solebas; 138 desipiebam; . . . mittebam; 214 occurrebant; 215 captabant; 216 habebant; 218 ibant; 221 praestolabatur; 238 dissimulabam; 239 exaudibam . . . fallebar; 241 ibat; 409 apparabat; 420 adsimulabam; 421 me faciebam. 482 deperibat; 587 vocabas; 608 dicebant; 612 aderat. 20
- Men. 29 erant; 59 erat; 63 ibant; 195 amabas . . . oportebat; 420 advorsabar; . . . metuebam; 493 eram; 564 ferebat; 605 censebas; 633 negabas; 634 negabas . . . ai[e]bas; 636 censebas; 729 negabas; 773, 774 suspicabar; 936 aiebat; 1042 ai[e]bat; 1046 aiebant; 1052 ferebant; 1053 clamabas; 1072 censebam; 1116 cadebant; 1120 eramus; 1135 erat . . . vocabat; 1136 censebat; 1145 vocabat. 28
- Merc. 43 abibat; 45 rapiebat; 175 quaerebas; 190 abstrudebas; 191 eramus; 197 censebam; 212 credebat; 247 cruciabar; 360 habebam; 754 obsonabas; 815 censebam; 845 erat . . . quaeritabam; 884 ibas; 981 ibat. 15
- Miles 54 erant; 100 amabant; 111 amabat; 181 exhibam . . . erat; 320 ai[e]bas; 463 dissimulabat; 507 oculabatur; 835 calebant . . . amburebat; 853 erat; 854 erat; 1135 exoptabam; 1323 eram . . . eram; 1336 temptabam; 1140 erat; 1430 habebat. 18
- Most. 210 quaerebas; 221 sublandiebat; 257 erat; 787 erat; 806 aiebat; 961 faciebat. 6
- Persa 59 poterat; 171 censebam; 257 somniabam . . . opinabar; . . . censebam; 262 erant; 301 cupiebam; 415 censebam; 477 credebam; 493 occultabam; 626 pavebam; 686 metuebas. 12
- Poen. 391 dicebas; 458 sat erat; 485 accidebant; 509 scibam; 525 properabas; 748 dicebant; 899 vendebat; 1178 aderat; 1179 complebat; 1180 erat; 1231 volebam; 1391 expectabam. 12
- Pseud. 286 amabas; 421 subolebat; 422 dissimulabam; 492 nolebam; 499 scibam; 500 scibas; 501 mussitabas . . . scibam; 502 aderat . . . aberat; 503 erat . . . era<n>t; 677 habebam; 698 arbitrabare; 718 ferebat; 719 accersebat; 799 conducebas . . . erat; 800 sedebas . . . eras; 912 circumspectabam . . . metuebam; 957 censebam; 1314 negabas. 24
- Rud. 49 erat; 52 erant; 58 erat; 222 oblectabam; 307 exhibat; 324 suspicabar; 378 scibatis; 379 amabat; 452 censebam; 519 agebam; 542 aiebas; 543 postulabas; 600 quibat; 841 erat; 846 sedebant; 956*a* faciebat; 956*b* fiebat; 1080 aiebas; 1123 petebas; 1186 credebam; 1251 monstrabant; 1252 ibant; 1253 erat; 1308 erat. 24
- Stich. 130 placebat; 244 praedicabas; 328 visebam; 329 miserebat; 365 superabat; 390 negabam; 540 erant; 542 erant; 543 erat; 545 erant; 559 postulabat. 11

- Trin. 195 volebam; 212 aiebant; 400 ibam; 657 scibam
 quibam; 901 erat gerebat; 910 vorsabatur; 927 latitabat;
 976 eras; 1092 agebat; 1100 effodiebam. 12
- Truc. 164 vivebas; 186 cupiebat; 198 lavabat; 201 celebrat metue-
 batque; 332 dicebam; 333 revocabas; 648 debebat; 719 eras;
 783 dabas; 748 volebas; 757 aibas; 813 erat valebat
 petebat; 921 ibat. 16
- Vid. 71 miserebat; 96 piscabar. 2
- Fragmenta fabb. cert. 86 sororiabant; 87 fraterculabant. 2
- Plautus, IA, Total 291
- Terence, ed. Dziatzko, 1884.
- Ad. 78 agebam; 91 amabat; 151 taedebat; 152 sperabam; 153
 gaudebam; 234 eras; 274 pudebat; 307 instabat; 332 iurabat;
 333 dicebat; 461 quaerebam; 561 aibas; 567 audebam; 642
 mirabar; 693 credebas; 809 tollebas; 810 putabas; 821 ibam;
 901 eras. 19
- And. 54 prohibebant; 59 studebat; 60 gaudebam; 62 erat; 63
 erat; 74 agebat; 80 amabant; 86 erat; 88 amabant; 90 gaude-
 bam; 92 putabam; 96 placebat; 107 amabant aderat; 108
 curabat; 110 cogitabam; 113 putabam; 118 aderant; 122 erat;
 175 mirabar; 176 verebar; 435 expectabam; 490 imperabat;
 533 quaerebam; 534 aibant; 545 dabam; 580 ibam; 656 adpar-
 abantur; 657 postulabat; 792 poterat; exit. suppositio. 1 expec-
 tabam. 31
- Eun. 86 eras; 87 stabas ibas; 97 erat; 112 dicebat; 113
 scibat erat; 114 addebat; 118 credebant; 119 habebam;
 122 eras; 155 nescibam; 310 congerebam; 323 stomachabar; 338
 volebam; 345 erat; 372 dicebas; 378 iocabar; 423 erat; 432 ade-
 rant; 433 metuebant; 514 erat; 533 orabant; 569 erat; 574 cupi-
 ebam; 584 inerat; 587 gaudebat; 606 simulabar; 620 faciebat
 cupiebat; 621 erat; 681 erat; 727 adcubabam; 736 erat
 nescibam; 743 expectabam; 841 erant; 928 amabant; 1000
 quaerebat; 1004 scibam; 1013 paenitebat; 1065 quaerebam; 1089
 ignorabat. 43
- Heaut. 127 faciebant; 200 erat; 201 erat; 256 volebam; 260 canta-
 bat; 293 nebat; 294 erat texebat; 308 scibam; 366 tracta-
 bat; 445 erat erant; 536 oportebat; 629 erat; 758 opta-
 bam; 781 dicebam; 785 credebam; 844 quaerebam; 907 videbat;
 924 aiebas; 960 aiebas; 966 erat. 22
- Hec. pro. II. 16 scibam; 91 eram; 94 licebat; 115 amabat; 162
 erat; 172 redibat; 178 conveniebat; 230 erant; 283 eram; 322
 poteram; 340 eras; 374 dabat; 375 monebat poterat; 422
 expectabam; 455 agebam; 498 orabam; 538 negabas; 561 aderam;
 581 rebar; 651 optabamus; 713 credebam; 806 pudebat. 23

Phorm. 36 erat; 51 conabar; 69 erat supererat; 83 servi-
ebat; 85 restabat; 88 discebat; 89 erat; 97 erat? 99 aderat; 105
aderat; 109 amabat; 118 cupiebat metuebat; 298 duce-
bat; 299 deerat; 355 agebam; 365 habebat; 468 erant; 472 quae-
rebat; 480 aibat; 490 mirabar; 529 scibat; 570 manebat; 573
commorabare; 582 scibam; 595 gaudebat laudabat
quaerebat; 596 gratias agebat; 614 agebam; 642 insanibat; 652
ven(i)bat; 654 opus erat; 759 volebam volebam; 760 daba-
mus operam; 797 sat erat; 858 aderas aderam; 900 iba-
mus; 902 ibatis; 929 dabat; 945 eras; 1012 erant; 1013 erat;
1028 erat. 47

Terence, I A, Total 185

Cato ed. Jordan, Lipsiae, 1860.

p. 86. 2 sedebant lacessebamur. Total 2

Dramatic and epic fragments.

Naevius. Bell. pun., ed. Mueller, 1884.

5 immolabat; 7 exhibant; 12 exhibant; 65 inerant.

fabular. fragmenta, ed. Ribbeck², 1897-98.

I p. 16 IV habebat erat; p. 322 II proveniebat.

II p. 30 VII faciebant tintinnabant. 9

Ennius, ed. Vahlen², 1903.

Annal. 28 premebat; 41 videbar; 43 stabilibat; 82 certabant;
87 expectabat; 87 tenebat; 138 mandebat; 139 condebat; 147
volabat; 190 sonabat; 202 solebat; 216 erat; 307 vivebant; 307
agitabant; 309 explebant replebant; 343 aspectabat; 408
sollicitabant; 459 parabant; 497 fremebat; 555 cernebant. 21

Scenica. 15 eiciebantur; 123 erat; 127 inibat; 251 petebant; 324
scibas.

Saturar. 65 adstabat.

Varia. 45 videbar; 64 ibant. 8

Pacuvius, ed. Ribbeck² I, p. 65 XVI conabar. 1

Accius, ed. Ribbeck², p. 162 V ostentabat; p. 162 VII scibam;

p. 165 VI expectabat; p. 205 X erat; p. 210 XII commiserebam

. . . . miserebam; p. 213 XX educabant; p. 251 XIII molli-
libat. 8

Incert. p. 273 V eesacrificabat; p. 282 XXXII hortabar; p. 285

XLV scibam; p. 304 CI expetebant. 4

Turpilius, ed. Ribbeck² II, p. 101 II nescibam; p. 107 V sperebam;

p. 120 X videbar. 3

Titinius, ed. Ribbeck² II, p. 168 II aibat. 1

Afranius, ed. Ribbeck² II, p. 215 VI hortabatur; p. 217 XII sup-

ponebas. 2

Pomponius, ed. Ribbeck² II, p. 303 II cubabat. 1

Incert., ed. Ribbeck² II, p. 137 XXIV ferebat simulabat. 2

Dramatic and Epic Fragments, IA, Total 60

Historicorum fragm., ed. Peter, 1883.

p. 70. 9 nesciebat; 72. 23 erant; 72. 27 cymbalissabat; 72. 27 cantabat; 73. 37 mirabantur reddebat; 83. 27 apparebat habebat sedebat; 94. 13 erat; 110. 7 habebat; 136. 5 erant; 137. 8 concedebat; 137. 8 praecellebat; 137. 10 *b* antistabat; 138. 10 audebat; 138. 11 licebat; 141. 29 erant; 142. 37 erant; 143. 46 captabat; 145. 57 erat erat sciebat apparebat; 149. 81 mirabantur; 150. 85 sauciabantur opus erat defendebat; 178. 8 erat tegebat; 178. 9 poterat; 179. 23 indigebat; 184. 79 sciebat; 184. 86 erat.

I A, Total 34

Orator. fragm., ed Meyer, Turici, 1842.

p. 192 narrabat poteram; p. 231 existimabam arbitrabar stabant erant; 236 ferebantur lavabantur.

I A, Total 8

Lucilius, ed. Marx, 1904.

393 stabat; 394 obiciebat; 479 erat; 531 serebat; 534 ibat; 1108 gemebat; 1142 ibat (not in Mueller's ed.); 1174 volebat; 1175 ducebat; 1187 haerebat; 1207 premebat.

I A, Total 11

Auctor ad Herennium, ed. C. L. Kayser, 1854. G. Friederich's text in C. F. W. Mueller's Cicero, Vol. I, has been compared throughout.

1. 1. 1 intelligebamus attinebant videbantur; 1. 10. 16 postulabat; 1. 12. 21 erat; 1. 13. 23 defendebant erant; 2. 1. 2 existimabamus ostendebatur; 2. 2. 2 videbatur; 2. 5. 8 faciebat; 2. 19. 28 volebat metuebat videbat sperabat verebatur hortabatur removebat; 2. 21. 33 erant habebat; 3. 1. 1 pertinebant erant videbantur; 3. 15. 26 demonstrabatur; 4. 9. 13 poterant videbant; 4. 12. 18 inpendebant; 4. 13. 19 ingeniosus erat, doctus erat, amicus erat; 4. 14. 20 erat; 4. 15. 22 removebas abalienabas; 4. 16. 23 damnabant iniquom erat; 4. 18. 25 erant poterant; 4. 19. 26 proderas laedebas proderas laedebas consulebas; 4. 20. 27 oppetebat comparabat; 4. 24. 33 putabas; 4. 24. 34 habebamus habebam erat obsidebamur videbar; 4. 33. 44 adsequebatur profluebat erat; 4. 33. 45 pulsabat ducebat; 4. 34. 46 videbantur; 4. 37. 49 erat oppugnabat; 4. 41. 53 veniebat occidebatur; 4. 49. 62 inibat; 4. 55. 68 faciebat.

I A, Total 62

Corpus Inscr. Lat., Vol. I.

201. 6 animum indoucebamus scibamus arbitrabamur.

I A, Total 3

Varro, *De lingua Lat.*, ed. Spengel, 1885.

5. 9 videbatur; 5. 100 erat; 5. 128 erat; 5. 147 pertinebat; 7. 39 erat;
7. 73 erant; 8. 20 erant; 8. 59 erant. 8

De re rust., ed. Keil, 1889,

1. 2. 25 ignorabat despiciebat; 1. 13. 6 habebat; 2. 11. 12
ibam; 3. 2. 1 studebamus; 3. 2. 2 sedebat; 3. 13. 2 erat dice-
bat erat cenabamus; 3. 5. 18 dicebatur; 3. 16. 3 erat;
3. 17. 1 sciebamus; 3. 17. 9 ardebat. 14

Sat. Menipp., ed. Riese, 1865, p. 198, l. 1 regnabat; p. 223, l. 9
findebat. 2

I A, Total 24

Grand Total, I A, 680

B. Imperfect of Customary Action.

Plautus

As. 142 habebas; 143 oblectabas; 207 arridebant veniebam;
208 ai[e]bas; 210 eratis erant; 211 adhaerebatis; 212 faci-
ebatis nolebam; 213 fugiebatis audebatis; 341 sub-
vectabant. 13

Aul. 114 salutabant; 499 erant. 2

Bacch. 421 erat eras; 424 accersebatur; 425 perhibebantur;
429 exercebant; 430 extendebant; 438 capiebat; 439 desinebat. 8

Capt. 244 imperitabam; 474 erat; 482 solebam. 3

Cist. 19 dabat infuscabat; 162 habitabat. 3

Epid. 135 amabam. 1

Men. 20 dabat; 484 dicebam; 715 praedicabant; 716 faciebat; 717
ingerebat; 1118 eratis; 1119 eratis; 1122 eratis erat; 1123
vocabant; 1131 erat. 11

Merc. 217 credebat. 1

Miles 15 erat; 61 rogitant; 99 erat; 848 erat; 849 imperabat
. . . . promebam; 850 sisteba<n>t; 852 cassaba<n>t; 855 a com-
plebatur; 856 bacc<h>abatur cassabant. 11

Most. 150 erat; 153 victitabam; 154 eram; 155 expetebant; 731
erat. 5

Persa 649 amabant; 824 faciebat; 826 faciebat. 3

Poen. 478 praesternebant; 481 indebant; 486 necabam. 3

Pseud. 1171 eram; 1180 ibat ibat; 1181 conveniebatur. 4

Rud. 389 habebat habebat; 745 erant; 1226 memorabam. 4

Stich. 185 utebantur. 1

Trin. 503 erat; 504 dicebat. 2

Truc. 81 memorabat; 162 habebam; 217 habebat; 381 sordeba-
mus; 393 habebat; 596 erat. 6

Fragmenta fabb. cert. 24 erat; 26 monebat erat. 3

I B, Total 84

Terence

Adel. 345 erat.	1
And. 82 servibas; 83 observabam; 84 rogitabam; 87 dicebant; 90 quaerebam comperiebam; 107 habitabat; 109 conlacrumabat.	8
Eun. 398 agebat sc. gratias; 405 volebat; 407 abducebat.	3
Heaut. 102 accusabam; 110 operam dabam; 988 indulgebant dabant.	4
Hec. 60 iurabat; 157 ibat; 294 habebam; 426 impellebant; 804 accedebam; 805 negabant.	6
Phorm. 87 operam dabamus; 90 solebamus; 363 erat; 364 continebat; 366 narrabat; 790 capiebat.	6

I B, Total 28

Cato, *De agr.*, ed. Keil, 1895, and *fragmenta*, ed. Jordan, 1880.

1. 2 laudabant laudabant; 1. 3 existimabatur laudabatur.

Jordan, p. 87. 20 capiebam; p. 89. 8 veniebant devertébantur; 64. 2 dabant; 82. 10 putabant(?); 82. 11 habebatur laudabatur; 83. 1 mos erat erat; 83. 2 emebant; 83. 8 erat studebat adplicabat; 83. 4 vocabatur.

I B, Total 18

Dramatic and epic.

Ennius, *Ann.* 214 caneabant; 371 ponebat.

Scenica 355 suppetebat. 3

Incert. Ribbeck¹ I, p. 287 I aspectabant obvertebant. 2Turpilius, Ribbeck¹ II, p. 101 V flabat erat. 2

I B, Total 7

Historicor. fragg.

p. 64, 114 unguitabant¹ unctitabant;¹ 66. 128 temptabam spectabam donabam laudabam; 83. 27 faciebat; 109. 1 demonstrabant; 110. 6 proficiscebatur sequebantur; 123. 13 utebatur; 141. 31 vocabantur; 202. 9 claudabant educebant continebant cogeabant insuebant.

I B, Total 16

Orators, ed. Meyer, p. 222 vocabant; 355 solebas.

I B, Total 2

Lucilius, ed. Marx 1236 solebat.

I B, Total 1

¹ Perhaps different versions of the same passage; cf. Peter. I count them as one case.

Auctor ad Herenn., ed. Kayser.

4. 6. 9 videbat poterat; 4. 7. 10 erant poterant; 4. 16. 23 putabant existimabatur putabant observabant; 4. 22. 31 concedeabant; 4. 53. 66 erat; 4. 54. 67 solebat.

I B, Total 11

CIL. I. 1011. 17 florebat.

I B, Total 1

Varro, De ling. Lat., ed. Spengel.

5. 3 dicebant dicebant significabant; 5. 24 dicebant; 5. 25 obruebantur putrescebant; 5. 33 progrediebantur; 5. 34 agebant agebat poterat; 5. 35 agebant vehebant ibant; 5. 36 coalescebant capiebant colebant possidebant; 5. 37 videbatur; 5. 43 erat advehebantur escendebant; 5. 55 dicebat; 5. 66 dicebat putabat; 5. 68 dicebant; 5. 79 dicebant; 5. 81 mittebantur; 5. 82 dicebatur; 5. 83 dicebat; 5. 84 erant habebant; 5. 86 praecerant fiebat mittebantur; 5. 89 fiebat mittebant pugnabant deponebantur subsidebant; 5. 90 praesidebant; 5. 91 fiebant adoptabant; 5. 95 perpasebant consistebat; 5. 96 dicebant parabantur; 5. 98 dicebant; 5. 101 dicebat; 5. 105 faciebant servabant condebant; 5. 106 coquebatur fundebant; 5. 107 faciebant vocabant; 5. 108 edebant ferebat decoquebant; 5. 116 faciebant habebant opponebatur; 5. 117 fiebant; 5. 118 appellabant erat ponebant; 5. 119 infundebant figebantur; 5. 120 ponebant ponebant; 5. 121 nominabatur; 5. 122 erant; 5. 123 habebat; 5. 124 dabant sumebant; 5. 125 erat vocabatur ponebatur; 5. 126 erat vocabatur habebant solebat; 5. 127 apponebatur bibebant coquebant; 5. 128 arcebantur; 5. 129 ministrabat; 5. 130 vellebant; 5. 132 utebantur iaciebant; 5. 139 corruebant; 5. 141 muniebant exaggerabant portabatur sepiebant; 5. 142 relinquebant; 5. 143 condebant circumagebant faciebant vocabant fiebat erat; 5. 146 erat; 5. 154 aiebat; 5. 155 coibant; 5. 156 vehebantur; 5. 160 adibant; 5. 161 relinquebatur dicebatur impluebat compluebat; 5. 162 volebant cubabant cenabant vocitabant cenabant; 5. 164 exigebant; 5. 166 legebant ponebant dicebant involvebant erant dicebant; 5. 167 calcabant insternebant appellabant operibantur; 5. 168 scandeabant; 5. 169 dicebatur erat; 5. 173 valebant; 5. 174 volebant erat; 5. 177 dicebant; 5. 180 petebat inficiabatur

deponebant . . . auferebat . . . redibat; 5. 181 exigebatur;
 5. 182 dicebant . . . erant . . . ponebant . . . stipabant
 . . . componebant . . . pendebant; 5. 183 accedebat; 6. 4
 dicebant . . . inspiciebantur . . . dicebant; 6. 7 dicebat; 6. 8
 videbatur . . . dicebantur; 6. 10 putabant; 6. 11 persolvebantur;
 6. 14 erat; 6. 16 fiebant; 6. 21 dicebat; 6. 22 circumibant; 6. 28
 conveniebant; 6. 47 dicebant; 6. 54 consumebatur; 6. 59 vitabant;
 6. 60 ponebant; 6. 66 legebantur; 6. 70 spondebatur . . . appella-
 batur; 6. 71 dicebant; 6. 74 promittebat . . . consuetudo erat;
 6. 80 dicebant . . . dicebant; 6. 89 acciebat . . . videbatur;
 6. 95 intererat . . . fiebant; 7. 26 dicebant; 7. 36 appellabant;
 7. 39 putabant; 7. 40 relucebant; 7. 41 legebantur . . . poterant;
 7. 44 dicebantur . . . fiebat; 7. 52 erant . . . habebant . . .
 conducebantur; 7. 56 ascribebantur; 7. 57 habebant; 7. 58 com-
 mittebant; 7. 63 dicebat; 7. 73 animadvertiebantur; 7. 74 arabant;
 7. 84 dicebant; 7. 91 dicebant; 7. 93 erat . . . vocabatur; 8. 10
 erat; 8. 17 erant; 9. 54 erat; 9. 56 dicebantur . . . erat; 9. 60
 notabant; 9. 68 erant; 9. 59 utebantur; 9. 76 dicebatur; 9. 83
 pendebat . . . dicebant; 9. 87 valebat; 9. 100 dicebatur . . .
 constabat . . . dicebatur; 10. 70 dicebant. 212

De re rust., ed. Keil, Lipsiae, 1883.

1. 2. 1 solebant; 1. 2. 7 dicebat; 1. 2. 9 poterat . . . effodiebat
 . . . appellabant; 1. 7. 2 faciebant; 1. 8. 6 vocabant; 1. 10. 2
 pendebat; . . . dicebantur; 1. 13. 6 faciebant . . . erant . . .
 laudabatur . . . providebant; 1. 29. 3 dabant . . . dicebant;
 1. 41. 1 inserebantur; 1. 59. 1 vocabant; 2. 1. 1 praeponabant . . .
 putabant; 2. 1. 6 erat; 2. 2. 3 appellabant . . . reiciebant; 2. 2. 9
 hibernabant . . . aestivabant; 2. 5. 3 vocabat; 2. 7. 1 solebat;
 2. 8. 3 dicebant; 2. 11. 5 dicebant; 3. 1. 3 habitabant . . . scie-
 bant; 3. 1. 4 alebantur . . . redigebant; 3. 1. 5 credebant; 3. 1. 7
 habebant . . . serebant . . . pascebant; 3. 2. 6 habebat; 3. 2. 7
 ostendebat; 3. 2. 14 accipiebat . . . dicebat; 3. 2. 17 dicebat;
 3. 3. 2 dicebant; 3. 3. 6 erat . . . pascebantur . . . erat . . . erat;
 3. 3. 7 habebant; 3. 3. 8 erat; 3. 6. 6 laudabant . . . aiebat;
 3. 9. 19 dicebant . . . vocabant . . . dicebantur; 3. 10. 2 iubebat;
 3. 12. 6 putabat . . . appellabant; 3. 13. 2 appellabant; 3. 17. 3
 capiebat . . . dabat . . . consumebat; 3. 17. 6 erat . . . habebat
 . . . adgerebant; 3. 17. 7 coiciebat; 3. 17. 8 erat . . . laborabat
 . . . aiebat . . . despiciebat. 68

Sat. Menipp., ed. Riese, 1865.

P. 126, l. 9 erat; 139. 10 radebat; 140. 4 vehebantur; 141. 1 solvebat;
 169. 8 loquebantur; 181. 2 solebat; 186. 5 suscitabat; 216. 1
 habebant; 225. 10 habitabant. 9

I B, Total 289

C. Imperfect of Frequentative Action.

Plautus, Asin. 938 dicebam; Capt. 917 percontabatur; Epid. 59 mittebat; 131 missiculabas; Merc. 631 promittebas; Miles 1410 dicebat; Persa 20 visitabam; 433 negabas; Rud. 540 promittebas; Truc. 506 poscebat.	10
Ennius, Ann. 50 tendebeam vocabam.	2
Historicor. fragg., p. 138, 11 expoliabantur.	1

I C, Total 13

II. AORISTIC IMPERFECT

Plautus, Amph. 807 aibas; 1009 erat; As. 442 aibat; Bacch. 268 aibat; Capt. 676 aiebatis(?); Cist. 143 ai[e]bat; 585 ai[e]bat; Curc. 488 aiebat; 582 aiebat; Epid. 254 aiebat; 597 agnoscebas; Men. 532 aiebas(?); 1141 aiebat; Merc. 45 poterat; 635 ai[e]bant; 637 aiebat; 638 aiebant; 765 aiebat; 766 aiebat; 804 aiebant; Miles 66 ai[e]bant; 1107 aiebat; 1430 erat; 1431, erat; Most. 1002 aiebant; 1027 aiebat; 1028 aiebat; Poen. 464 aibat; 900 aibat; 1069 erat; Ps. 650 aiebat; 1063 aibat; 1118 aibat; Rud. 907 aibat; 502 erat; 1130 aiebas(?); Stich. 391 aibat; Tri. 428 aibas; 874 aibat; 944 aibant; 956 aibat; 986 aiebas; 1140 aibat.	43
Terence, Adel. 494 erat; 716 erat; 717 aibat; Andr. 930 aiebat; 932 aibat; Eun. 700 scibas; 701 dicebat; Heaut. 203 erat; Hec. 238 aibant; Phorm. 572 aibant; 768 sat erat.	11
Historicor. fragg. 187. 126 poterat.	1
Varro, De r. r. 2. 4. 11 dicebat(?); 3. 17. 4 dicebas(?).	2
Auctor ad Herenn. 2. 1. 1 poterat; 4. 9. 13 erat.	2

II, Total 59

III. SHIFTED IMPERFECT

Plautus, Merc. 933 b decebat; Miles 755 sat era[n]t; 911 poteras; Rud. 269 aequius erat; Truc. 511 poterat.	5
Terence, Heaut. 785 poterat.	1
Lucilius, 204 (Marx) sat erat.	1
Varro, De l. l. 8. 47 oportebat; 8. 65 debebant; 8. 74 oportebat; 9. 23 sequebatur; 9. 85 oportebat.	5
Auctor ad Herenn. 2. 22. 34 satis erat; 4. 41. 53 infimae erant.	2

III, Total 14

	TOTAL	I. PROGRESSIVE (TRUE) IMPERFECT			II. AORISTIC	III. SHIFTED
		A. Simple Prog.	B. Const. Past	C. Frequent.		
Plautus	433	291	84	10	43	5
Terence	235	185	28	..	11	1
Cato ¹	20	2	18	..	..	..
Dramatic ² and Epic	69	60	7	2	..	..
Historians ³	52	34	16	1	1	..
Orators ⁴	10	8	2	..	..	..
Lucilius	13	11	1	..	..	1
Auctor ad Herenn.	77	62	11	..	2	2
CIL, Vol. I	4	3	1	..	..	..
Varro	320	24	299	..	2	5
Total	1,223	680	457	13	59	14

¹ Except historical works the citations from which are included among the historians.

² Laberius and later writers not included.

³ Nepos and later historians not included.

⁴ Hortensius and later fragments not included.

ARISTOTELES' NIKAI ΔΙΟΝΤΣΙΑΚΑΙ

BY ALFRED KOERTZ

Im Schriftenverzeichnis des Aristoteles finden sich zwei Werke über die dionysischen Agone Athens. Das eine, *Διδασκαλῖαι*,¹ ist in seiner Bedeutung und Anlage längst erkannt. Es war schon für die Alexandriner die feste Grundlage aller Studien über die Geschichte des Dramas, ihm verdanken wir alles literarisch überlieferte Material über Aufführungszeit und Erfolg der einzelnen Tragödien und Komödien. Wir dürfen aber, wie besonders Reisch in seinem vortrefflichen Artikel "Didaskaliai" bei Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* V. 396 ff. ausgeführt hat, das aus den literarischen Fragmenten gewonnene Bild der aristotelischen Schrift ergänzen und beleben aus den Steinurkunden *IG.* II 972-75.²

Adolf Wilhelm, der uns in seinem seit Jahren sehnlichst erwarteten und nun soeben erschienenen *Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*³ die unschätzbaren Steine in wesentlich vermehrter und verbesserter Ausgabe vorgelegt hat, schliesst sich Reischs Urteil durchaus an, und auch ich möchte dessen zusammenfassende Sätze wörtlich wiederholen (S. 397 f.):

Da diese inschriftlichen Listen gerade in ihren älteren Partien gelehrte archivalische Forschungen voraussetzen, so wird man nicht anstehen anzunehmen, dass die auf voraristotelische Zeit bezüglichen Angaben aus dem Werk des Aristoteles geschöpft sind, an dessen Vorbild sich die Fortsetzer der jüngeren Periode (für die die Acten bequem bereit lagen) genau angeschlossen haben werden. Man wird also für das aristotelische Werk die gleiche Anlage, gesonderte Listen nicht nur für Dionysien und Lenaeen, sondern auch für die einzelnen Dichtungsgattungen voraussetzen dürfen.

¹ So lautet der Titel bei Diog. La. v. 26, im hesychischen Katalog heisst die Schrift *περὶ διδασκαλιῶν*, ohne Buchzahl.

² Nicht glücklich scheint mir Gerckes Versuch (Kroll *Die Altertumswissenschaft*, 480) die Didaskalien der Inschrift *IG.* II 971 zu Grunde zu legen.

³ *Sonderschriften des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*, Band VI, "Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen in Athen," herausgegeben von Adolph Wilhelm, Wien, 1906.

Vielleicht darf man noch etwas weiter gehen und den älteren Teil der Urkunde einfach für eine *μεταγραφή* des aristotelischen Werkes halten, wie sie seinen *Πυθιονίκαι* sofort nach dem Erscheinen in Delphi zu Teil wurde.¹ Dass wir auf Stein keine Didaskalien der lyrischen Agone besitzen, während Aristoteles sie nachweislich berücksichtigt hat,² kann natürlich Zufall sein, wahrscheinlicher ist es mir aber, dass dieser Teil des Werkes nicht in Stein übertragen worden ist, weil das Interesse der Athener für die älteren Lyriker geringer war als für die Dramatiker; eine Beobachtung, die diese Wahrscheinlichkeit noch erhöht, wird sich uns weiter unten ergeben.

Sehr viel schlechter sind wir über Aristoteles' *Νίκαι Διονυσιακαὶ ἁστικά καὶ Ἀθηναίκα*³ unterrichtet, ja im Grunde wissen wir von ihnen gar nichts, als was sich aus dem Titel selbst ergibt, denn sie werden niemals in der Literatur citiert. Nun ist aber bei Aristoteles' beherrschender Stellung in der Wissenschaft von vornherein anzunehmen, dass auch dies Urkundenwerk nicht ohne jede Wirkung geblieben ist, und da wir ausser den didaskalischen Urkunden noch andere Aufzeichnungen verwandten Inhalts auf Stein besitzen, so liegt der Versuch nahe, die aristotelische Schrift aus ihnen wiederzugewinnen. Schon Koehler hat⁴ die *Νίκαι* mit der grossen Siegerliste *IG. II 971* in Zusammenhang gebracht, aber er ist noch geneigt, die Inschrift als Grundlage des aristotelischen Werkes anzusehen. Umgekehrt vermutet Reisch (a. a. O. 398), die Inschrift sei vielleicht geradezu eine Steinabschrift des auf die städtischen Dionysien bezüglichen Teils der aristotelischen *Νίκαι*, ja er setzt für die Abfassung dieser Schrift einen staatlichen Auftrag voraus. Da auch Wilhelm (a. a. O. S. 13 ff.) diese Hypothese angenommen und aus ihr sogar Schlüsse für Aristoteles' Leben gezogen hat, scheint es mir nötig sie einmal genauer zu prüfen.⁵

¹ Vgl. Dittenberger *SIG.* 915.

² Harp. s. v. *διδάσκαλος*, schol. Ar. *Vog.* 1379.

³ Diesen vollständigen Titel gibt nur Hesych, bei Diogenes v. 26 lautet er abgekürzt aber mit Hinzufügung der Buchzahl *Νίκαι Διονυσιακαὶ α'*.

⁴ *Athen. Mitteil.* III, 111.

⁵ Dank der Liebesswürdigkeit des Verfassers konnte ich Wilhelms Werk schon während des Drucks kennen lernen, und meine brieflich geäusserten Bedenken hat er in einem Nachtrag S. 257 berücksichtigt.

Da ist denn zunächst zu bemerken, dass grade Wilhelms sorgfältige Untersuchungen über die Aufzeichnung der Urkunde ihrem aristotelischen Ursprung nicht günstig sind. Sein Scharfblick hat erkannt (S. 7), dass die Liste von ihrem Anfang bis zu einem zwischen 346 und 342 liegenden Jahre einheitlich geschrieben ist, während die Eintragungen für die folgenden Jahre von verschiedenen Händen herrühren. Zwischen 346 und 342 müssen also Aristoteles' Νῆκαι abgeschlossen sein, wenn sie der Inschrift zu Grunde liegen. Die für das Werk erforderlichen Archivstudien setzen aber Anwesenheit des Verfassers in Athen unbedingt voraus, und so sieht denn auch Wilhelm in seiner Kombination eine Stütze für den besonders von Bergk¹ und Gercke² angenommenen Aufenthalt der Philosophen in Athen zwischen dem Fortgang von Atarneus (345/44) und seiner Berufung nach Makedonien (343/42). Diese bergksche Hypothese,³ die auf einer unsicheren Deutung von Isokrates xii. 18 beruht, widerspricht jedoch den ausdrücklichen Angaben des grade über Aristoteles' Leben so vorzüglich unterrichteten Apollodor (fr. 56, Jacoby) und ist deshalb von Zeller⁴ und Wilamowitz⁵ mit Recht abgelehnt worden. Es geht nicht an, die Abfassungszeit der Siegerinschrift als Beweismittel für den athenischen Aufenthalt des Aristoteles zu verwerten, sondern der Schluss muss meines Erachtens umgekehrt lauten: Die Siegerliste, deren μεταγραφὴ auf Stein wir in IG. II 971 besitzen, ist zwischen 346 und 342 in Athen verfasst worden, Aristoteles war nach unanfechtbaren Zeugnissen von 348/47–335/34 nicht in Athen ansässig, folglich ist er nicht der Verfasser jener Liste.

Damit ist freilich die Frage, ob Aristoteles' Νῆκαι in ihrer Anlage mit der Siegerinschrift übereinstimmen, noch nicht entschieden, aber innere Gründe widerraten es entschieden, das aristotelische Werk nach ihr zu rekonstruieren. Aristoteles hat

¹ Rhein. Mus. XXXVII. 371 f.

² Pauly-Wissowa Realencycl. II. 1014.

³ Schüchtern und ohne nähere Begründung hatte schon Stahr Aristot. 105 Anm. 2 dieselbe Vermuthung geäußert.

⁴ Philos. der Griechen III. b³ S. 23. 2.

⁵ Aristoteles und Athen I. 321, Anm. 1. "Hypothesen, die mit den apollodorischen Angaben über das Leben des Aristoteles streiten, hätten gar nicht aufgestellt werden sollen; jedenfalls braucht man sie nicht zu widerlegen, so leicht es wäre."

seine Forschungen über die dionysischen Agone Athens doch wesentlich aus literarhistorischem Interesse getrieben und grade diesem wird die Siegerliste nur ziemlich mangelhaft gerecht. Ich wiederhole zur Bequemlichkeit der Leser eine volle Jahresliste:

Ἐπὶ Φιλοκλέους (458)
 Οἰνῆς παίδων
 Δημόδοκος ἐχορήγει
 Ἴπποθωντὶς ἀνδρῶν
 Εὐκτῆμων Ἐλευσίνιος ἐχορήγει
 κωμωιδῶν
 Εὐρυκλείδης ἐχορήγει
 Εὐφρόνιος ἐδίδασκε
 τραγωιδῶν
 Ξενοκλῆς Ἀφιδναῖος ἐχορήγει
 Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδασκεν

Von den acht Angaben dieser Jahresliste sind im Grunde nur zwei, Εὐφρόνιος ἐδίδασκε und Αἰσχύλος ἐδίδασκε, für die Literaturgeschichte von Wert. Dass die Choregen der siegreichen Chöre berücksichtigt werden, lässt man sich auch noch allenfalls bei einem Literarhistoriker gefallen, zumal wenn dabei so interessante Tatsachen herauskommen, wie dass Perikles Aischylos' *Perser* ausgestattet hat, aber was für ein Interesse konnte Aristoteles daran haben, über 150 Jahre lang zu notieren, welche der zehn Phylen mit dem Knaben- und welche mit dem Männerchor Erfolg gehabt hatte? Und vor allem, wie konnte er Phylen und Choregen der kyklischen Chöre gewissenhaft aufzeichnen, aber das Wichtigste, den Dichter, durchgehends fortlassen? Für die Angehörigen der Oineis war es ja gewiss sehr interessant festzustellen, dass ihr Knabenchor im Jahre 458 gesiegt hatte, für Aristoteles aber und alle Nichtathener der Mit- und Nachwelt bedeuteten die Namen der Phylen gar nichts, die der Choregen sehr wenig, dagegen war es für die Literaturgeschichte von entschiedener Wichtigkeit, ob etwa Bakchylides oder Melanippides für den siegenden Chor den Dithyrambus gedichtet hatte. Die Angabe der Dichter hatte dem Bearbeiter der Liste keinerlei Schwierigkeit gemacht, denn ihre Namen standen in den Archiven so gut verzeichnet wie die der Tragiker und Komiker, Aristoteles berück-

sichtigte sie doch in den Διδασκαλίας, warum nicht auch in den Νίκαι? Es scheint mir unabweislich, dass zwischen der Siegerliste und Aristoteles ein scharfer Schnitt zu machen ist, beide benutzen zwar dasselbe Urkundenmaterial, aber zu verschiedenen Zwecken und demgemäss auch in verschiedener Weise. Die Inschrift dient speziell athenischen, und zwar mehr staatlichen als literarischen Interessen, daher auch die Gleichgültigkeit gegen die so vielfach nicht aus Athen gebürtigen Dithyrambendichter, Aristoteles dagegen war für athenischen Lokalpatriotismus keineswegs empfänglich, daher ist für ihn ein Werk von dieser Anlage in höchsten Masse unwahrscheinlich.

So schweben denn die aristotelischen Νίκαι zunächst wieder in der Luft als σκιοειδῆ φαντάσματα, ich glaube aber, dass man sie doch in greifbare Gestalten bannen kann. Ausser den Didaskalien und der Dionysiensieger-Liste haben wir ja inschriftlich noch das wertvolle Verzeichnis von Siegern IG II 977, das Wilhelm (S. 89 ff.) mit so glücklicher Hand bearbeitet hat. Im ganzen acht Listen enthalten die Namen der Dichter und Schauspieler, welche in beiden Dionysosfesten gesiegt haben, mit der Zahl ihrer Erfolge in chronologischer Ordnung. Wilhelm selbst ergänzt (S. 123 f.) über der Lenaeenliste komischer Dichter überzeugend Αθηναῖκ]α[ὶ ποιητ]ῶν [κωμικ]ῶν, und ziemlich gut erhalten sind zwei Überschriften ὑποκριτῶν τραγικῶν. Demnach ist als gemeinsamer Obertitel aller Einzellisten hinzuzudenken Νίκαι, und ich wüsste nicht, wie man den Inhalt der ganzen Urkunde treffender bezeichnen könnte als mit dem Titel Νίκαι Διονυσιακαὶ ἀστικά καὶ Αθηναῖκαί. Ich glaube in der Tat, dass wir in ihr die Reste einer nach unten fortgesetzten μεταγραφὴ der gleichnamigen aristotelischen Schrift besitzen.

Das Urkundenmaterial, auf dem diese Listen beruhen, ist natürlich ganz das gleiche wie bei den Didaskalien und der Dionysiensieger-Liste, aber das Interesse in dem sie angefertigt wird, ist im Gegensatz zu IG. II 971 rein literar- und theatergeschichtlich. Eine ziemlich mühsame Durcharbeitung der gesamten Didaskalien war nötig, um für jeden Dichter und Schauspieler festzustellen, wie oft er an den einzelnen Festen gesiegt hatte, und um ihm dann den richtigen Platz in der chronologischen Reihe der Sieger anzuweisen.

Wenn wir nun unsere Inschrift nicht besäßen, so würden wir doch aus der Literatur die einstige Existenz einer Schrift von genau gleicher Anlage erschliessen können. Bis in dürftige Suidas-Artikel und Rednerscholien hinab haben sich Zahlenangaben über die Siege der Dichter und Schauspieler gerettet, und zwar standen den alexandrinischen Gelehrten getrennte Listen für Dionysien und Lenaeen zur Verfügung. Am deutlichsten zeigt das eine Mitteilung Apollodors (fr. 83, Jac.) über den Komiker Eudoxos bei Diog. Laert. viii. 90: *γεγόνασι δ' ἑβδοχοί τρεῖς. αὐτὸς οὗτος (sc. ὁ Κνίδιος), ἕτερος Ῥόδιος ἱστορίας γεγραφώς, τρίτος Σικελιώτης παῖς Ἀγαθοκλέους, ποιητῆς κωμῳδίας, νίκας ἔλων ἀστικὰς μὲν τρεῖς, Ἀθηναϊκὰς δὲ πέντε, καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Χρονικοῖς*. Spezialuntersuchungen über diesen ziemlich untergeordneten Dichter hatte Apollodor doch gewiss nicht angestellt, er entnahm also die Angaben über die Siege an beiden Festen leicht zugänglichen Listen. Man könnte ja nun als Apollodors Quelle Kallimachos' *πίνακες* annehmen, aber diese Quelle versagt für die Schauspieler, und auch von ihnen haben wir gelegentlich bestimmte Angaben über die Zahl ihrer Siege an den einzelnen Festen, Aristodemos z. B. siegte nach schol. Aisch. ii. 15 zweimal an den Lenaeen. Es ist interessant zu sehen, wie die Benutzung der Doppelliste verschieden gehandhabt wird. Das Einfachste und Natürlichste ist es, die Siegeszahlen beider Listen zu addieren, wenn man die Erfolge eines Künstlers angeben will, so macht es z. B. Suidas mit Kratinos, denn die von ihm gegebene Gesamtzahl 9 entspricht 6 städtischen und 3 lenäischen Siegen der Steine. Gelegentlich lässt man aber auch die Siege an den weniger glänzenden Lenaeen einfach fort; so erklären Capps¹ und Wilhelm² richtig die 18 Siege des Sophokles bei Diodor xiii. 103. 4, die der städtischen Liste entsprechen, gegenüber den 24 bei Suidas, wo die lenaeischen mitberücksichtigt sind.

An sich könnten diese von Apollodor und Späteren benutzten Listen ebensowohl in Alexandria wie in Athen entstanden sein, aber unsere im ersten Drittel des III. Jahrh.³ eingehauene Inschrift entscheidet für den athenischen Ursprung.

¹ *Amer. Journ. of Arch.*, 1900 (sec. ser. IV), S. 86.

² *A. a. O.* S. 102.

³ Vgl. Wilhelm *a. a. O.* 95.

Nun beachte man die vollkommene Responsion der drei Faktoren, Aristoteles' Didaskalien, literarhistorische Arbeiten der Alexandriner, athenische Inschrift *IG. II 973–75* einerseits, und Aristoteles' Νῖκαι, Arbeiten der Alexandriner, athenische Inschrift *IG. II 977* anderseits: Aristoteles schreibt Didaskalien, in denen die einzelnen Feste und Dichtungsgattungen getrennt aufgeführt werden, die Alexandriner benutzen sie eifrig, meist ohne den Verfasser zu nennen, in Athen wird im ersten Drittel des III. Jahrh. eine μεταγραφὴ des aristotelischen Werks auf Stein vorgenommen, mit Hinzufügung der nacharistotelischen Aufführungen aber mit Verzicht auf die lyrischen Agone. Aristoteles schreibt Νῖκαι Διονυσιακαὶ ἀστικά καὶ Ἀθηναῖκαί, die Alexandriner benutzen getrennte Listen der Sieger an den beiden dionysischen Festen, in Athen werden Listen genau gleicher Art für dramatische Dichter und Schauspieler, aber nicht für lyrische Dichter,¹ im ersten Drittel des III. Jahrh. in Stein gehauen—ist da nicht der Schluss unmittelbar gegeben, dass die Siegerliste auf Stein in ganz derselben Weise von Aristoteles' Νῖκαι abhängen wird, wie die zur selben Zeit in Stein gehauenen didaskalischen Urkunden von seinen *Didaskalien*?

Dieser, wie mir scheint, zwingenden Gleichung sind Bergk² und Capps³ bereits ganz nahe gekommen, aber sie haben die Konsequenzen nicht scharf gezogen, und immer wieder drängte sich die staatliche Dionysiensiegerliste *IG. II 971* störend dazwischen.

Wir gewinnen für Aristoteles aus dieser Kombination ein Doppeltes: Erstens die Einsicht in Zweck und Anlage seiner Νῖκαι und zweitens die Erkenntnis, dass dies Werk ebenso sehr einem wissenschaftlichen Bedürfnis entgegenkam, ebenso sehr auf die alexandrinische Forschung gewirkt hat, wie seine Didaskalien. Eine fast selbstverständliche Wirkung seiner Arbeiten ist es, dass auch die späteren Aufführungen und Dichter nach dem von ihm geschaffenen Schema registriert wurden, und es ver-

¹ Die Bruchstücke von *IG. II 977* sind so zahlreich, dass man das Fehlen lyrischer Dichter kaum wird für einen unglücklichen Zufall erklären können, und schon deshalb halte ich es für überwiegend wahrscheinlich, dass sie auch bei der μεταγραφὴ der *Didaskalien* absichtlich fortgelassen worden sind.

² *Rhein. Mus.* XXXIV. 296 f.

³ *Amer. Journ. of Phil.* XX. 396.

schlägt daher gar nichts, wenn der Komiker Eudoxos, dessen städtische und lenäische Siege Apollodor aufführt, erst nach Aristoteles gelebt haben sollte, was zwar nicht sicher zu erweisen, aber doch überwiegend wahrscheinlich ist.¹

Es bleibt zum Schluss noch eine Frage, die sich für die *Nikai* ebenso wenig sicher entscheiden lässt, wie für die *Διδασκαλίας*. Hat Aristoteles in diesen Schriften nur das nackte Urkundematerial gegeben, oder hat er kritische Erörterungen daran geknüpft?—Wahrscheinlicher ist mir ersteres. Fast alle Erwähnungen der *Didaskalien* machen durchaus den Eindruck, dass die Alexandriner einfach Namen und Daten ohne weitere Erläuterungen in ihnen fanden,² und die wenigen Stellen, aus denen man auf grössere Ausführlichkeit schliessen könnte, lassen sich auch anders erklären.³

Dass die *Nikai* niemals ausdrücklich genannt werden, erklärt sich um so leichter, je unpersönlicher die Schrift war; bei trockenen Zusammenstellungen von Namen und Zahlen wendet ja selbst unsere das geistige Eigentum so ängstlich hütende Zeit weniger strenge Normen des Citierens an, als bei begründenden Darlegungen.

GIESSEN

¹ Pollux vii. 201 rechnet ihn zu den *ῥόι*.

² Vgl. bes. schol. Ar. Wo. 552, Hypoth. III zu Ar. *Frie*.

³ Wenn nach schol. Ar. Vö. 1379 Aristoteles in den *Didaskalien* zwei Dichter Kinesias schied, so genügte dafür bei dem zweiten der einfache Zusatz *ὁ νεώτερος*, den wir in den didaskalischen Inschriften z. B. bei dem jüngeren Philemon finden (Wilhelm, a. a. O. S. 73). Ebenso konnte die Einführung der Synchoregie kurz bei dem Archontennamen vermerkt sein,—falls diese Nachricht (schol. Ar. *Frö*. 404) überhaupt in den *Didaskalien* stand.

NOTES ON THE SCHOLIA OF COD. VAT. 886
(CODEX THEODOSIANUS)

By E. O. WINSTEDT

Mommsen and Meyer in their recent edition of the Cod. Theod. express, I think, rather too favorable a view of the edition of the *marginalia* by Manentius (*Studi senesi* III, IV, and V) when they say (Introduct., p. 1): "apparet editorem Italum non solum longe diligentius operam difficilem perfecisse quam Haenelius, sed etiam in summa re editione eius recte uti posse qui in haec studia inquirunt; errores enim ab eo commissi non multi sunt et raro graves." A cursory examination of the last books seemed to me to show that, if accuracy is any object in an edition of these scholia, an editor who not once nor twice but frequently miscorrects his predecessor's correct reading, besides letting slip a fair number of his mistakes and adding more of his own, can hardly be counted satisfactory.

I proceed to give first some illustrations of Manentius' miscorrections of Haenel's readings:

- xii. 11. 1. 3 apud eorum:—with note "iure sed tacite addit hic Haen. v. heredes." MS quite clearly *h*h (= heredes).
- xiii. 5. 16 haec c modo uacat:—with note on the mysterious c: "probabiliter pro: constitutio, Haen. tacite omittit hanc literam." And so does the MS.
- xiii. 6. 3. 3 honeribus non subiacere:—with a note stating that Haenel omitted the non. Haenel did; and the MS.
- xv. 14. 9. 4 sponsa facta:—note: "Haen. tacite emendans sponsam factam." So too the MS, though the stroke representing m in sponsam may be intentionally erased.
- Ibid.* 10 fiducia:—Haen. and MS fiduciae.
- xvi. 4. 9 reiciendos:—note: "ita cod., Haen. pellendos." The MS has quite clearly pellendos.

No less inexcusable are the half-corrections which occur equally frequently, for example:

- xii. 6. 10 noui susceptores creatos:—note: "Haen. tacite emendans: creati." MS nouos susceptores creatos.
- xii. 10. 1. 4 de iis referiri:—"ita cod., Haen.: de iis referatur." MS^{is} de eo referri.
- xii. 12. 9. 1 aut duae provinciae discisiae:—"ita ullo absque dubio in cod., Haen. tacite emendans: dioeceses." MS aut duae provinciae aut duae discisiae.
- xii. 13. 1:—the word *pro* is not erased, as Manentius states.
- xiv. 3. 14. 2 eadem condicione:—with note on eadem: "ita mendose codex, Haen. tacite emendans: eidem," and "Haen. conditioni." The MS actually reads eidem condicione.
- xv. 1. 12 portus publicis:—note: "ita cod., Haen. tacite emendans: publicos." portus publici is the reading of the MS.
- xvi. 2. 14 vel X. et:—with a note stating that Haenel omitted X, but not that the MS omits et.
- Ibid.* 15. 4 brebe:—note: "ita codex, Haen. breve." MS brebem.
- Ibid.* 27. 10 facta:—note: "hic tacite addit Haen. est." MS facta liberalitas.
- Ibid.* 39. 4 conbuerint:—note: "ita cod., Haen. tacite em. conniverint." MS conibuerint.
- xvi. 4. 23 doctores quorumque:—note: "Haen. t. em. quicunque eorum." MS doctoresque eorum quicumque.
- Ibid.* 25. 4 punitur:—"ita cod., Haen. puniatur." MS punitum.
- xvi. 8. 21. 2 passim sinagogarum:—"ita codex, Haenel nescio qua ratione, passim aut synogogas vel." MS incassum aut sinagogas vel.
- Words are occasionally added or omitted without comment, and corrections in the MS are often overlooked; for example:
- xiii. 5. 29:—erutos is not in the MS, and the original reading was pirata and solidi, afterward altered to piratis and solidorum.
- xiii. 10. 7. 3 iudicibus rector prouinciae praesentatis partibus:—iudicibus praesentatis prouinciae partibus.
- xiii. 5. 20. 2 sed facultates:—et (=etiam) is supplied above the line between the two words.
- xiii. 5. 31 concedi seruari:—"de hoc non immerito Haen. miratur." But concedi is written above seruari, and was of course intended to replace it.
- Ibid.* 21. 1 honore:—pro is added above.
- xv. 9. 2 non:—om. MS.
- xvi. 2. 14. 1 et:—om. MS.
- xvi. 4. 12. 4 conductorem fundi:—om. MS.
- xvi. 8. 28. 3:—after poterant Manentius has omitted aut quod eum contingere poterat.

Naturally, though here one can not help feeling some sympathy with him, the extensive and confusing system of abbreviation used in these notes supplied a number of pitfalls into which Manentius did not fail to fall.

ð (=ber), not, as wrongly stated in the table of contractions, equivalent to ð (=bus), is several times a source of mistakes; e. g., xiv. 4. 2. 6 *debere ferri*:—"ita cod., Haen. *referri*." Haenel is perfectly right, *debere referri* being the MS reading; xv. 5. 4. 3 *praebeat*:—*praebere* MS; xv. 1. 31. 2 *scribi*:—*scribere* MS.

ð (=bus), also used, I believe, occasionally for ber (cf. the Verona Gaius), is taken for b erased, and consequently omitted: xvi. 2. 13 and 46: *superioribus similis*. It is strangely added by Manentius at xv. 1. 52 *reparationibus*:—*reparationi* MS.

ſ (=inter)¹ is sometimes omitted (e. g., xvi. 4. 49. 6 *donationes sibi*:—*donationes inter se* MS), sometimes confused with per (e. g., xvi. 8. 18. 2 *per sua*:—*inter sua* MS; *ibid.* 22. 6 *per cristianos*:—*inter cristianos* MS; and at the end of the same line *per iudeos*:—*inter iudeos* MS), or with pro (e. g., xvi. 10. 4. 2 *sacrificiis productis*:—*sacrificiis interdictis* MS).

N (=nam), not non, as Manentius states; xii. 13. 4. 2 *coronae*:—should be read *coronam*. In the preceding line I noted the variants *praecipit* for *praecit*, *datum pro coronis*, and *imperii* for *imperatoris*. *id est* seemed rather uncertain; there appeared to be three letters, but they are very indistinct.

N̄ (=non is confused with ū (=uel): xvi. 4. 49. 2 *turpitudinis non sanctitatis*.

N̄ (=nihil) gives rise to a strange mistake: xiii. 11. 10. 1 *directos nec non agentes*:—*directos nihilque agentes* MS; and xvi. 4. 2. 2 *non de*:—*nihil de* MS.

ō (=oportere) is omitted: xiii. 3. 5. 1 *quales esse oportere insinuat*.

p (=per), also written *p*, is misread pre: xvi. 4. 26 *manichaeos perditionis animaduersione tradendos*.

¹The same sign seems to be used for contra in xvi. 4. 45, though contra is generally > or >.

pūlis = prouinciis, not prouincialibus xvi. 4. 28. 4.

q̄ (=quam) is misread que: xv. 14. 6 a tiranno quisquam honore donatus. xvi. 8. 28. 2 aut quam pro uiribus portiones, the same sign seems to be wrongly used for quas, which Manentius reads.

R̄ (=res) is confused with the sign for R' (=rum;¹ also rem); e. g., xii. 1. 44 honores potiti; xvi. 4. 31. 15 defensorem singularem:—defensores singulas.

ū (=uel, or ut) is confused with um: xvi. 2. 9. 1 addit ut:—additum; with et: xii. 10. 1. 2 lucro vel quaestu; and cum with uel: xvi. 4. 53. 1 uel schismaticos:—schismaticis MS.

o, the inverted c which stands for cum, is also misread: xii. 1. 20. 3 non impleto:—ñ² pleto MS. This mistake is also found in the table of abbreviations.

q, a ligatured form of the numeral VI, is omitted xii. 1. 44: VI et XXX similis.

I may add that the abbreviations are by no means exhausted in Manentius' table, and that a complete and accurate list of them is much needed, as some of them do not seem to conform to those in the Verona Gaius. For example, q̄, the ordinary abbreviation for quia,³ is here used in some other sense in the phrases superiori q̄ similis, similis q̄ superiori, etc.: xi. 36. 30; xii. 6. 7; xv. 2. 16 (superiori q̄ in kapite similis); xvi. 2. 11 and 4. 37, where it is rendered by Manentius que, quae,³ or more usually omitted altogether. quoque would perhaps be nearer the mark, though not very satisfactory.

ā (=aut) seems to have some other significance in two passages: xi. 30. 64 hic posuit si ā infirmitate praegrauetur aut iudex aut litigator, where ab, which Manentius reads, is most improbable. aliqua would seem more likely, but hardly fits with the second instance: xii. 1. 102. 2 contra eos qui sunt ā obnoxii curiae non ualere, where Manentius omits it.⁴

¹ Often very like ri.

² qā and, I think, q are found for quia in this MS.

³ q̄ or qe is usually found for quae, and q. for que.

⁴ In the next words: ut si originales sint uel quos iudicium inuenerit, ut must surely be a mistake for uel corresponding to uel origo fecerit of the text. Both ut and uel are represented by ū.

pp can not mean, as usual, propter in the sentence xii. 6. 12: nullum debere perquirere solidorum **pp** de quo collecti sunt titulo. Could it stand for praepositum, corresponding to the prouincia rector of the text?

ñ xiii. 11. 15 competitor qui per subreptionem aliquid **ñ** accipit, is probably only nisi or nihil corrected to non, which Manentius reads.

g, in the sentence xiv. 3. 12: de prouinciis uenire pistorum a quinquennio in quinquennium **g** gratuite, is a portentous abbreviation, if I copied it rightly; but it can scarcely stand for et si (Man.) or quod si (Haen.). Possibly it is only quod or quam erased. Manentius' note: "Haen. quod, sed hoc verbum videtur ab ipso librario oblitteratum esse, qui pro eo supra et emendationis gratia posuit," does not, I think, refer to this passage, but to the et quod of the next line, where quod is crossed out and et written above it.

xvi. 4. 6. 1 admonet iudices ne qui starum sectarum homines dimittat in aeclesias qui:—the MS has starum, which would probably stand for sanctarum. It also reads ^{di} in aeclesias in ^{Edre} ~~in~~mittat qui. Can the last word, which is omitted by Manentius, stand for introducere?

Ibid. 12. 1 sectae nu(nquam) ordinari:—sectae N de ///// nuş ordinarī. Possibly non diaconos ordinari, though the sign should stand for nam not non.

Ibid. 12. 7 pari modo ipsos hereticos de:—some more letters are visible at the end. They looked like dendis; possibly it is some contraction for damnandos.

Cases are often altered—though whether by Haenel or Manentius I can not say, as I have not Haenel's edition by me—to suit the editor's sometimes mistaken idea of the grammar; e. g., xii. 1. 33. 1 iubet curiam declinantes:—MS rightly curia; *ibid.* 6. 30 tabularii duo:—tabularios duos; *ibid.* 6. 13. 4 diuidatur:—diuidendam; xiii. 11. 9 peregrini:—peregrinos; xiv. 3. 12 coram officio:—coram officium.

As a further illustration of the unreliability of the edition, I append a list of the variants I noticed in books xv and xvi, omit-

ting such as have already been mentioned, and orthographical variants. The list is no doubt incomplete, as my examination was very hastily made. With regard to spelling I may mention that Manentius is not reliable even when he vouches for it in a note (e. g., xiv. 3. 16. 2 spece—"ita codex;" MS specie; xvi. 2. 5 ortodoxum:—"ita codex;" hortodoxum MS):

xv. 1. 3. 2 q(-)ā a:—q.p//ta 13. 1 administrans 22. 2 priuat^{ta}is (i doubtful) 34. 1 incolae 46. 2 longinquo 5. 1. 1 potestem 5. 1 qui r(?)e cam:—qui ne eam 8. 1 mulier 14. 6. 1 quisquam 2 reuocandos 7. 1 iudicium 8. 1 galliis 9. 2 sententia xvi. 1. 2. 3 pia uel ueneranda doctrina 2. 4. 1 unumque (corr. to unoque?) 6. 3 clericalium (possibly corr. to cur-) 9. 1 similis sed hoc additum si 15. 3 causam 42. 1 prop^{par}ter balanis 43 alios 3. 1 secutos 4. 12. 6 connisi:—cogniti uilicus dominus 16. 2 eosnomianos 21. 4 de urugones(?) absconso 28. 2 conuictione 32. 2 constringata 6 officium:—suffragium 36. 3 eos:—si 39. 3 constringit 43. 8 quinque un exacti (quinque corr. to decem) 10 maritalis:—partenea 11 constringat:—eos 45. 8 uiros mulieresque 15 ubi id ipsi:—utrum ipsis 49. 8 admittunt 50. 2 fryges 5 prodixutaque(?) 53. 1 manicheos cum schismaticis 2 exterminare usque uel eos(?) 54. 2 fuerint u pellantur 56 adiunxerint 57. 2 sic uocantur 3 omnesque 8. 4. 1 pateras 8. 2 inuitis patribus debere suscipere 20. 2 sabbato 22. 8 sociata 24. 1 militare xvi contraria 25. 4 pro:—om. 28. 2 aut quam.

xvi. 4. 12. 2 fuerint suscepisse<- - -> fisco:—⁹I read fuerint // inaficas a fisco. Possibly suscepisse beneficia a fisco, if there is room for suscepisse.

xii. 12. 5. 2: The mysterious maiuit is, I think, only maius smudged. *ibid.*, 10. 2 indiciis:—iudiciis.

It might be useful to append, in addition to the instances already quoted, a list—which does not, however, pretend to be complete—correcting and supplementing Manentius' table of contractions. My list is made up partly from notes of my own taken from the later books, partly from notes kindly lent me by Professor W. M. Lindsay, which were taken, I believe, mainly from the earlier books. I have to thank him, too, for notes from some of the early minuscule MSS here referred to.

an = ante.

c^o=cum. Its close resemblance to the first of Manentius' contractions for causa, if the latter is reliable, should be noticed. com is used for com- in the word completis (xii. 1. 126).

c=comes, easily confused with c=causa. com also occurs.

d = dicit (cf. Verona Lat. LIII; in Vienna Lat. 1224 it seems to stand for dixit; another form d also occurs for dicit in early MSS).

dmo = dominio.

et = et (xvi. 4. 31).

imp = imperat as well as imperator.

m = mus. This, like the similar form of -bus, might easily be taken for an erasure.

numo = numero.

n = nunc; similarly t = tunc.

o = omnes "ut uidetur" f. 243 v. (Lindsay).

p = pos as well as post.

pot = potestas.

pc = proconsul (e. g., xi. 36. 20), as well as procurator.

pū = prout, almost exactly the same as pū = prouincia (also pūn).

p = publicus as well as per; pub, publ, and publico are also used. per occasionally takes the strange form p.

q or q̄ is not, I believe, used for quod, as Manentius states, but for quam. In xi. 34. 20 it seems to be used, possibly by mistake, for qua. The usual abbreviation for quod (q̄) is not unlike it. q̄ also occurs for quod (e. g., xi. 36. 31), which might easily be mistaken for q = qui, especially as the general use elsewhere is precisely the reverse. Several other rather mysterious relative forms occur, for whose meaning I will not vouch; e. g., q̄ is generally read as qui, but Haenel, rightly one would think, reads it quis in the passage quodsi quis . . . iecerit. qq̄ I noted as quidquid without reference to any passage; Professor Lindsay as quiqui (f. 233v).

q̄b = quibus should be noticed as a form which might be easily omitted through its resemblance to an erasure.

reip is used both for reipublicae and rei priuatae; for the latter reipe and reip are also used.

r° stands for -rum, -rem, and also -run in the ending -runt.

f° = sed is as here formed, and not such a decrepit affair as in Manentius' table.

$\overline{\text{signf}}$ = significat (cf. signif, Troyes 159, s. viii-ix).

sol° is used for both solutum and solidi.

$\bar{s}$ = sunt.

$\overline{ss}$ = superius and suprascriptus.

T° = tis.

$\bar{u}$ = uer as well as ut and uel.

$\overset{a}{t}$ with a clear a, not a mere blur as in Manentius' table, signifies tra; similarly $\overset{i}{t}$, $\overset{o}{t}$, $\overset{o}{t}$ = tri, tre, and tro.

t° = tum.

ali.q.m, which I have noted for aliquo modo, can hardly be right. $\overset{o}{q} \overset{o}{m}$ is the usual form of quomodo.

Many of the noticeable features of this system of abbreviation are still preserved in early minuscule MSS; for example, $\overset{?}{}$, which in later MSS is practically confined to the ending -us—a usage not found in this MS—still survives in some early MSS in the sense of -um. In Brussels MS 10127 (s. viii) both r° and r° occur for -rum. Troyes 159 (s. viii-ix) uses $\overset{?}{}$, not the later $\overset{?}{}$; $\overset{?}{}$ I have found also in Montpellier Éc. Med. 69 (s. ix Merovingian) and Cambrai 693. Brussels MS 10127 also preserves c° = cum; it seems to make a distinction between cum, con, and com which I have not noticed elsewhere, $\bar{c}$ (and $\circ$) being used for con, c° for cum, and $c\bar{o}$ for com. But I will not vouch for the distinction being invariably kept.

It was probably this abbreviation which developed later into the semicolon; thus p° post is still retained in Bruss. 8216 and 9311 (s. ix) in Bruss. 10127 (s. viii) the form is $p\circ$ or $p\circ\cdot$. In Bruss. 8780 it has become $p\circ$. Similarly in the case of -bus, which occurs in one of Studemund's MSS (T) in the form B° , the stroke soon descends and becomes the conventional semicolon. In some early minuscule MSS, however, it is still a very unconventional semicolon, the dot being applied in various eccentric positions or not at all. In Bruss. 10127 it takes the forms

b̃ b̃. b̃. b̃. Cambrai 693 using b̃: almost preserves the old form; similarly b̃ b̃ and b̃, Montp. 69. Others keep the ˆ in its original position; e. g., Milan Ambr. 105 inf. viii b̃ with an alternative form b̃. b̃, which is found for -bus (and also for -bis), is probably an alteration of the b̃ of our MS; compare the forms qđ and qđ, which both occur for quidem in Turin F. iv. 1. 8. 9. The same MS has qđ for quibus. In Montp. 69 the stroke is often slanting b̃. Usually, however, these confusing forms, which looked like erasures, were very wisely discarded or altered, the cross-stroke being placed outside the letter, not through it; e. g., m̃, ñ, or with more flourish m̃, ñ (Montp. 69), which also uses m̃.

Even the confusing r̃ = inter is occasionally found, especially apparently in Irish MSS, e. g., St. Gall 904; Turin iv. 1. 7. 8. The straight cross-stroke in T̃, F̃ = ter fer seems to die out, too, giving place to a line above the letter, though I find f̃ = ser in Professor Lindsay's notes from Pal. Lat. 65. It is possible that the unusual form of the cross-stroke in per, which is sometimes written p̃ in our MS, might be the cause of the confusion of per and pro in Visigothic MSS, as it somewhat resembles pro. The confusion is not entirely confined to Visigothic; I find p̃ = pro in Lindsay's notes from Verona Bibl. Cap. lxxxix (Merovingian), and have noticed a kind of intermediary form P̃ in Bruss. 10127, which looks like an attempt to write p̃ quick in one stroke. If my note p̃q̃b̃ from Cambrai 679 is right, the contrary form p̃ for pro occurs there. f̃, in its original form survives occasionally (e. g., Bruss. 2750); but it soon gets the inevitable complement of dots at first thrown on apparently at haphazard (e. g., f̃, Bruss. 10127), but soon conventionally f̃. Sometimes the comma becomes a mere dot (e. g., f̃, Naples Charisius [s. viii]). The vagaries performed with regard to such dots are a noticeable feature of early minuscule contractions; compare the forms of -bus given above, and still more the forms of que, which I have noticed q̃ q̃. q̃ q̃: q̃ q̃ q̃ q̃; q̃: q̃: in various early MSS.

In conclusion I will call attention to the survival and change of the contraction r̃ = run in the ending -runt. With that meaning it is sometimes found in early minuscule MSS; e. g., r̃'t Vat.

Reg. 718 (s. viii-ix), $\overline{rt}$ Montp. 69. More usually, however, it has usurped the meaning -runt; e. g., r^2 Montp. 69, π Vat. Lat. 3317 (Lombardic s. viii-ix), r^2 Vienna Lat. 1188 (Lombardic), $\bar{r}$ Montp. 69. It is characteristic of the uncertainty of these forms in the early period, when the mediaeval system was in process of formation, that we find in one and the same MS (Montp. 69) three forms, $\overline{rt}$, r^2 , $\bar{r}$, with the same meaning.

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CRETAN *ίς*

BY CARL DARLING BUCK

Cretan *ίς*, forms of which occur twice and probably three times in the Gortynian Law-Code, has always been identified with Homeric *ίς* (*ίς*, Z 422), which belongs with *ία* = *μία*. And rightly, as regards form. But when it comes to the question of its actual use, we should do well to give up trying to force upon it any numerical value, and recognize that it has simply pronominal force, "that one." This is not a new idea. Comparetti (*Monumenti Antichi* III, p. 206) considered taking *ίς* = *ἐκεῖνος*, though only to reject it (see below), and Dareste and Haussoulier (*Inscriptions juridiques* I, p. 471) say plainly "*ίς* (vii. 22) équivaut ici, comme partout, simplement à *ἐκεῖνος*." But most scholars seem to have either overlooked this view or failed to give it due consideration, and it will be well to review the evidence.

In vii. 52 ff. it is stated that the heiress, if she does not wish to marry the groom-elect (the one whom the law provides as her husband), she may, taking possession of the house and half the other property as her share, be free to marry some one else. Then follows (viii. 6, 7) ἀποδῆθαι δὲ τὸν κρεμμάτων *ίς* "but she shall give a share of the property to that one," i. e., to the aforesaid discarded groom-elect, who is entitled to the other half of the property. That the person referred to by *ίς* is the groom-elect is obvious, and all commentators are agreed upon it. Yet Bücheler and Zitelmann translate it by "Einem," Baunack by "Erstberechtigten," Merriam by "the first," Comparetti by "al primo (da lei rifiutato)." That is, the last three scholars take *ίς* = *πρῶτος*. But there is no more question of "the first" of several than there is of "one" of several, and Merriam and Comparetti evidently mean "first" in the sense of "the former," "the aforesaid." Even if the use of *ίς* as *πρῶτος* (see Baunack *Inschrift von Gortyn*, p. 132), and further the use of *πρῶτος* as "former," can be justified, the absence of the article still remains as a difficulty. This

is felt by Comparetti, who admits (*Monumenti Antichi* III, p. 206) that the meaning *ἐκεῖνος* would suit better in this passage, but is deterred from accepting it by its use in vii. 23, to which we turn.

In vii. 15 ff., the beginning of the regulations regarding the heiress, provision is made for four different conditions, as follows:

1. One heiress, several brothers of the father. *τὰμ πατρῷδων ὀπιέθαι ἀδελπίδι τῷ πατρὸς τὸν ἰόντων τῷ πρεγίστῳ*. "The heiress shall marry the father's brother who is the oldest of those living."

2. Several heiresses, several brothers of the father, *αἱ δέ κα πλῆες πατρῷδοι ἰόντι καδελπιοὶ τῷ πατρὸς, τῷ ἐπιπρεγίστῳ ὀπιέθαι*. "If there are several heiresses and brothers of the father, they shall marry (each) the next oldest (in succession)." The form of expression is condensed, but the meaning clear.

3. One heiress, no brothers of the father living, but sons of these brothers. *αἱ δέ κα μὲ ἰόντι ἀδελπιοὶ τῷ πατρὸς, υἱέδ δὲ ἐκς ἀδελπίδων, ὀπιέθαι ἰδί τῷ ἐς τῷ πρεγίστῳ*. "If there are no brothers of the father, but sons of the brothers, she shall marry that one who is the son of the eldest."

4. Several heiresses, several sons of the father's brothers. *αἱ δέ κα πλῆες ἰόντι πατρῷδοι κυῖες ἐκς ἀδελπίδων, ἄλλοι ὀπιέθαι τῷ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐς τῷ πρεγίστῳ*. "If there are several heiresses and sons of the brothers, they shall marry the next after the son of the eldest (and so on)." The expression is condensed as in 2, but the meaning equally clear.

It is in the third provision, as quoted, that the *ἰδί* in question occurs. Most commentators take it as = *πρώτῳ* "the first" i. e., the eldest son of the eldest. But neither here nor in 4 is any account taken of more than one son of each brother. That in case of several sons it would be the oldest is taken for granted. Had it been expressed, we should expect *τῷ πρεγίστῳ τὸν ἐς τῷ πρεγίστῳ*. Or, admitting the use of *ἰδί* = *πρώτῳ* as a variant expression, we should at least expect *τῷ ἰδί τὸν κτλ*. Thus, even in this matter of word arrangement, the objection to the usual view seems to me far more serious than that which dissuaded Comparetti from adopting the pronominal interpretation, namely, the following *τῷ*, which he says makes such a pronoun superfluous. But an exact parallel to the phrase cited above under 1, namely, *ὀπιέθαι*

ἀδελπιῶι -- τοῖ πρειγίστοῖ, would be ὀπνιέθαι νιῦν τοῖ ἐς τὸ πρειγίστο, which is what we have, except that since in this case *νίέες* occurs in the preceding clause, the pronoun is substituted for *νιῦν*.

The third probable occurrence of a form of *ίός*, the one not universally recognized, is at ix. 28, 29, where Comparetti reads ἐπιμῶλέν (ν) ἰὸ πρὸ τὸ ἐνιαυτῶ. According to Hallberr's second reading -εν and ιο are certain, the character between being L, perhaps an incomplete N. Blass, indeed, in the latest publication of the text (*SGDI*. 4991), reads ἐπιμῶλέν, αἱ δ κτλ, which requires for its explanation an improbable amount of amplification (see note, *loc. cit.*, ix. 28 f.). When he says regarding Comparetti's reading "Indes ἐνός hat hier keinen Sinn," I quite agree. But if we take it as a pronoun we get just the sense which is wanted: "action shall be brought against that one (the aforesaid deceased, in reality, of course, against the heirs who represent him) before the end of a year."

If now, as we think is beyond any reasonable doubt, Cretan *ίός* is used as a pronoun, while *ἱα* is a numeral in Aeolic (Homer, Lesbian, Thessalian), the difference in use is one that can be paralleled among other related forms, e. g., Skt., *ena* = a weak demonstrative, cognate with Lat. *ūnus* (*oinos*), Goth. *ains*, etc. A shift of meaning in either direction is easily understood, and the question which is the earlier use (cf. Brugmann *Kurze vergl. Gram.*, p. 363, but Solmsen *Berl. phil. Woch.*, 1906, p. 182), need not concern us here.

NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS

SENECA *EPP. MOR.* 82. 20

In this letter Seneca sets forth the thought that a bare dialectical demonstration that death is not an evil (such as Zeno gives) is of small significance for courageous action in the face of impending peril. Against an emotion of the human breast such as fear stronger weapons must be used. There follow then the words: *haec ipsa quae voluntur ab illis (dialecticis) solvere malim et expendere, ut persuadeam* [the goal of rhetoric], *non ut imponam* [dialectic]. There follow accordingly rhetorical *exempla* drawn from the words of famous leaders, exhorting their men in the face of certain death.

The language of dialect is, in accordance with its unemotional, direct, truth-seeking purpose, *simplex concisa astricta arida*: the language of rhetoric on the other hand is *multiplex dilatata varia fortis ornata*. In the above passage in which Seneca indicates his preference for a freer and more ample utterance with which to combat fear, *solvere* answers the requirement of the thought perfectly; but not so *expendere*, since the reflective "weighing" of a thought can not be said to be more characteristic of rhetorical than of dialectical treatment. "I should prefer," he says, "to handle these dialectical arguments more freely (*solvere*), and more expansively," that is *EXPANDERE*, and not *expendere*.

In the long controversies between philosophers and rhetoricians many illustrations of their differences of method had been employed, not infrequently reflecting the hostilities of either party. So in Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 11 setting the sails of rhetoric (*pandere vela orationis*) is contrasted with the laborious rowing of dialectic (*dialecticorum remis*). The same figure is used by Jerome *Epp.* 14 (Migne, Vol. I, p. 353) in passing from a dialectical argument to an outburst of emotional language: *expandenda vela sunt ventis*. Finally, with exact parallel to our passage, Augustine *De catechiz. rud.* iii. 5 (Vol. VI, p. 313 Migne) says of narrative that in general it should be brief, but enlivened in conspicuous places by amplification: *sed (oportet) aliquantum immorando quasi resolvere atque expandere et inspicienda atque miranda offerre animis auditorum*. For this metaphorical use of *expandere* in Seneca, without an apologetic *quasi*, cf. *Epp.* 59. 7.

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DIONYSIUS EPISTULA AD POMPEIUM 775 R

πρώτη τῶν ἀρετῶν γένοιτ' ἂν, ἥς χωρὶς οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ τοῦ λόγου δρελόσ τι, ἡ καθαρὰ τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν χαρακτῆρα σφίζουσα διὰλεκτος. ταύτην ἀκριβοῦσιν ἀμφοτέροι· Ἡρόδοτος τε γὰρ τῆς Ἰάδος ἀριστος κανὼν Θουκυδίδης τε τῆς Ἀτθίδος . . . τρίτην ἔχει χώραν ἡ καλουμένη συντομία· ἐν ταύτῃ δοκεῖ προέχειν Ἡρόδοτος τοῦ Θουκυδίδης. καίτοι λέγοι τις ἂν, ὡς μετὰ τοῦ σαφοῦς ἐξεταζόμενον ἡδὺ φαίνεται τὸ βραχύ.

In this passage from the letter to Pompeius, in which Dionysius enumerates the ἀναγκαῖαι ἀρεταί of style, the lacuna after Ἀτθίδος was first marked by Sylburg in his edition of 1586. Since that time all the critical editions, including the more recent ones of H. Usener and W. Rhys Roberts, have observed the lacuna. It is the purpose of this note to show, by the presentation of parallel passages from Dionysius, that there is no lacuna in the text and that Dionysius had distinctly in mind four ἀρεταί (ἡ καθαρὰ λέξις, ἀκρίβεια, σαφήνεια, συντομία) and not simply three, as Roberts suggests in his note on the passage. The second virtue ἀκρίβεια, which Roberts seems to overlook, is represented by the verb ἀκριβοῦσιν. There is abundant evidence that Dionysius regarded ἀκρίβεια, 'precision,' as a distinct virtue of style, and that he carefully differentiated it from ἡ καθαρὰ λέξις, 'purity in diction.' The nature of the distinction between the two seems to be this: To attain καθαρὰ λέξις one must refrain from using words foreign to his dialect. ἀκρίβεια goes a step farther and preserves the exact meaning of each word in the dialect. For example, either a Spartan or Boeotian could use the dual form τὼ σίῳ without going beyond the bounds of his dialect. For either the form would be καθαρὰ λέξις. To the Spartan, however, τὼ σίῳ meant Castor and Pollux, to the Boeotian it meant Amphion and Zethus. In case a Spartan used τὼ σίῳ referring to Amphion and Zethus, his diction would lack the virtue ἀκρίβεια. In *De Thucyd.* 23, Dionysius gives a similar enumeration of the ἀναγκαῖαι ἀρεταί. In this passage ἀκρίβεια is represented by the phrase "σφίζουσα τὸν ἴδιον ἐκάστης διαλέκτου χαρακτῆρα."

The following passages gathered from Dionysius confirm the view of ἀκρίβεια that has been presented:

De Lysia 13, an enumeration of the ἀρεταί of Lysias:

τὸ καθαρὸν τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἡ ἀκρίβεια τῆς διαλέκτου, τὸ διὰ τῶν κυρίων καὶ μὴ τροπικῶν κατασκευῶν ἐκφέρειν τὰ νοήματα, ἡ σαφήνεια, ἡ συντομία.

De Demosthene 18, concerning the diction of Isocrates:

καθαρεύει τε γὰρ, εἰ τις ἄλλη, τοῖς νοήμασι, καὶ τὴν διὰλεκτόν ἐστιν ἀκριβής· φανερόν τ' ἐστὶ καὶ κοινή. He lacks συντομία.

De Demosthene 13, after a long citation from Demosthenes:

ταῦτα οὐ καθαρὰ καὶ ἀκριβῆ καὶ σαφῆ καὶ διὰ τῶν κυρίων καὶ κοινῶν ὀνομάτων κατεσκευασμένα ὥσπερ τὰ Λυσίου;

De Isaeo 3: The diction of Isaeus

καθαρὰ μὲν καὶ ἀκριβὴς καὶ σαφής, κυρία τε καὶ ἐναργής, καὶ σύντομος.

De Isocrate 11:

πρώτην μὲν τοίνυν ἔφην ἀρετὴν εἶναι λόγων, τὴν καθαρὰν ἐρμηνείαν. . . . ἔπειτα τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τὴν διαλέκτου . . . τῆς δὲ σαφηνείας καὶ τῆς ἐπαργείας . . . ἐν δὲ τῷ συντόμῳ ἐκφέρειν τὰ νοήματα, etc.

From these citations it seems clear that ἀκρίβεια is the δευτέρα ἀρετή, and that there is no lacuna in the text.

It may be worth while to add that this term ἀκρίβεια seems to be exactly synonymous with the κυριολογία of Herodian, and that the essentials of a correct style here presented by Dionysius seem to conform to the Stoic theory presented by Herodian. The Stoic theory made ἑλληνισμός its goal, and Herodian named ἑλληνισμός, σαφήνεια, συντομία, and κυριολογία as the first four ἀρεταὶ λόγου (*Lex. Vindob.*, p. 306, ll. 14 ff.).

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THE EITUNS INSCRIPTIONS AT POMPEII

I wish to suggest the possibility that these inscriptions may have some connection with an incident mentioned in Cicero *Pro Sulla* 61, and to make a few observations to bring out the reasonableness of this idea.

It seems from the short notice in Cicero that the Oscan citizens came into conflict with the Roman colonists on the subject of public promenades, which can only mean that they were prevented from taking their 'constitutional' in the places they had preferred in the days of their autonomy. Now the best place in the city for a stroll in the late afternoon of a summer's day or in the sunshine during the winter is the stretch of wall between the Herculanean gate and the first two or three towers. We walked along here with Professor Mau two years ago and remarked upon the fine view of the valley and of the coast. No doubt this was, after the war, in the custody of the colonists, who may, through arrogance or prudence, have chosen to hinder the Oscans from the use of the wall even as a place of recreation. The Oscans may have protested vigorously and succeeded in obtaining the right to enjoy at least the two sections of the wall indicated in the three inscriptions Nos. 14, 15, 16 in Buck; 60, 61, 62 in Conway; and 47, 48, and 50 in von Planta. The residence of the Oscan citizen given in each case may denote the point at which access might be had to the wall.

The next inscription (Buck 17, Conway 63, v. Pl. 49) contains, like the preceding, two *termini inter quos* which are this time the residences of two Oscan citizens, as there may have been no towers on this lower side. The view from the front of the city to which this inscription must refer is extremely beautiful, though not so commanding as that from the higher parts mentioned above. That there was also a portico in this neighborhood is evidenced by remains that Professor Mau points out.

The last inscription (Buck 18, *Rom. Mitth.* XIII, pp. 124 ff.) may

mean that the colonists went so far as to interfere with the rights of the original inhabitants in and about the forum, and this trouble may at the same time be connected with the matter of the suffrage which Cicero also mentions as a point of dispute. It would be doubly painful to the Oscans to lose at the same time their share in the local politics and the unmolested enjoyment of a favorite lounging-place. This inscription, then, asserts their right to the region about the temple and the *villa publica*, whatever that may have been. It may well be the gladiatorial barracks, which as a portico must have been a favorite resort from the heat or the rain. In all the inscriptions *etuns* will mean *liceto ire*.

Whether the connection here proposed is the correct one or not, the topographical coincidence seems to be almost perfect between the localities mentioned in the inscriptions and those that we know must have been well-known resorts for recreation. With the use of the wall as a promenade may be compared the similar use of the *agger* of Servius at Rome; Horace *Sat.* i. 8. 15.

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HIMERIUS ORATION I AND HORACE ARS POETICA 128

In the Προθεωρία of the first oration of Himerius Dübner's text reads:

τὸ δὲ δεύτερον τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ θέσειν, ἣν κοινὴν οἶσαν τῇ φύσει τῇ καιρότητι τῶν ἐπιχειρημάτων καὶ τῇ μεθόδῳ τῶν τοιμάτων ἡδεῖαν ἀπειργασάμεθα, καὶ τι καὶ φιλομαθῆσιν ἡδὺ προσμύξαται, ὃ τοῦς ταῦτα δευνούς οὐ παρελεύσεται.

The words κοινὴν οἶσαν are Dübner's obvious correction of the κοινω-νοῦσιν of previous editors. But the text is not yet sound. ἡδεῖαν forms an awkward tautology with ἡδύ and fails to yield the required antithesis with κοινήν. We must read ἰδίαν, which modern Greek pronunciation would hardly distinguish from ἡδεῖαν. We thus get a pertinent commonplace of ancient rhetoric, Horace's *proprie communia dicere* (*A.P.* 128). It is familiar to Himerius, who at the beginning of *Ecloga* x says: τὰς κοινότητας τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἰδίας αἱ μεταχειρίσεις ἐργάζονται. Himerius, of course, did not take it from Horace. But it may have been suggested to him by Isocrates, whom he often imitates. In *Panegy.* 9 Isocrates has:

αἱ μὲν γὰρ πράξεις . . . κοιναὶ πᾶσιν . . . τὸ δ' ἐν καιρῷ ταῦταις καταχρῆσθαι . . . καὶ τοῖς ὀνόμασιν εὖ διαθέσθαι τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἰδίον ἔστιν.

Tasso, whom Mr. Saintsbury (*History of Criticism* II, p. 94) praises as "a link, and a very early link, in the apostolic succession of those who have held and taught the great doctrine that poetry makes the familiar unfamiliar, the accustomed strange and new," is directly or indirectly repeating Isocrates. "Variamente tessendolo, di commune proprio, e di vecchio novo il facevano." Cf. Isocrates τὰ τε παλαιὰ καινῶς, etc., in the same context satirized by Plato *Phaedr.* 267 a.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Sprache als Schöpfung und Entwicklung: Eine theoretische Untersuchung mit praktischen Beispielen. Von KARL VOSSLER. Heidelberg: Winter, 1905. Pp. viii+154. M. 4.

This is a continuation of the same author's *Positivismus und Idealismus in der Sprachwissenschaft* (1905). In the last chapter of the earlier book (p. 91) Vossler had distinguished between the origin (*Schöpfung*) of a linguistic phenomenon and its acceptance by, and spread through, the community (*Entwicklung*). Every linguistic form originates through the activity of an individual, and is therefore in its inception individualistic, but it does not become part of the language until the rest of the community accept it and repeat it, either passively by simple imitation, or actively by modifying it in some degree. This distinction between original (primary) and imitative (secondary) changes seems to me exceedingly important.¹ The more clearly it is made and maintained the greater, naturally, will be the importance attached to the individual's language, his particular concrete way of utterance with all its variety and mobility—in brief, his style. Contrasted with this, our grammars present what is typical in the utterances of many individuals, and therefore the linguistic forms treated by them are more abstract, shorn of their individualism. The more individualistic a form of expression is, the less it is likely to find a place in an ordinary grammar, because its character is then considered stylistic rather than grammatical. And yet Vossler rightly insists that all linguistic investigation should start with the individual's concrete utterance.² Naturally, such individualistic treatment tends away³ from the schematic arrangement of our grammars (which, for the sake of classification, are forced to slight details) and throws the burden upon a psychological interpretation of single cases. For reasons which it would take too long to discuss here, Vossler calls such interpretation "aesthetic" rather than "psychological" (*Positivismus*, p. 40; *Spr.*

¹ Cf. the reviewer's *Lectures on the Study of Language* (1901), pp. 136-49, and Delbrück *Einleitung* (1904), p. 149. Compare also Vossler's *Positivismus*, p. 93, with the reviewer's *Lectures*, pp. 267-72.

² Cf. Delbrück *Einleitung* (1904), p. 175: "Überhaupt wird es die Aufgabe sein, immer genauer durch Beobachtung festzustellen, was bei den einzelnen Individuen im Sprechen vor sich geht."

³ Cf. Morris *On Principles and Methods in Latin Syntax* (1901), p. 217, and the reviewer, *Congress of Arts and Science, Universal Exposition, St. Louis, 1904*, III (1906), p. 62.

als Sch., p. 61). Suffice it to say that the relation between psychology and linguistics does not present itself to me as it does to Vossler (pp. 22 f.). Linguistics, as an empirical branch of study, deals with a certain set of psycho-physical phenomena. It is the province of psychology to correlate these special phenomena and processes of language with kindred phenomena and processes outside of language; e. g., the analogy-formations in language with other non-linguistic phenomena which rest upon associative processes. In this way psychology becomes interpretative.

A large part of the volume is devoted to a discussion of phonetic changes and "phonetic law," and here the reviewer is in many respects in full agreement with Vossler's views, so especially with his refusal to accept the time-honored contrast between "mechanical (physiological)" and "analogical (psychological)" changes,⁴ and to assign to phonetic changes an isolated position, as if they were *toto caelo* different from other linguistic changes.⁵ What is peculiar to Vossler is the great importance which he attributes to the momentary psychical (emotional) states of the individual in influencing the form of his utterance.⁶ These have been occasionally referred to before (as for the aspirated comparatives and superlatives of the dialect of West Somerset,⁷ or forms like the Sanskrit *ṛdugaṭ*⁸), but they have never been so strongly emphasized as is done here, where they appear as the sole ultimate cause of all phonetic changes. I feel convinced that they play an important rôle, but I am still somewhat skeptical regarding the possibility of arriving at very definite results in the search for ultimate causes.⁹ A clearer distinction between "ultimate" and "immediate" causes would, I believe, have modified Vossler's discussion of "mechanical" changes,¹⁰ for the immediate causes of certain phonetic changes can certainly be purely mechanical. Like Vossler's earlier book the present volume is suggestive throughout. As was to be expected of the author of *Die philosophischen Grundlagen zum "süssen neuen Stil,"* he is at his best in the analysis of delicate phonetic and semantic shades, and in the discussion of their psychological causes. His style seems at times somewhat evasive, not unlike Humboldt's, whom he appears to have taken for his model (*Positivismus*, p. v.)

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⁴Cf. *Sprache als Schöpfung*, pp. 28 f.; the reviewer's *Lectures*, pp. 263 f.

⁵Cf. *Sprache als Schöpfung*, p. 41; the reviewer's *Lectures*, p. 271.

⁶Cf. *Sprache als Schöpfung*, pp. 51 and 81, where all *Lautwandel* is declared to rest upon *Stilwandel*.

⁷Cf. Elworthy in *English Dialect Society* XVII (1875-86), p. 20, note 1; Jespersen *Lehrbuch der Phonetik* (1904), p. 97.

⁸Cf. Wackernagel *Altind. Gramm.* I (1896), p. 300.

⁹Cf. the reviewer's *Lectures*, p. 197, § 6.

¹⁰Cf. *Sprache als Schöpfung*, p. 44; the reviewer's *Lectures*, pp. 201 f.

Aristophanis Ecclesiazusae. Cum prolegomenis et commentariis edidit J. VAN LEEUWEN J. F. Lugduni Batavorum: apud A. W. Sijthoff, 1905. Pp. xxii + 60. Fl. 2.90.

With the appearance of the present volume, the tenth in this latest edition of the comic poet, we are brought well in sight of the end. A few general observations on the salient features of the edition will not therefore be out of place at this time. Beginning with the second, all the volumes have issued from the Sijthoff press; with the change of publisher the Greek characters so long in vogue among the Dutch were discarded in favor of the more substantial German style, and in harmony with this reform the typography throughout has been of a superior order. With the *Knights* (1900) there was introduced a notable innovation in the form of a fourth section to each page to serve for foot-notes to the explanatory commentary, which in turn followed the text and critical notes; and this practice has been followed ever since. Such a rigid exclusion from the commentary of all references and parenthetical remarks, while may well prove a joyous relief to the beginner, will hardly commend itself to those making a critical use of the edition. Reduced to its barest terms, the principle is made to border on the absurd in frequent instances like the following: "59. ὅσα Σκίποισι ἔδοξεν] eadem verba quae supra)," and below: "(") vid. vs. 18." An innovation, on the other hand, which ought to be of assistance to scholars is the practice followed in the critical notes of designating by an asterisk the editor's own emendations, whether actually admitted into the text or not. The division of the plays into scenes I regard as of less value in itself than the stage-directions which are introduced at the same time. We thus have the satisfaction of knowing the editor's opinion regarding the action at a great many points where there is general silence in the commentaries. Van Leeuwen boldly follows out his own theories regarding crasis, practically limiting its occurrence to cases where the first element is a short vowel, or a diphthong if followed by another diphthong. Two features whose absence from these volumes is greatly to be regretted are a systematic treatment of the metres, whether in the form of a conspectus at the end or otherwise, and a bibliography of at least the more important editions and monographs in the case of each play.

In the matter of the constitution of the text van Leeuwen's attitude toward the tradition of the MSS certainly does not appear to be changing sensibly in the direction of conservatism. In the *Ecclesiazusae*, which has, to be sure, been somewhat neglected by editors, we find practically three dozen brand-new emendations all told admitted into the text—or the highest percentage for any play thus far in the series, with the single exception of the *Thesmophoriazusae*. And this notwithstanding the fact that some twenty-five of Blaydes's suggestions have been

adopted! Of the editor's own emendations a few indeed are sufficiently probable, involving but a slight departure from the MSS, while removing considerable difficulties; but in the case of many it is difficult to see just what has been gained by the change. Some few call for such serious changes, or are so little justified by the context as to suggest the criticism passed on another scholar in a like case by van Leeuwen himself: "ingenio abusus." So (vs. 78) his ingenious τοῦτ' ἔστ' ἐκεῖν' ὥπερ <λέγων διερεῖ>δεται;—based on the assumption that Lamius was not a prison-keeper, but a well-known figure in the assembly—may be promptly rejected as out of harmony with the spirit of Aristophanic wit and the quick intelligence of the Athenian audience. Again in vs. 153 I fear he takes the poet altogether too seriously when, in place of the traditional (νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔδω,) κατὰ γε τὴν ἐμὴν μίαν, he demands κατὰ γε δύνάμιν τὴν ἐμὴν; this quite apart from the consideration that the corruption of the former reading into the latter would represent the more natural development. In the *Thesmophoriazusae* van Leeuwen rejected two or three entire verses; he would now seem to be making atonement by adding as many to its sister-play (after vss. 359^a! 381, 453). The critical apparatus is reduced almost to a minimum: we find noted only significant variants of R, or of Γ and very rarely A and B when these seem to offer a superior reading; while but a few of the more important emendations of other scholars are recorded. Of the latter several are wrongly assigned, e. g., Hermann's excellent ὀργίζεται (vs. 202), recently revived by Willems.

The exegetical commentary, on the whole, calls for high praise. In his treatment of historical personages and events the editor displays a thorough acquaintance with the evidence and a discriminating mind in weighing the same. He possesses the happy faculty of entering heartily, as a rule, into the spirit of the jests and comic situations created by his author, as the sympathetic comment on many a passage will bear witness. The grammatical notes and paraphrases are for the most part very instructive, although one occasionally wonders why certain rather elementary principles were not completely ignored; on the other hand, it is gratifying to observe remarkably few points of real difficulty passed over in silence. The introduction contains a valuable but rather brief discussion of the date of the performance of the play. Van Leeuwen finds in the events described in the third oration of Andocides an excellent background for the *Ecclesiazusae*; and he attempts an ingenious reconciliation between the apparently discordant chronologies of the orator and Philochorus, concluding in favor of the year 392.

Altogether these volumes are stimulating and suggestive; if we can not always subscribe to the principles followed or to the conclusions reached, we must at all events recognize the keen penetration and clever originality which give the edition its independent value.

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EARNEST CARY

Thesaurus linguae Latinae epigraphicae: A Dictionary of the Latin Inscriptions. By GEORGE N. OLCOTT. Rome: Loescher & Co.; New York: Lemcke & Buechner, Vol. I, fasc. 1 (A-AB), 1904, fasc. 2-4 (AB-ADIP), 1905, fasc. 5 (ADIT-ADTR), 1906. Each fasc. \$0.50.

It must be a matter of gratification to American scholars that there is one among us sufficiently courageous to undertake single-handed the Herculean task of compiling a well-ordered, complete lexicon of the more than 200,000 Latin inscriptions. Dr. Olcott does not confine himself to the *Corpus*, but searches every available epigraphic source, and includes inscriptions down to 1000 A. D. Such a work when completed will be of inestimable value to the philologist, the grammarian, the student of religious and institutional antiquities, and the archaeologist. Every occurrence of every word, excepting, of course, so common a word as *et*, will be cited. The names of living or historical personages are not included, since most of these are gathered together in the *Prosopographia imperii Romani*. There may be found here, however, all geographical and mythological names, as well as old biblical names, e. g., AARON and ABRAHAM. The citations under each word are classified and subclassified, and are complete enough to show the relation of each word in its sentence. Whenever the provenance and the date of an inscription are known, this information also is given. This lexicon, therefore, is not to be a mere alphabetical list of words, but a work which may justly be regarded as supplementing the great *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, whose citations from inscriptional sources are necessarily limited in number.

Dr. Olcott's work differs from the *Dizionario epigrafico* of De Ruggiero in being lexicographical, whereas the latter is rather archaeological or institutional. The Italian editor seeks to reconstruct, supplementing the inscriptional evidence with that derived from literary or numismatic sources; the American editor classifies with extreme care and elaborateness, and leaves others to interpret. Thus the article ACHAIA occupies in the latter's work only a column and a half, but in the former's work thirty columns. On the other hand, in the *Thesaurus* the list of inscriptions is complete. From A to AB (inclusive) it has ninety-five articles, while the *Dizionario* within the same limits has twenty-six.

The longest articles thus far written are A-AB, and AD. Each is preceded by a "Synopsis of Arrangement." For A-AB this is the following: I, Forms. II, Unusual Constructions: (a) with accusative, (b) with genitive, (c) AB before consonants, (d) A before vowels, (e) joined with following word. III, Use: (A) Local: (a) denoting separation, source, motion away from, dependent on verbs, transitive and intransitive; (b) denoting "voluntary agent" (and, by extension, involun-

tary agent), with passive verbs; (c) dependent on the verbal force in nouns; (d) dependent on adjectives and adverbs; (e) adverbial phrases, expressing distance from point to point (corresponding to *ad, usque ad*, etc.); (f) denoting location or domicile; (g) in functions, public and private; (h) adverbial formulas, etc.; miscellaneous; (B) Temporal. The classification is thus parallel to that of the great *Thesaurus*.

Many interesting facts develop from a study of the material already collected. For instance, the Roman grammarians (Charisius i. 232. 24 K) lay down the rule that *a* should be used only before consonants, and *ab* only before vowels and *h*. As a matter of fact, we see that in the inscriptions *ab* occurs before every consonant in the alphabet. This, then, is another "grammarians rule" (see *Classical Philology* I, pp. 47 ff.) which did not represent the actual speech. The question of assimilation or non-assimilation in prepositional compounds is another matter on which this work will throw light. Thus, we find *adclamo, adcubo, adcreasco, adfcio, adfigo, adgredior, adquiro*, but *accubitio, accumbo*, and both *adflctus* and *afflictus*.

The *Dictionary* is issued in fascicles of twenty-four pages each. Five of these, reaching the word ADTRIBVO, have already appeared. Three more are ready for printing this summer, and it is the intention of the editor to publish at least four fascicles each year. Two years more, perhaps three, will be necessary to finish A. The whole, when completed, will fill eight or ten volumes of about 500 pages each. The speed with which the work will proceed depends somewhat upon the number of subscribers.

The mechanical labor necessary first to collect this material, inscription by inscription, and then to sift and classify it, is immense, and its completion by one man must require many years of incessant toil. Since so important a work has been begun and so well, it may be a question whether it would not be wise for Dr. Olcott to associate with himself a corps of collaborators and so hasten the lexicon to completion.

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Studi italiani di filologia classica. Vol. XII, 1904.

The longest article in this volume, that in which, on pp. 11-120, E. Lattes discusses fascicles IX and X of the new *Corpus inscriptionum Etruscarum*, can only be named as lying beyond the competence of the reviewer.

A. Solari, pp. 1-9, gives a list, containing little of interest to the classical student, of Latin MSS anterior to the seventeenth century, found in the communal library at Leghorn.

C. Marchesi, pp. 121-38, gives (in Latin) an account and partial collation of three Verona MSS (oddly described as *adhuc non comperti*), viz.: a Persius, saec. xiii, Ovid. *Epp.*, saec. xiv (ending with *Her.* xx. 12), and Valerius Maximus, saec. xiv or xv. This last M. makes the mistake of regarding as important, having collated it only with Kempf's second edition; most of the readings which he supposes to be new are recorded in the first edition from the inferior MSS which, on the discovery of cod. L, Kempf largely disregarded. The Veronensis, which has some interesting correspondences with B, is evidently no less interpolated than the other *recentiores* (cf. Kempf², praef. p. xxix).

Interesting, and for the text of Persius indispensable, is F. Ramorino's article, pp. 229-60, "De duobus Persii codicibus": Laur. 37, 19=λ, and Laur. 33, 31=λ', a copy of λ made by Boccaccio. In contradiction of Bandini, R. assigns λ to saec. x extr. or saec. xi in.; he collates it with Montepess. A and Vat. B, representing the Sabinian recension, and with Montepess. C, Buecheler's P, representing what R. calls the Pithoean recension, and sums up thus: "cum cod. Laur. λ recensionem praecipue Sabinianam praebeat, perpaucis tantum locis cum pithoeana commixtam, cum longe emendatior sit quam A et B . . . hunc codicem ex archetypo multo meliore fluxisse quam α (=AB), fortasse etiam nonnihil antiquiore, vel unciali vel semiunciali scriptura exarato." There are a few misprints: pp. 235, 255 "Prol. 4 *pirenem*," whereas the remark on p. 259 indicates that the correct *pirenen* is the reading of λ as well as of λ'; p. 255 "S. I 22 *tum*" should be *tun*, as on p. 236; *ibid.* "I 131 *ababaci*," but p. 238 "*ababati*," it does not appear which is correct.

C. Pascal, pp. 219-27, discusses the composition of Catull. lxiv. That it is a translation is shown by the singularities *nutricum* 18, *frigidulos singultus* 132, *serens curas* 173, *flexerunt artus* 305. But it is not translated from a single source; for an original poet, introducing the Ariadne episode as a series of pictures displayed before the guests, would have maintained its pictorial character and accompanied his description with references to the spectators such as we find in Verg. *Aen.* i. 466 ff. Catullus develops the episode in narrative form; we must conclude that he introduced the device of the drapery only to dovetail one original narrative into another. And the two parts are different in tone: the Peleus and Thetis "has a certain sobriety and moderation of coloring and a certain simplicity of development which contrast vividly with the impassioned character of the" Ariadne. As to the source of the latter, P. can suggest nothing; that of the former he would find in a pseudo-Hesiodic poem on the same theme, from which Tzetzes *Prol. ad Lycophr.* 261 cites two lines (fr. 94 Marckscheffel); with these P. compares vss. 26-28 of Catullus, and with fr. 218 M., which he thinks may belong to the same epithalamium, vss. 386-88. The suggestion as to source is plausible; as for the contamination, there is another possibility, a modification of P.'s

view. He does not remark on vs. 251, *parte ex alia* (cf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 474) or on the distinctly pictorial, or sculptural, character of the Bacchic rout introduced by this phrase. The same character belongs, in the main, to vss. 52-70; we may then suppose that Catullus followed in the first place a Greek original containing a brief pictorial description of Ariadne in Naxos, and that into this he inserted a narrative (vss. 71-250), perhaps from a second Greek source. P. suggests that the absence of Apollo and Diana (vss. 299 ff., contrast Ω 62 f. and Aesch. fr. 350 Nauck) may be a primitive element of the myth; Sun and Moon could not be present at a festival which took place by torchlight at nightfall. It may be added that Hes. fr. 94 is the only parallel passage that has escaped Ellis' notice; for the comparison of Apol. Rhod. iii. 968-71 with vss. 106 ff. is false.

The "Analecta" of L. Castiglioni, pp. 279-318 (in Italian despite the title), are varied in contents and full of interest. Using a cod. Neap. saec. xv, and having regard also to other MSS, C. gives collations of the *Achilleis* of Statius, the *Remedia amoris* of Ovid, and the pseudo-Ovidian *Nux*; for the last-named also a new collation of cod. Flor. in correction of the relations between the MSS of the *Achilleis*, discusses the character and authorship of the *Nux* and the blending of erotic with idyllic poetry in the *Remedia amoris* and Tibullus, and defends or emends the text in various passages of Tibullus and the *Nux*. The elaborate and suggestive essay is well worth reading as a whole, and students concerned with this or that portion will find it always desirable to reckon with C.'s observations.

C. O. Zuretti, p. 319, on Auson. *Cent. nupt.* praef. 5, explains *unus et sequens cum medio* as = *u. (medius versus) et s. (medius versus) cum medio (versu)*. But could *medius versus* be understood from a following *medio sc. versu*?

N. Terzaghi, "Ad Hes. *Th.* 535 ss.," pp. 139-44, advances the theory that *Theog.* 535-64 belonged originally between *Op.* 48 and 50, *Op.* 49 having been inserted as a stop-gap after the passage had been transferred to the *Theogony*. The arguments drawn from mythical considerations are neither clearly stated nor convincing; linguistically T. errs, both in supposing that $\delta\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$ could be used to introduce vs. 565 as a continuation of vs. 534, and in translating $\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\tau\omicron$ βουλὰς 534 by "thwarted the will" of Zeus. Syntactically this phrase must mean "matched wits" with Zeus, and it is evidently an amplification of the epithets $\pi\omicron\kappa\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\nu$ αἰολόμητιν 511, and $\pi\omicron\kappa\iota\lambda\acute{o}\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu$ 521, just as $\acute{\iota}\pi\epsilon\rho\kappa\iota\delta\alpha\nu\tau\alpha$ 510 is further developed in 514 ff. and $\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\omicron\nu$ 511 in 512 f. T. notes that Hyginus says that Zeus did not perceive the deceit practiced on him, and infers that Hyginus' copy of Hesiod did not contain *Theog.* 550-52, "probably a later addition by someone who did not wish that Zeus should cut a poor figure despite his omniscience." Here T. goes too far or not far enough; the question is one, not of textual criticism, but of comparative folklore.

Terzaghi has also, pp. 181-217, an article on the commentary of Nicephorus to Synesius *περὶ ἐνυπνίων*. On a not uninteresting discussion of ancient theories concerning dreams, of Chaldaic oracles, and the sources of Nicephorus, there follow an account of the MSS of the commentary with critical notes and "Adnotationis crit. in Syn. π. ε. lib. specimen."

Two articles by E. L. De Stefani exhibit the sound fruit of long labor. Regarding the *Excerpta ex Aeliani H. A.*, of which he has at command five unpublished collections besides the printed *Excerpta Constantini*, De St. states, pp. 145-80, that "all the MSS of the excerpts depend on the archetype of the complete MSS," and that all are valueless for the text of Aelian, save perhaps the parts of the *Excerpta Constantini* derived from the *πλάτος*. Discussing, pp. 421-45, the *Epitome Aristotelis de Animalibus* by Aristophanes of Byzantium, De St. arrives at the following results: (1) Ael. *H. A.* iv. 55 = Aristoph. ii. 458, 459; (2) the contents of lost portions of the epitome may be inferred from passages of the *H. A.*; (3) Aristot. *περὶ ζώων*, cited by Athenaeus, is probably, as Rose held, identical with the *Epitome*; (4) the *Epitome* served as a source for many articles of Suidas, and the latter may be used to emend its text. De St. points out (p. 218, note) that the words *τῷ τεχνικῷ*, Herodian II. 613. 9 L., refer not to Herodian, as Lentz supposed, but to Theodosius.

A. Olivieri, pp. 261-77, gives the readings of cod. Laur. 75. 5 for the "Ophthalmology" in Aetius' *Ἱατρικά*, lib. vii, and observes that Laur. justifies many of Hirschberg's emendations.

T. Tosi, p. 278, proposes to read *συγγενείας ὄμμα* in Eur. *Or.* 1046. *σῆς ἀδελφῆς*, a gloss on *συγ.*, was substituted for it: Tyrwhitt proposed *ὄμμα* (which, by the way, Porson found in his L), and in vs. 1082 Wecklein substitutes *ὄμμα* for *ὄνομα* from MSS. The first part of the emendation is ingenious; the second might well have been elaborated by an examination of the periphrases with *ὄνομα* and *ὄμμα* in the tragic poets; with words so easily confused phraseological considerations rather than the authority of MSS may decide as to the true reading.

E. Bianchi, "Scholia in Nicandri Alexipharmaca," pp. 321-420, agreeing with Wentzel that Vári's text of the Scholia is vitiated by too close adherence to G, publishes a revised text, founded, for reasons stated by B., on R P, with G L as auxiliaries. *Animadversiones criticae* and an index complete this solid piece of work.

G. Vitelli has four notes: p. 10, on the term *σποραί* in Egyptian land leases; p. 228, on *Σωτήριος (μήν) = παῦνι*, as shown by a papyrus fragment; p. 320, adding, from another papyrus, an example of *θαλίσιος (ἄρτος)* to that cited in Lexx. from Athenaeus iii, p. 114 a; p. 446, on Harris' fragments of Palaephatus, reported to be now in the Museum at Alexandria.

W. H. KIRK

L'administration financière du sanctuaire pythique au iv^e siècle avant J.-C. Par ÉMILE BOURGUET. Paris: Fontemoing, 1905. Fr. 5.

Among the more than four thousand inscriptions unearthed by the French at Delphi perhaps no single class has proved so difficult to decipher, classify, and interpret as those which M. Bourguet has from time to time published and discussed in the *Bulletin*, and which now form the basis of this elaborate and comprehensive study—the fragments of the accounts of the various boards charged with the administration of the Pythian sanctuary. Those that are preserved fall within the fifty years subsequent to the establishment, in 369, of the board of *ναποιοί*, whose duty it was to supervise the rebuilding of the temple of Apollo, destroyed in 373. After this catastrophe an appeal for subscriptions was sent out and contributions, by states and individuals, came in from all corners of the Greek world. In this period fell also the Phocian indemnity, which made possible the completion of the temple by 330 or 329, at a cost of not less than 400 talents (p. 105). Now, every obol of receipts, with the name of the contributor,¹ had to be accounted for, and also the expenditures of every sort involved in the building operations and in the maintenance of the sanctuaries at Delphi and Thermopylae. The methods of administration and control adopted for the discharge of this task, and the constitution, responsibilities, and conduct of the various boards which had a part in it, is the subject of this learned monograph.

The subject itself is as technical as the documents are difficult. But M. Bourguet has succeeded in producing a treatise not only of profound and accurate scholarship—this we have learned to expect in contributions to the *Library* of the French Schools at Athens and Rome, of which this is the ninety-fifth fascicle—but also of great value for the general history of the period, and not without interesting details. Considering the fragmentary state of the inscriptions, we have a remarkably complete and clear account of the functions and operations of the administrative boards and their relation to each other—the local *βουλά* at Delphi, the federal board of *ναποιοί*, the federal board of *ταμίαι*, whose brief existence (from 339 to 326) seems to have been determined by the Phocian indemnity,² and, in supreme authority, the Amphictyonic Council. By his grasp of the political situation the author has also been able to bring numerous apparently insignificant phenomena into relation with the

¹ The author cites (p. 35, n. 1) the mite of $1\frac{1}{2}$ obols credited to Cleonica of Phlius; the cost of inscribing the 32 letters required for this entry, at the usual rate of 4 or 6 obols per 100 letters, left little for the building!

² Bourguet now thinks that 420 talents of this indemnity were paid—ten semi-annual payments of 30 talents each from 343 to 339, and twelve annual payments of 10 talents each from 338 to 326. This slight modification of his former view (see Goodwin's note on p. 285 of his *De corona*) is due to his revised chronology of the period.

political movements and policies of the time. The hand of Philip, for example, is seen in a number of instances. New light is thrown (p. 144, n. 1) upon the Athenian decree passed in 339 on the motion of Demosthenes (Aesch. iii. 126). We may mention, further, the proof (p. 143) that the Pythian games were celebrated, in the fourth century, in the fourth Delphic month, Heraios, and not in Boukatios, the second, as was later the case; and that the population of Delphi at this period hardly exceeded 700 (p. 45).

The list of Delphic archons, as given in Pauly-Wissowa, has been revised at several points by Bourguet (p. 10). The text of two inscriptions hitherto unpublished is given (p. 67 and appendix), and important new readings in others, especially (pp. 158 ff.) in the Amphictyonic law of the year 399. One regrets that all the documents involved, now scattered in the volumes of the *Bulletin*, were not re-edited here, and that the book has no index.

EDWARD CAPPS

Griechische Holzarkophagen aus der Zeit Alexanders des Grossen. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Heft 6. Von CARL WATZINGER. Leipzig: Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1905. Pp. 96. M. 35.

In the course of the excavations carried on by the Orient-Gesellschaft at Abusir in Lower Egypt during the years 1902-4 there was brought to light a small Greek cemetery belonging in all probability to the fourth century B. C. The present monograph gives an account of this cemetery and its contents, with the exception of the papyrus containing the *Persae* of Timotheus, already published by Professor von Wilamowitz. The work abounds in information and suggestion on an unexpectedly varied range of subjects. Thus there is a convincing résumé of the evidence for the continued production of painted vases in Attica down to the time of Alexander (pp. 11, 12); there is a description, with excellent illustrations, of an open-work Greek shoe (pp. 13, 14); there are hints regarding the later development of Greek ornament (pp. 74-76); and so on. Naturally there is considerable space devoted to burial customs, as exemplified in the Greek cemetery of Abusir, but the lion's share falls to the art of the joiner, as exemplified in the chest-like coffins of wood found on this site and in southern Russia. On this last subject Dr. Watzinger has made an important contribution to knowledge.

The form of the publication is quarto. There are three colored plates, besides a colored plan and 135 illustrations in the text.

F. B. TARBELL

Das Forum Romanum, seine Geschichte und seine Denkmäler.

Von CHR. HÜLSEN. 2te Ausg. Rome: Loescher & Co., 1905. Pp. xii + 244. M. 4.

The first edition of this book appeared in June, 1904; an Italian translation in April, 1905; the second edition in German in October, 1905; and an English translation by Professor Carter has just (March) been issued.

Seldom has such an immediate success been better deserved. The book is intended for the large number of educated persons who, while not desiring to pursue any special investigations, still wish for more detailed and scholarly information about the Forum than is contained in the ordinary guide-books. This purpose has been perfectly achieved, for Hülsen is not only our chief authority in the field of Roman topography, but also a master of the art of lucid and attractive presentation. His book and Mau's *Führer durch Pompeii* now stand in a class by themselves.

The first twenty-three pages of the second edition are devoted to the history of the development of the Forum in antiquity, in its various relations to Roman life. This is followed by a sketch of the Forum in the Middle Ages (pp. 24-32) and of the excavations that have been carried on in it since the Renaissance (pp. 32-52)—a particularly interesting chapter. The main portion of the book (pp. 53-226) contains the description of the Forum as it now appears, with the history of the monuments, beginning with the Basilica Julia and taking up the buildings in order. While the plan precludes any discussion of disputed points, a bibliography is added (pp. 226-234) which contains a list of the chief sources of information in ancient and modern literature, so that the ordinary student has all that he needs in the way of reference in this one volume.

The second edition has been somewhat enlarged, having twenty-five pages more than the first, but most of this additional space is occupied by twenty-two additional illustrations. Several of these are reproductions of views of the Forum made in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the value of which has only recently been fully appreciated. This appreciation has been greatly stimulated by the work of Hülsen and Lanciani, and by such publications as that of Ashby's in the second volume of the *Papers of the British School in Rome*.

During the year that elapsed between the issue of the first and the second editions very few discoveries were made in the Forum, and little new light was cast upon those previously made. It has not, therefore, been necessary to add much to the text or to modify the statements of the first edition to any marked extent. The principal additions have been made to the descriptions of the remains on the Comitium (p. 103),

the lacus Curtius (131), the cuniculi (134), the equus Tremuli (186), the puteal Libonis (141), S. Maria Antiqua (153), the templum divi Romuli (209), and the arch of Titus (223).

Among the few changes we note that on Plate III the Senaculum is no longer marked on the Comitium of the republic, although the statement in the text (p. 6) remains the same. On p. 78 the description of some of the reliefs on the arch of Severus has been emended, and Hülseu seems now to have decided (p. 130) that the identification of the recently discovered pedestal in the centre of the area of the Forum with that of the equestrian statue of Domitian is very probable. Two or three wholly insignificant typographical errors that occurred in the first edition have been corrected.

Every student of the subject knows that the topography of the Forum presents many problems with regard to which opinions differ widely. Hülseu's views carry more weight than those of any other living scholar, and he is entirely justified in stating them categorically in a guide-book like this. For instance, he still adheres to the belief that the so-called Hemicycle is of late date, belonging to the reconstruction under Severus, and makes no mention of the opposite theory elaborated so recently by Richter in his *Beiträge zur römischen Topographie*, although this monograph is referred to in the bibliography. Detailed discussion of such questions being out of place in this review, there is nothing but unstinted praise to be given to the form and content of the book.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

The Roman Forum, its History and its Monuments. By CHR. HUELSEN. Translated from the second German edition by JESSE BENEDICT CARTER. Rome: Loescher & Co., 1906. Pp. xi+259. \$1.00.

In this translation, which appeared in February, the author has made the few changes necessary to bring the book down to date. On p. 110 the ancient tufa walls and foundations on the Comitium are described, and a new plan of the Comitium is inserted (Plate V). Additions have also been made to the sections that treat of the ancient necropolis (pp. 211-17) and of the lacus Curtius (pp. 137-39), and there are several new illustrations. Professor Carter has done his work well, the translation being unusually readable, and, so far as the reviewer has compared it with the original, accurate.

S. B. P.

Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters. Herausgegeben von LUDWIG TRAUBE. Band I, Heft 1: *Sedulius Scottus.* Von S. HELLMANN. München: Beck, 1906. Pp. xv+203. M. 8.50.

It is a pleasure to greet the appearance of the initial number in Traube's *Quellen und Untersuchungen*, a publication which will give at least partial expression to its founder's great plans for mediaeval Latin philology, by including editions or investigations of large scope either suggested directly by him or developed under his supervision. Such articles, to quote from Traube's preface, are to be "durch Gleichheit der Schule oder volle Einigkeit über die philologischen Wege und Ziele unter sich verbunden." That means, among other things, that these studies will have recourse, wherever possible, to that fusion of the sciences of history, paleography, and the transmission of texts which gives an indispensable clue to the investigator of the early Middle Ages, as Traube himself has so brilliantly and convincingly set forth in many publications. It means also that the contributors—I am sure I voice the feeling of them all—are at one in their devotion to Traube, to his enlivening genius, his humane sympathies, his universal learning, without the aid of which much of their work would be impossible. The new undertaking, under such guidance, bids fair to be as important for mediaeval Latin philology as the *Texte und Untersuchungen* of Gebhardt and Harnack are for Greek patristic literature.

The first article in the opening volume is by S. Hellmann, and consists of three important studies of the works of Sedulius Scottus. The first of these presents a new text of the *Liber de rectoribus Christianis*, last edited, and imperfectly, by Angelo Mai in his *Spicilegium Romanum*, 1842, but now revised, and for the first time based on all the MSS at our disposal. An interesting preface attempts a classification of the MSS, sets forth the important characteristics of the work, and treats briefly of its literary origins and influences. This early "mirror of princes," which was written probably between 855 and 859, is virtually a *προτρεπτικὸς εἰς εὐσίβειαν*, and, though it calls the king God's vicar, has decidedly more of the flavor of church than of state. The work suggests the *De regimine principum* of Aegidius Colonna, and other similar treatises of the fourteenth century, but Hellmann denies any connection between them, pointing out that the title, formerly given to Sedulius' work—*De regimine principum*—is unauthentic. It is clear, however, that Walter Burley read Sedulius (see p. 35. 1) and Hellmann has to explain a striking similarity in plan between Sedulius, Aegidius, and Wiclif by the assumption of an unknown source from which they independently drew. There are no ancient precursors of the *Liber de rectoribus Christianis* patterned on exactly the same design; the work offers

both resemblances and contrasts to the panegyric literature, to the monastic rules, and, we may add, to the *De officiis ministrorum* of St. Ambrose and its model, the *De officiis* of Cicero. Did Sedulius know either of these works? He was certainly acquainted with Ambrose's *Hexameron*, and the monastery of Lüttich, which contained works of Cicero used by Sedulius, had a manuscript of the *De officiis*, too (p. 93).

Another literary model to which Sedulius owed much for form and plan, if little for contents, is the *Consolatio philosophiae* of Boethius. Besides the coincidence noted by Hellmann and Ebert on p. 24. 9, it is worth remark that the whole structure of the work, the admixture of prose and verse characteristic of one form of the ancient *satura*, seems directly inspired by Boethius—not, for instance, by the *De nuptiis philologiae* of Martianus Capella—as a study of the metre shows. Boethius is surely the model for the strange metres used in poems vii. and viii, as these are virtually his inventions (see Peiper's edition, pp. 220, 225). There are three combinations of verses not found in Boethius (v, xi, xiii, xv, xvii), but the verses themselves are employed by him in other strophes. These apart, the only metres not found in the *Consolatio* are the Sapphic strophe and the trochaic septenarius, both, perhaps, inspired by the Christian hymn. Thus closely akin in general structure and in the versification of the poems, the works, as indeed we might expect from their totally different subjects, show only a few trifling coincidences in detail. Besides 24. 9, one might possibly add references to the *Consolatio* on 27. 27 (Peiper, pp. 26, 56 and 27, 28); 45. 17 (p. 105. 5); 72. 5 (p. 89. 1).

In the treatment of the text of the *De rectoribus Christianis* an enlightened conservatism is conspicuous. *honesta vinea* (p. 37. 2) is certainly to be retained; Virgil's *honestum caput* (of Bacchus, *Georg.* 2. 392) seems an apposite parallel. *superborum caecitas* (p. 49. 9) should yield to the reading of P, *superba celsitas*, which repeats the idea in *malos humilians* (p. 46. 20)—however the rest of the line should run. So, too, at p. 84. 13, *dum Deus ex alto regem populumque triumphet*, is an allusion to the crossing of the Red Sea, described in the preceding prose (p. 81. 14), and needs only the correction of *triumphet* to *triumphat*—certainly not a complete metamorphosis into *dum Deus exaltat regem populumque triumphis*.

The second section of Hellmann's article treats of the collection of excerpts contained in a manuscript at Cues (C 37), which, as Traube had already shown, was compiled by Sedulius. Hellmann contributes fresh proof of this fact, and shows in an interesting way the importance of the document for the understanding of the *De rectoribus Christianis* and of Sedulius' ideals and methods in general. The passages are culled from various sources, and attest the compiler's respect for both Christian and pagan authority; the work is typical of the atti-

tude of mediaeval humanism to classical culture from Charlemagne's days to Dante's. Sedulius is not so scholarly a humanist as Lupus of Ferrières, but his interests are broad, his excerpts are seasoned with his own reflections, and are aptly introduced in his instructions to the Prince. His favorite authors, as shown both by his *Collectaneum* and the imitations in the *De rectoribus Christianis*, are, among the pagans, Cicero, Virgil, Valerius Maximus, Macrobius, Vegetius, Frontinus. He uses the *Historia Augusta* freely, as a kind of heathen *Liber regum*, supplemented for Christian history by Orosius and Cassiodorus. The poetical preface to the *De rectoribus Christianis* contains a patent imitation of the beginning of Ovid's *Art of Love*, though the other coincidences with Ovid noted by Hellmann are possibly accidental. Virgil's influence, noted by Hellmann in a dozen passages, is evident likewise at p. 71. 15, where the description of the storm is imitated from *Georg.* 1. 322 ff. (cf. especially vss. 23 f. with 330).

Part of Sedulius' authors came to him, as we should expect, via the Irish tradition; part of them, as Hellmann skilfully shows, he acquired on the continent. A specimen of the first variety is the collection of moral *sententiae* known as the *Proverbia Graecorum*, but showing closer affinity with the *Hisperica Famina* than with anything Greek. Other maxims are identical with parts of the Irish collection of canons published by Wasserschleben in 1874 and 1885; Hellmann makes a valuable contribution here, in tracing the canons back to an original collection of a general gnomic character, and by correcting the inadequate accounts of the history of the text of the canons given by both Wasserschleben and Bradshaw. At various points Hellmann's discussion raises the whole problem of the services rendered by Irish scholars in the transmission of classical and other texts; it is a pleasure to learn (p. 103) that this subject will be treated afresh by Traube in his forthcoming *Palaeographische Forschungen*.

The third part of Hellmann's treatise is devoted to the commentary of Sedulius on the epistles of St. Paul and its relation to that of Pelagius in the fifth century. The latter commentary, which furnished abundant material to several writers of the ninth century, is extant merely in the borrowed fragments which their works contain, and which have often been modified in the interests of orthodoxy. The fascinating task of reconstructing the original treatise had already been attempted by Zimmer, and though Hellmann's researches attain no positive goal, he corrects Zimmer at important points, settles the genealogy of the extant commentaries in which the influence of Pelagius appears, and, in short, determines the lines along which subsequent investigation must proceed, in case new material comes to light.

We have, then, in the opening number of Traube's new series, a three-fold study of Sedulius, as author, humanist, theologian, and a most

important contribution to the literary history of the ninth century. The book is attractively and even sumptuously printed; and the press-work has been carefully done. A very few minor errors may be noted: p. 35, Burleigh; p. 40, note on l. 11, add Ovid; p. 95, Sedulis.

E. K. RAND

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

The Campaign of Plataea. By HENRY BURT WRIGHT. Yale dissertation. New Haven: privately printed, 1904. Pp. 148.

In this essay Dr. Wright has reopened the difficult question of the detailed movements of the battle of Plataea. Following Eduard Meyer's view of the strong Athenian, or, more exactly, "Periclean," bias of Herodotus (*Forschungen zur alten Geschichte*), Wright has gathered apparently every shred of ancient evidence, both monumental and literary, upon the campaign, and has subjected each bit to careful scrutiny. As an example of exact and orderly analysis of historical evidence the thesis deserves high praise.

The material is handled and presented in an unusually clear and definite manner. The writer first establishes the theory that Herodotus' account of the campaign took its final form during the opening years of the Peloponnesian War and conforms to the misrepresentations current in the Periclean circle at Athens in that time. These misrepresentations seriously reflect upon the ability of Pausanias, the Spartan commander, and the courage of the Spartan troops. Wright here adds a number of significant minor arguments to those advanced by Meyer. He then attempts to sift out the elements of the "Periclean redaction" and to determine their source. This leaves as a remainder what he terms the "pre-Periclean vulgate" report. This would represent that version of the campaign which was generally accepted in Greece in the thirty years succeeding the battle, while the influence of Cimon's pro-Spartan policy was still felt at Athens.

Taking a new start from the vantage-ground thus gained, Wright discusses, in their chronological order, the pre-Periclean common report of the battle, followed by the Periclean revision. Chap. v attempts to show that Ephorus and the other fourth-century writers, excluding the orators, return to the earlier and truer version, and give due credit to Pausanias and the Spartans for the decisive victory at Plataea. This latter point has not been emphasized before, I believe, and seems entirely convincing. Thereafter in brief chapters Wright follows the course of the influence of the Herodotean version in the remaining biographers and historians of antiquity who touch upon the battle.

The opinion that the credit of the victory at Plataea must be assigned to the generalship of Pausanias has been long since maintained by Del-

brick and others. Meyer's arguments that the account in Herodotus is colored by Athenian perversion of the facts has been rather generally accepted. On the basis of the pre-Periclean evidence and the evident admiration expressed for Pausanias by Thucydides, Wright supports and furthers this view. But the only new elements which he brings into the discussion in attempting a reconstruction of the detailed movements of the battle have not gained my credence. Induced by a statement in the *Laches* of Plato, he explains the final movement of the Greek forces which brings on the battle as a "feigned retreat with the deliberate purpose of drawing the Persians" into a depression disadvantageous to them. The victory is due to this feigned retreat, an evidence of the "consummate strategy" of Pausanias. I can not but doubt the wisdom of basing Pausanias' claim to strategic ability upon a movement which exposed a somewhat inferior Greek force to attack, when it was separated into three distinct divisions, one of which did not seem to get into the fighting at all. For these are the actual facts of the battle as they appear in Herodotus—and after all is said and done we must still rely upon him alone for the general outline of the engagement.

Wright's dissertation furnishes an excellent starting-point for any future discussion of the campaign, because of the completeness of the evidence here collected. It would have been advisable to insert Grundy's map of the battlefield, to which Wright continually refers, instead of the complicated tabulation of the evidence which appears at the end.

W. L. WESTERMANN

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

History of U-Stems in Greek. By WILLIAM CYRUS GUNNERSON.

Chicago dissertation. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1905. Pp. 72. \$0.75.

That the border-line is an unfavorable locality for the development of pronounced character is a patent and potent fact in political geography as it is in philological geography, and vice versa. Hence the clamoring need of patient, self-sacrificing investigation into the facts concerning the half-consonant vowel-stems. We therefore gladly welcome this thesis, bristling with facts and theories; though the interpretation of these facts is often—one might almost fear too often—left to the reader. If the author errs in this matter, it is in the rare direction of modesty, which prevents him from determining what as yet no one can determine.

After the preliminary discussion of *u*-stems in other Indo-European languages, the author plunges at once into the theme, distinguishing between stems in *ũ* and stems in *û*. These give each two sub-heads,

according as the *ũ-* or *ū-*stems develop into a noun or an adjective, these finally being differentiated according as their genitive is constructed by the ending *-εος* (resp. *-εως*), or *-υος*.

The author's practice does not seem consistent in the matter of bringing etymological cognates down to the latest development; e. g., on p. 13 Skt. *dāru* is not brought down to Eng. "tree," although, just before, Skt. *janu*—Eng. "knee." On p. 14 we are told: "Greek nouns in *-τις* are feminine, with one exception;" but this exception is not given us until we reach p. 44. A cross-reference would have helped. One questions the value of many or prolonged quotations from the *Etym. Mag.* or Choeroboscus (cf., e. g., p. 28), whose statements are often mere guesses, nor even especially happy guesses at that. One longs often to see the more rigid application of the chronological antecedence to aid in determining which of variant or duplicate forms may be the older and probably the original one. When the material is scant, as often, this is of course impossible; but citing a sole example from the Middle Ages (p. 28) can scarcely lend much aid to an investigation into the origins of forms. We still think that a careful sifting and chronological arranging of the *Belegstellen* for forms like *πάλεως* as vs. *πάλως*, etc. (pp. 23, 28, etc.), would do more toward proving to be a fact what is otherwise only a problematic theory. On p. 33 we read that "in Homer the *o*-stem forms, nom. sg. *νιός*, acc. sg. *νιόν*, voc. sg. *νιί*, are frequent." With the excellent material at hand in these days for studying the Homeric *Sprachgebrauch*, we should have expected and gladly welcomed statistics here. Such statistics the author does give most acceptably on pp. 36 ff., while opening up the subject of nouns in *-ῖς*, gen. *-υος*. As the reviewer has devoted no little study to the formation of the verbals in *-τος* and the differing verb-stems on which these verbals are built (cf. articles on the Sophoclean use of verbals, in *Am. Jour. Phil.* XIII), he would fain have known to what extent the nouns in *-τις* (p. 46) follow the usus of the verbals in *-τος* in the matter of their formation from this or that tense-stem of the verb; but we are not enlightened. No accent is placed on *τριττος*, p. 48. The thesis closes with an alphabetical list and grouping of the ca. 453 words which in all available MSS and inscriptions present themselves as the material from which to develop the above theories.

One is familiar with the dictum: a poor poet should be criticized not at all, a medium poet leniently, an excellent poet mercilessly. Judged by this dictum, the valuable thesis before us deserves a vastly severer criticism than the reviewer has accorded it. In the immediate future no one will be able to accomplish aught in this especial and especially difficult field without using it.

CHARLES EDWARD BISHOP

COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

The Meaning of ΓΑΡ. By GENEVA MISENER. Chicago dissertation. Privately printed, 1904. Pp. 75.

This monograph was written to prove the thesis that "all of (*sic*) the meanings of γάρ are derivatives, more or less remote, of the reason-idea which it primarily conveyed, and that they may be assigned to the four following categories, (A) causal, (B) explicative, (C) motivating, (D) confirmatory" (p. 12). "Admitting that it is in form derived from γε and ἄρα," Miss Misener holds that "the time of its formation so antedates literary Greek, that all consciousness of its origin was certainly lost before the time of Homer" (p. 10). Chapters two to five deal respectively with γάρ in declarative sentences, γάρ anticipatory, γάρ in questions, and ἀλλὰ γάρ. In declarative sentences γάρ is shown to be causal, explicative, motivating, or confirmatory; anticipatory γάρ is catalogued as causal, motivating, or explicative; γάρ in questions is either confirmatory, justifying, motivating, explanatory, or transitional; and the uses of ἀλλὰ γάρ are classed under three heads, the first of which is subdivided into three species, the second into four, and the third into five, the fifth of which latter is again sub-subdivided into (α) and (β), of which (α) by sub-sub-subdivision becomes (α'), (β'), (γ'), (δ').

Truly, an analysis to have pleased the heart of Aristotle! To rest me, I turn to Apollodorus and construct a family-tree of the descendants of Οἰρανός and Γῆ. No guilty γάρ can have escaped. Were it not for the footnotes packed with further examples, one might infer that a separate pigeon-hole had been provided for every γάρ in the extant literature. Though evidently much exact thinking has been put into it, yet to me the classification seems often fictitious; the carver not always to have hit the joints. For example, there is surely no organic distinction between γάρ in declarative clauses and γάρ anticipatory; and even Miss Misener herself, in her treatment of confirmatory γάρ in declarative sentences, admits four times over that it "approaches," or "fuses," or "intermingles," or "blends" with the causal γάρ and the explanatory γάρ. It is, indeed, a fluid particle, no more to be fenced into garden-plots than water that flows over submerged fields.

It is a pity that the candidate did not use her rich material to prove the antithesis of her thesis, viz., that from corroborative γάρ ("indeed," "in fact") sprang the causal use "for." This would have been in accord with the general history of all logical conjunctions, as οἶν, ἀλλά, or the English "indeed" (for which see Murray's *Dictionary*.) Though I fear the dissertation contributes little to the sum of human knowledge, having to defend the ἡττων λόγος, yet the sum of the candidate's knowledge has been certainly enlarged, tested, and not found wanting. And her argument for an ellipse in ἀλλὰ γάρ is the clearest I know.

L. L. FORMAN

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Das Athener Nationalmuseum. Phototypische Wiedergabe seiner Schätze mit erläuterndem Text von J. N. SVORONOS. Deutsche Ausgabe besorgt von DR. W. BARTH. Hefte I–VI. Pp. 182. Sixty plates. Athens: Beck & Barth, 1903—. M. 16 each Heft.

Evidently this useful work is not progressing as rapidly as the promoters anticipated, for instead of about sixty plates with accompanying text each year, as was first promised, only sixty plates in all have appeared up to March of the current year. The scheme of the entire publication includes marble sculptures, bronzes, vases, gems, and other small objects; in short all treasures of the museum except the prehistoric finds and the inscriptions. Plates and text are in quarto form. The reproductions vary in size with the importance of the object, one plate in some cases containing six or more pieces of sculpture. An inexpensive process has been chosen with intent to keep the price of the work low; certainly the slight artistic value of many of the objects published would not warrant costly plates. The illustrations are, nevertheless, good enough to give clearly the composition of relief sculpture, and even to be of some value for stylistic comparisons. A general subject division and, within the subject, chronological division of the material is maintained with the following exception: a few special collections which have not been divided in the Museum are treated as a whole in the publication. Thus Parts I and II are concerned with the marbles and the large and small bronzes found in the sea near the island of Anticythera. Parts III–VI give many of the relief sculptures, exclusive of grave reliefs, and this series of reliefs is to be completed in later numbers. In the text are full statistics in regard to each object, find-spot, dimensions, material, a detailed description, and exhaustive bibliography—this last one of the most serviceable features of the publication. It seems a little unfortunate that the comments on the subjects do not follow the exact order of the plates. In turning from the illustrations the reader has occasionally to look through several pages to find the description of a given work. It is also to be regretted that the author indulges in such lengthy discussions of the individual pieces of sculpture. Despite the learning displayed, the interpretations proposed of the Eleusinian Relief, of the Echelos and Basile relief, as of many other sculptures, are not convincing. In regard to the relief in which Echelos and Basile appear, the views of Professor Kekule von Stradonitz in the Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm for 1905, based it is true partly on new evidence, are much more simple and probable. These interpretative passages, which have assumed the length of independent essays, increase the bulk of the text; the result is that the text is far behind the plates, many works having already appeared in the illustrations about which

the author's comments are not yet forthcoming. The rapid consummation of this large undertaking is greatly to be desired, for an extended pictorial record of the Greek National Museum would be an invaluable addition to the archaeologist's working library.

CAROLINE L. RANSOM

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Case Constructions with Similis and its Compounds. By THOMAS MADISON JONES. Johns Hopkins dissertation. Baltimore: Privately printed, 1903. Pp. 45.

This paper is a very careful and competent discussion of the subject indicated by its title. Professor Jones subjects to searching criticism the leading theories propounded by grammarians ancient and modern concerning the principles governing the employment of cases with *similis* and its compounds, beginning with that of Flavius Caper of the second century, who laid down the proposition: *illius similis ad mores refertur; illi similis ad vultum*—a theory which, though now banished from most of our Latin grammars, is still unfortunately current in much esoteric teaching. Professor Jones convincingly demonstrates the incorrectness of this theory, as well as the inadequacy of others that have succeeded, treating with special thoroughness and ability the highly subjective theory of Haase. The author's own conclusions are that the difference in case usage with *similis* and its compounds marks not a logical distinction, but one partly of time, partly of style. He holds that the genitive was originally characteristic rather of the conversational style. This theory is consistent with the usage of Plautus, with the general absence of the genitive in the higher forms of poetry, and with the prevalence of the genitive in Cicero's *Letters*. But it is not consistent with the great prevalence of the genitive in Cicero's *Orations*, a discrepancy which the author would explain by the "warm, personal" style of the speeches. But any attempt to discover essential traces of the *sermo familiaris* in the *Orations* can hardly count on extensive approval. It seems doubtful whether after all the difference in case usage is not essentially one of chronology alone. It is questionable, too, whether the author's preference for the dative as against the genitive in four much-debated passages in Plautus is sound, though he has aimed conscientiously to present and weigh the evidence on both sides of this question.

This treatment, of the subject, it should be added, is not complete for the entire language, or even for the bulk of the classical Latinity, being based upon an examination of some ten representative prose writers and eight representative poets of different periods. Hence the final discussion of the topic must yet be awaited.

CHARLES E. BENNETT

The Priests of Asklepios: A New Method of Dating Athenian Archons. By WILLIAM SCOTT FERGUSON. University of California Publications, Classical Philology, Vol. I, No. 5, pp. 131-73. Berkeley: University Press, 1906. \$0.50.

Ferguson's brilliant discovery (*Cornell Studies* VII, 1898) that the fixed official order of the tribes was followed in the selection of certain annually elected officers at Athens—the prytany-secretary, the secretary of the board of treasurers of Athena, and the Delian priests of Serapis—is happily supplemented in this important monograph by the addition to this list of the priests of Asclepius. Ferguson's first discovery was at once recognized as of the highest importance for the establishment of the chronology of the third and following centuries. Any archon whose name was linked with that of one of these tribal representatives, if the latter's deme were known, was forthwith known to have occupied a certain position as in a twelve- or thirteen-year group. The position of this group in relation to other groups could then often be determined through its historical evidence, by means of prosopographical data and of calculations based upon recorded intervals of time, and by the use of certain fixed points determined already by synchronisms with Roman consuls, Olympiads, etc.

The first tables of archons drawn up by Ferguson himself (*loc. cit.*, and especially *Corn. Stud.* X, 1899) by a rigid application of his secretary-canon have stood the test of searching criticism remarkably well. Though modified here and there by new documents and by new interpretations of the historical evidence, they are essentially the tables adopted by Kirchner in the *Prosopographia Attica* (1903). But serious doubts have been expressed—and quite naturally, considering the uncertain nature of the historical evidence at certain points—as to the applicability of the secretary-cycle to the entire period over which Ferguson extended it. Ferguson himself had shown that between 322/1 and 304/3, a period of political unrest, the tribal order was not followed, and Kirchner had discovered another break about the time of the Cremonidean war. Why should not similar interruptions have occurred at other crises? The fact that at a few fixed dates the tribe of the secretary did actually correspond to the requirements of the scheme might be due to coincidence; these fixed points were not numerous enough to establish Ferguson's contention that from 307/6 to 95/5 the secretary-cycle was in continuous use. So urged a number of scholars, especially Beloch and Kolbe. Beloch *Beitr. z. alt. Gesch.* I (1902), pp. 401 ff., regarded the calendar-cycle of eighteen years, based upon a regular sequence of common and intercalary years, as fundamental to any construction of the archon lists. Kolbe *Ath. Mitt.* XXX (1905), pp. 73 ff., on the other hand, distrusted as leading criteria both Ferguson's secretary-cycle, and

Beloch's calendar-cycle, and maintained that the period of an archon must first be fixed approximately by the historical notices, the exact year then to be determined by the normal position of the secretary's tribe. The results reached by both these scholars for the third century were in many details at variance with those of Ferguson and Kirchner.

Ferguson's latest discovery is therefore most timely. It not only completely restores confidence in his secretary-canon for the periods where its applicability was most disputed, but enables him to establish the fact that there were breaks in the system and to date them. And for these breaks he is able to offer plausible explanations in the political conditions of the time and to show that a method was followed even in starting afresh upon the cycle of tribes. Without following the author in the details of his demonstration, we may present an outline of the periods which he establishes and the means of control which he has made available for all future constructions of the archon lists:

Year	Official Order of Tribes Followed by	
352/1 to 322/1	Secretaries to treasurers of Athena. Prytany-secretaries } Priests of Asclepius }	Chosen from the same tribe.
307/6 to 262/1	Prytany-secretaries (from 306/5) Priests of Asclepius }	
261/60 to 231/30	Prytany-secretaries } Priests of Asclepius }	Chosen from the same tribe. The secretary-cycle was broken in 261/60 to restore the agreement.
230/29 to 138/7	Prytany-secretaries	Break between 205/4, probably in 202/1.
137/6 to 104/3	Prytany-secretaries } Priests of Serapis }	Chosen from the same tribe.
103/2 to 88/7	Priests of Serapis	Official order of tribes was abandoned for the secretaries after 103/2.
87/6	Priests of Asclepius.	

The tables of archons which Ferguson is now able to construct must be regarded as the nearest approximation yet reached to the true chronology of these three centuries. So far as the means of control above outlined are available in the names and demes of these annual officers, the list seems to the present reviewer unassailable. Some important archons, however, are still without the support of either secretary or priests, e. g., Philippus, whom Ferguson keeps in 393/2. At present I am disposed to believe that Clark's argument, *Class. Phil.* I, pp. 324 ff., based on the chronology of Menander, suffices at least to keep the question open, if not to settle it in favor of 392/1. But Wilhelm's dating (*Urkunden dramatischer Aufführungen*, pp. 63 ff.) of *IG. II.* 975 f, if correct, would deprive Clark's argument of one external support.

It may seem ungracious to pick out small defects in a contribution of such value; but just because it is so fine a piece of work, and shows such mastery in its use of the epigraphical and historical materials, one

regrets to see in it marks of hasty composition. Certain phrases (p. 143, n. 21; p. 152, n. 40; 154, l. 2; 168, l. 22) are too German ever to become good English, while "ruled out" and "line up" involve figures which may become unacademic some day. On p. 139, l. 8, read "Olympiad 139, 4" for 142, 2, and on p. 159, n. 73, the reference should be to p. 140.

EDWARD CAPPS

Aischylos' Choephoren. Erklärende Ausgabe von FRIEDERICH BLASS. Halle: Niemeyer, 1906. Pp. 205. M. 5.

Professor Blass himself probably does not believe that it is possible to restore with certainty the hand of Aeschylus in the corrupt choruses of the *Choephorae*. But there is something inspiring in the youthful zest and inexhaustible ingenuity of resource with which he throws himself into the task. As he himself says, ἀγαθὴ δ' ἔστι ἡδε βροτοῖσι. No scholar can work through this commentary without receiving many valuable lessons in critical method and many helpful suggestions for the interpretation of Aeschylus. The Introduction, following, though not slavishly, Robert's *Bild und Lied*, presents the development of the legend. Wilamowitz' "Delphic poem" is ignored because "there is no evidence that it existed;" and his theory that Aeschylus is hostile to Apollo is met by the explanation that the trial scene in the *Eumenides* is merely a mythological symbol of the conflict between old and new moral ideals.

In the commentary exegesis, though not neglected, is subordinated to the critical recension of the text. Space fails to enter into detail here. I may merely note the following readings:

317 καθ' ἐν οὐρίας—367 κτανόντεσσιν—382 ἀμπεμπ(ε)—389 φρενὶ θεῶν ἔμπας—417 πρὸς τὸ φάμῃσαι καλῶς—439 ἐθ' ὡς τόδ' εἰδῆς—467 ἀπαράμυθος ἄτας—492 ὡς ἐκαίνισαν—656 φιλόξεν' ἐστὶν Αἰγίσθου διαί is retained—760 γναφεὺς τροφεὺς τ' οὐ ταῦτ' ἐχέτην τέλος!—957 κρατεῖ πως τὸ θεῶν παρὰ τὸ μὴ ὑπουργεῖν κακοῖς deprives Aeschylus of an interesting idea.—994 τίς οὐ δοκεῖ weakens the rhetoric more than it helps the grammar.

In 156 Blass affirms that ἐξ ἀμανρᾶς φρένος cannot be taken with κλῦε, but must, as in *Ag.* 556, refer to the speaker. Yes, but in *Ag.* 556 it also goes with the verb, as, I think, here. The meaning is that of Pindar's ἀκούοντί που χθονίᾳ φρενί. The construction κλῦεν ἐξ ἀμανρᾶς φρενός etc. is no more impossible than Plato's ἐκ μὲν ἀδίκου καὶ κακοῦ ἑαυτοῦ θεωρούμενα. *Leges* 663 c. In 305 he accepts the emendation εἰ δ' ἐμὴ *Rh. Mus.* X, p. 462; but εἰ δὲ μὴ τάχ' αἴσεται is, as Wecklein's note shows, a natural idiomatic formula of defiance: "If he denies it, I'll teach him." There is no question of Orestes' θήλεια φρήν and to introduce that thought Greek idiom would employ καί in addition to δέ, to say nothing of the article.

PAUL SHOREY

INDEX TO VOLUME I*

- Abbreviations in Cod. Vat. 886 (Cod. Theodosianus) 401
 acnu, meaning of 335 ff.
 Aelian, *Excerpta ex Hist. animal.* 424
 Aeschines iii. 123, Demosthenes' decree in 426
 Aeschylus, use of medial caesura 153; dramatic art of 190; *Choephoroe* ed. Blass 440
ἀσπίδεια in Dion. Hal. 418
 Amaltheum, Cicero's 121 ff.; meaning of 123
 Anaxandrides comicus 220
 Anaximander and Anaximenes, *ἀν* of 279 ff.
 Anonymous Ademari ed. Thiele 312; Anon. π. κωμ. II Kaib., s. v. Menander, emended 317 ff.
 Apollodorus of Carystus, new. fragment of 43
 Archilochus 90
 archons, Athenian of the iii and ii cent. 438; date of Philippus 324 ff., 439; the archon of Menander's first appearance 317 ff.
 Aristomenes comicus in *IG. XIV 1097* 215 ff., 219, l. 9
 Aristophanes, the MSS of, catalogued and described 9 ff., symbols used for 267, uniform system of designation recommended 275; *Plutus* brought out at Lenaea 219, l. 14; *Ecclesiazusae* ed. van Leeuwen 418; *Aves* 1681 emended 177 f.
 Aristotle, relation of *Didascaliae* to *IG. II 973-975* 339 f.; relation of *Νῆα* to *IG. II 977* 338 ff.
 Asklepios, priests of at Athens, tribal order followed in election of 438 f.
 Athenagoras, quotations from the tragic poets 293
 Atticism in Rome 98 ff.
 attraction of mood in Latin 194
 Brygos, characteristics of 191
 Caesar, Julius, an Atticist 102, style of 102; *De analogia* written in 54, elicited by Cicero's *De oratore* 110 ff., new fragments of 116 ff.; *Anticato* 119 f.; *Bel. Gal.* vi. 30. 4 emended 290 f.
 caesura in trimeters, number, position, effect 149; medial caes. in Attic tragedy 145 ff.
 Callias comicus in *IG. XIV 1097* 214, 219
 Calvus, leader of the Atticists 104
 Campagna, topography of 300
 Catullus, Munro's criticism and elucidations of 95; composition of *carm. lxiv* 420
 centurions as substitute commanders 311.
 chlamys, form of 283
 Cicero, Merguet's *Handlexikon* to 94; relation of *De oratore* to Caesar's *De analogia* 115; his *Amaltheum* 121 ff.
 correction in hiatus 239
 cothurnus, use of high-soled in classical tragedy denied 191
 Curiosum, date of 133
 Didascaliae, Greek comic found at Rome 201 ff.; Aristotle's book 339 ff.
 digamma in melic poetry 88
ἀν in Anaximenes and Anaximander 279 ff.

* For articles and reviews and authors of books reviewed see CONTENTS.

- Dio Cassius, attitude toward epigraphic sources **310**
 Dionysius Hal. *Ep. ad Pomp.* 775 R, text defended **418**
δοκιμασία of ephebi **320**, n. 1
 Donatus, new MSS of **43**
 dreams as omens **235**
 elision in caesura **150**
 Ennodius, style of **200**
 ephebi, enrolment at end of seventeenth year **318**, note; *δοκιμασία* of **320**, n. 1
 Epicurus and Menander **320**
 Eumenes II, reported death and premature deification **231**
 Euripides, use of caesura media **159**; *Alc.* 8 and Athenagoras **292**; *Orest.* 1046 as emended by Tosi **424**
 Eusebius, dislocations in chronological tables of **321**
 evidence in Athenian courts **96**
 Forum, Hülsen's topography of **427**
γάμ, meaning of **435**
 geography of Greece according to Strabo **339** ff.
 Hadrian's *Autobiography* **85** f.
 Harper, William Rainey, obituary notice of, facing p. 1
 Herodotus vi. 107, the omen in **235**
 Hesiod *Theog.* 535 ff., Terzaghi's criticism of **423**
 hiatus in Greek melic poetry **88**; correction in **239**
 Himerius *Orat.* i init. emended **415**
 Homer, new papyrus of B 1-20 **167**; chief source of Strabo **341** f.; interpolations in *Odyssey* (Blass) **319**
 Horace, influenced by Lucretius **89**; poetical element in **304**; movements of chorus in *Carm. saec.* **310**; *Ars poet.* 95 **293**
 imperfect indicative in early Latin, syntax of **357** ff.: of the immediate past **359** ff., in description and reminiscence **365** ff., of customary action **370** ff., of frequentative action **372**, aoristic **373** ff.
 indirect discourse, the moods of **82**, **179**, **181**, **294**
 inflection, nature and origin of **190**
 inscriptions, Greek: ad res Romanas pertinentes **193**; oriental (Dittenberger) **195**; *IG.* XIV 1097, 1098, 1098 a **201** ff., restored **213** ff.; accounts of the Pythian shrine **425** f. *IG.* XIV 1184 **313**, **324**; *IG.* II 971-977 in relation to Aristotle's *Didascaliae* and Νῆκας **339** ff.
 Latin: rules of syllabification followed in **47** ff.
 Oscan: eituns insc. interpreted **414**; meaning of pumperias **329** ff.
ὁ Cretan = *ἐκείνος* **409** ff.
 Isaeus ed. Wyse **187**; *συγγέται τὰς ψήφους* in v. 17 explained **188**
 Jebb, Sir Richard C., obituary notice of **176**
 Julia Mamaea **310**
 Julian, his quotations from Sappho, **253**
 Latinitas **100** ff.
 lexicography, new Greek words **194**
 language, Vossler's theories of **416**
 Livy, lost epitome of **309**
 Lucretius' influence on Horace **89**
 Lysippus comicus, career of **214**, **219**, l. 7
 Manentius' edition of scholia to Theodosius **399**
 manuscript, definition of **1**
 Menander, chronology of **313** ff.; **324** the date of *Heauton* **321**
 Mommsen, Theodor, speeches of **92**
 Nicander, scholia in *Alexipharmaca* **424**
 Notitia, date of **133**
 oaths taken by woman in Dem. xlvii **128**

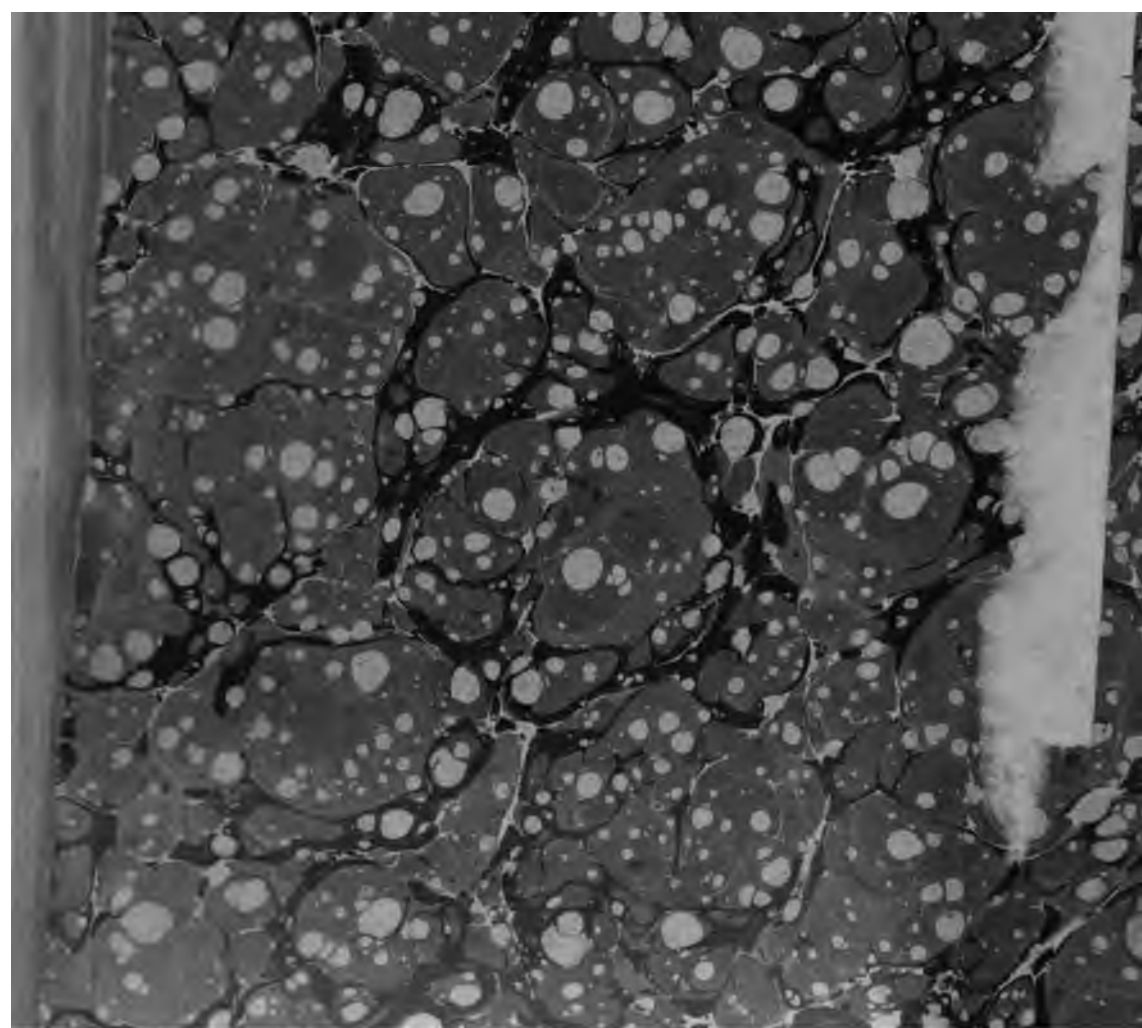
- omens from dreams 235
- Ovid, concerning MSS of 428
- papyri, new texts 167
- Persius, concerning MSS of 422
- Philippus, archonship of in 292/1 324 ff., 439
- Platea, campaign of 430
- Plato, metaphor and simile in 305
- Plautus, *si*-clauses in 88
- Plutarch and the Greek theater 306
- Pompeii, promenades on the walls of 414 ff.
- principales* of the early empire 310
- Proclus apud Photius cod. 239 emended 298
- pumperias, meaning of 329 ff.
- Pythian games, month of celebration of 426
- rhetoric, Atticism and *Ἀλληγορίαι* 98 ff.; Stoic attitude toward 99; Latinitas 100 ff.; the plain style appropriate for expressions of grief 298; the four "virtues" of Dion. Hal. 418
- Rome, the seven hills of 69 ff.; Greenidge's History of 188 ff.; the forum 427 f.
- Sappho, new fragment of 253 ff.
- Scriptores historiae Augustae 84 ff.
- Sedulius Scottus 429 ff.
- Seneca *Epp. mor.* 82. 20 emended 412
- Septimontium 71 ff.
- similis*, constructions with 437
- Sophocles, used of medial caesura 156
- Statius, MS of *Achilleis* 423
- Stoicism and rhetoric 99, 414
- Strabo, extent of travel of 339 ff.; authorities of 341 ff., mistatements of 348 ff.
- subjunctive in Latin, sec. sing. in statements of fact 21 ff.; in indirect discourse 82, 179, 181, 294
- Suetonius, MSS of (C. L. Smith) 190
- Suidas' relation to Epitome of Arist. *De animal.* 424
- syllabification in Latin inscriptions 46 ff.
- syntax, sec. sing. subj. in statements of fact 21 ff.; subj. in ind. disc. 82, 179, 181, 294; concessive *si*-clauses in Plautus 88, subj. protasis w. indic. apodosis in Plautus 88; syntax of prepositions in Greek dialects 199; constructions of *similis* 437; case constructions in Greek w. words of time 303
- Tacitus, *Dial.* 20. 20 emended 81
- Tarpeia, the myth about 309
- Telecleides comicus 218, l. 1 ff.
- testimony of women in homicide cases at Athens 127
- text-criticism, Anon. τ. κωμ. II Kaib. 317 ff.; Aristophanes *Av.* 1681 177 f.; Caesar *Bel. Gal.* vi. 30. 4 290 f.; Dionysius Hal. *Ep. ad Pomp.* 775 R 413; Euripides *Alc.* 8 292; Himerius *Orat.* i init. 415; Proclus apud Phot. Cod. 239 296; Seneca *Ep. mor.* 82. 20 412; Tacitus *Dial.* 20. 10 81; Themistius ad Arist. *Phys.* vi. 9 81
- theater, Greek, Plutarch's authority regarding 301
- Themistius ad Arist. *Phys.* vi. 9 emended 81
- Theodosius, critical notes on scholia to 397 ff.
- θεός* in Attalid documents 232
- trimeter, iambic, to be regarded as a single kolon 148; medial caesura in 145
- ὄρεψ* in dedications 232
- u-stems in Greek 433
- Vergil *Aen.* ii. 559 ff., authenticity of 221 ff.; literary execution of 228
- uestibulum, meaning of 96
- women as witnesses in homicide cases at Athens 127
- Xenophilus comicus, 218, l. 10
- Xenophon the stylistic model of Roman purists 102, n. 2











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